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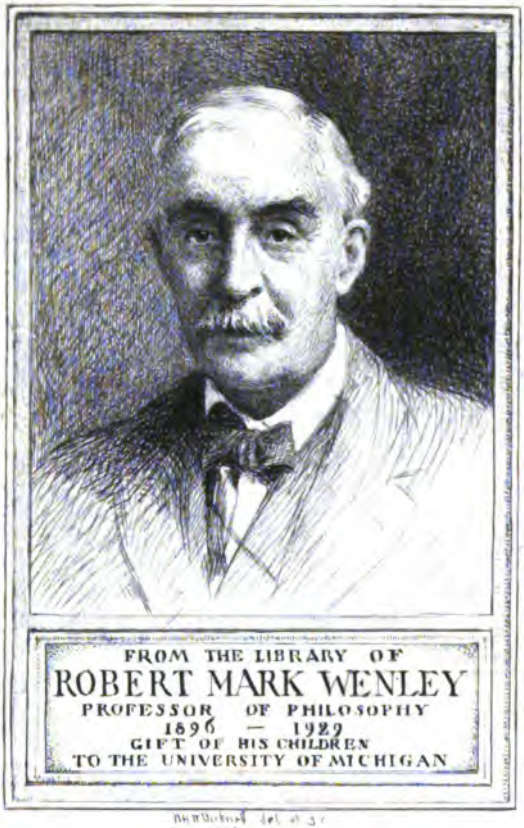

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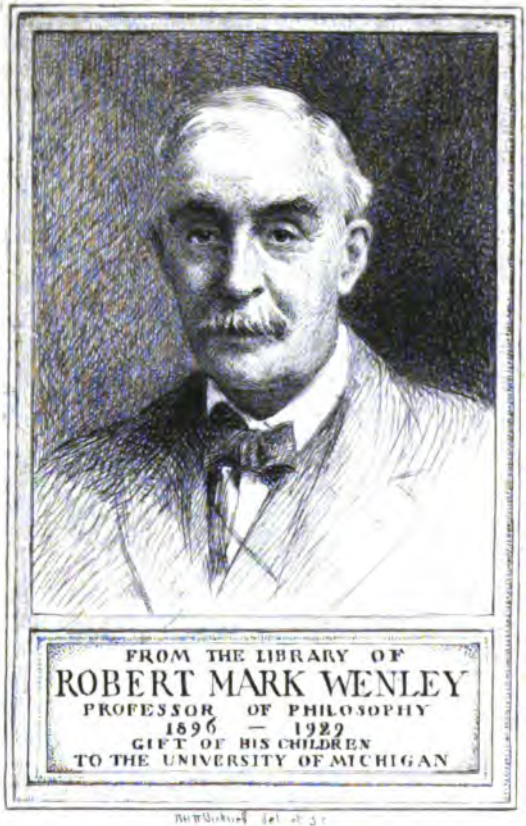

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THE

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW:

A JOURNAL

OF

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND LIFE.

"Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." * * *

"The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. * * * But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." (John iv. 20, 21, 23, 24.)

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THE

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I.—THE NEW CREED AND THE OLD, IN THEIR SECULAR RESULTS.—I.

RELIGIOUS ideas lie so near the root of human life, that no essential change in them can stop short in theories and systems of theology, but must also modify more or less considerably every department of our activity. The great religious revolutions of past ages have each produced new developments of the intellect, of the conscience, and even of the affections and artistic powers, in directions which to a superficial judgment might have seemed beyond the remotest range of their influence. Not to speak of the vast cataclysms of earlier times, when the old creeds of Paganism and Sabæanism were swept away, and the new heaven and new earth of Christianity and Islam arose in their place, the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century was the cause (in a degree also the effect, but primarily the cause) of a revolution which extended by degrees to ethics and politics, to social and domestic habits, to science and literature, to poetry, painting, architecture; nay, to the very physiognomy and bearing of the race which adopted the new theology. To believe that the final test of doctrine was to be found in the Bible rather than in Pope or Council, to modify the dogma of Transubstantiation into the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist, to diminish the Sacraments from seven to two,—these were assuredly not changes which at first sight might have been expected to entail the results which Europe witnesses to-day, between the nations which have adhered to the old creed and those which have adopted the new. Sometimes reflection will enable us to trace how the change has been effected; how the exercise of the "duty of private

judgment" has fostered independence of spirit; how the repudiation of some of the ascetic principles of Romanism has promoted personal self-respect and cleanliness; how the absence of a pyx in the churches, together with a fresh strain after spirituality of worship, has discouraged all the arts which served to glorify religious edifices. But much of the immeasurable difference (rather to be felt than described, and only known fully to those who have dwelt in both) between a Protestant household and a Romish one, a Protestant country and one where Catholicism prevails, in a great degree eludes our attempts at explanation. As some philosophers tell us the body is moulded by and with the soul, so the secular life has been moulded by the religious creed, "fashioned secretly" and growing together, acting and reacting one on the other.

These changes of the past are assuredly predictions for us of the similar modifications which any analogous religious reforms must hereafter introduce into the temporal concerns of the nations by which they may be adopted. If we alter our creed in any important particular, it will not be only in the formularies of the Church or in books of divinity, or in the religious sentiments of individual souls, that the result will be found. In departments of human energy apparently disconnected with religion, among the habits, feelings, efforts of the boor and the poet, the statesman and the man of science, the result will be marked. The "little leaven" of doctrine will leaven the whole lump of life's affairs. Through remote and imperceptible channels the influence will force its way, and because a man has altered his ideas of things above, he will alter his action as regards all things below.

We are all agreed that this is an age of more than common transition. A large party in the Church, indeed, tell us that it is an age of return to beliefs long obsolete, and practices which seem to savour of centuries gone by. "Ritualism" in the year 1866 is an apparition portentous as that of the cowled monk in *Don Juan;* and such a book as the "Church and the World" ought to weigh in the scale in which we measure contemporary opinion, as a sad counterpoise to such works as men like Lyell and Tyndall and Huxley and Darwin contribute to the thought of the age. Future historians will have to record, as a new chapter of

Popular Delusions, the mania for millinery and horticultural religion; and, in measuring the slow progress of man through past millenniums, they may notice how the numerous authors of the "Church and the World" display mental characters identical with those of the Schoolmen of the Dark Ages, even as the sculls of some persons now living bear perfect resemblance to the depressed crania of those of the age of Bronze or of Stone. But however marvellous may be the force of that under-tow of the wave which is at this moment dragging men back by thousands, face downward, into the depths of superstition, it *can* be only the mere inevitable reaction from the great onward movement of the time. In a measure, the very violence of the receding wave proves the power of the advancing tide.

Not in such an essay as this can the argument be opened, whether indeed the world be progressing, "leaving the things which are behind and stretching forward to the things which are before," or returning in its senility "to think as a child, to feel as a child, to understand as a child," all the "childish things" its priests fain would teach it. The readers of this Review will probably concede without debate the truth of the only remark we need to make, namely, that a considerable modification of the religious opinions of our fathers is forced upon our generation. Commonly enough this is admitted. Less commonly, however, is it foreseen that the religious revolution before us will entail after it many changes in things not directly connected with theological doctrine, or even with the position of the teachers of those doctrines. We all anticipate at no distant day to find views popularly maintained which are now the possession of a comparatively small number of thinkers, and we also conclude that at some remoter time the ecclesiastical establishments of the country will be in some degree affected by the common reception of such views. But the fact that each new religious idea, such as those which are now being sowed broadcast through men's minds, is a seed which in germinating will bear, not only leaves of doctrine, but flowers and fruit of feelings and actions, as yet unseen and unsuspected, —this we do not consider.

It has appeared to the writer that an effort to trace out the probable consequences of the change before us, so far as they may yet be indicated, would be neither uninterest-

ing nor uninstructive. Of course such a task can be at best but a series of well-founded conjectures. We neither know with any certainty what the creed of the next generation will be, nor what changes of condition brought about from other causes may react upon religious habits and ideas. Fifty years ago, a far-seeing man might have predicted the growth of free thought and extension of scepticism; but he could not have foreseen that the free thought of our age would be as tender and reverential as that of his time was rough and contemptuous; and still less could he have foreseen how the rapid current of our lives due to the discoveries of steam, the telegraph, the penny post, the enormous extension of the periodical press, has tended to the wearing out of local and national distinctions, and the extension of a cosmopolitan spirit among the churches.

What we can really do, what it will be our endeavour to do in this paper, will be this. Starting with the assumption that the tendencies of thought now broadly visible will continue and will bear their natural results, we shall strive to discern what these tendencies in various particulars may be, and then point out what consequences the known laws of human nature may justify us in anticipating therefrom. These tendencies and their results will of course appear in contrast to the different tendencies of past modes of thought and their necessarily very different influence.

Let it be premised at starting, that, in speaking of the "Old Creed," we do not mean any special form of doctrine peculiar to any one Christian Church; neither Catholicism nor Calvinism,—neither the dogmas of Luther nor those of Socinus. We mean, generally, those theological ideas which have more or less prevailed hitherto, and especially in later ages, in Christendom at large and in our own country in particular; ideas which we conceive to be now dying away, and which are either visibly falling out of the ordinary preaching of the day, or may safely be predicted to be doomed to speedy oblivion by the rise of other ideas incompatible with their existence. And by the New Creed we do not mean the views of any one sect or teacher of our time,—neither the Unitarianism of Martineau nor the Theism of Parker. We mean rather the thoughts which belong, not to this man or the other, but are born in all souls which have come thoroughly under the influences of the time; the sparks

struck out,—not by this man's anvil or his neighbour's flint, but by the great wheels of that car of progress which thunders past and rolls over us all. The "New Creed" we speak of means not a series of dogmas to be accepted or rejected at our option. It means certain ideas, certain ways of viewing all ideas, which are forced on us by no effort, and at which we arrive by no sudden conversion, but which we can no more escape than we can avoid breathing the air of the land in which we live, and finding it incorporate its elements in our bodily frame.

Such an inquiry as this must be conducted as far as possible in a spirit of calm judgment, and by no means with any effort to arrive at the foregone conclusion that the ideas we believe to be true will in all cases tend to the visible and immediate benefit of mankind. No changes of opinion which the world has yet seen or is ever likely to see, are sources of unmixed good. Something beneficial and beautiful, or at least reverent with age, is lost with the old things; something hurtful, ugly, harshly-coloured, comes with the new. Nay, more. The faith that Truth itself, so far as we ever attain to it, must in its ultimate results be productive of unmixed good, and Error of unmixed evil, is a faith most difficult to corroborate from history. Mankind from the beginning seem to have been nourished on mental food in which the proportion of error and mistake has always been large and often enormous; and in seeking to discover the ideas which to all appearance have contributed most to strengthen the nerves of the martyr and warm the blood of the philanthropist, our analysis as often detects that which we are compelled to class as local and temporary delusion, as that which we can recognize as eternal truth. Yet among human beliefs most dear and sacred, this faith must be found. The *ultimate* benefit of truth and mischief of lies, is, we will not say a corollary from the proposition that God, and not a devil, rules the world; it is even more than this—a faith underlying all other faith, and retainable even by the honest atheist himself. But it is the *ultimate*, not the speedy or immediate, benefit derived from truth in which alone we can put trust. The first results, and the second, and the twentieth, may be but a series of temporary evils and disorders. When any error has become entangled with moral sentiments (as all religious errors have been from the begin-

ning), the removal of each error is inevitably the disturbance of its nearest moral sentiment. To apply the old parable in a different sense, every tare torn up loosens the root of the wheat. No marvel that *men* say, "Let both grow together till the harvest of eternity!" But GOD—the God who in our day sends out, not Elijahs and Isaiahs to preach righteousness, with their "Thus saith the Lord," but geologists and astronomers and chemists and critics, to announce the facts of His universe with their message, "Thus, and thus, hath God done"—that God bids us, and compels us, whether we will or whether we would fain forbear, to root out every lie which our hands may grasp, and to trust to Him to make the wheat plant itself afresh with tenfold vigour in the loosened soil.

I. Let us examine first the tendency of modern thought as regards *the relation of this life to the life to come*, and the result of the change in our ideas on this subject on secular interests.

It would seem beyond any doubt that the following alterations have taken place in the minds of thinking men on the subject of the future world. 1st. The local heaven and hell, above the clouds and under the earth, have been abolished by astronomy. 2nd. The word "state" has been sedulously substituted by divines for "place," and conveys a far less definite idea, requiring even a considerable degree of spiritual feeling in the hearer to be impressive at all. 3rd. Descriptions of physical tortures in hell, or glories in heaven, are disused, if not disavowed, by the most orthodox. 4th. The duration of future penalties has been so extensively disputed, that it is hard, beyond the straitest sect of the Evangelicals, to find men thoroughly persuaded that such duration is endless. The High-church party bring forward the doctrine of Purgatory, and tell us (as the old Catholics never did) that the number of the finally damned is probably small. The Broad-church party in both its branches, many orthodox Dissenters, and of course Unitarians, Universalists and Theists of all shades, renounce the dogma of eternal torments with horror.

Thus we have substituted for our fathers' Heaven above the sky, with its crowns and harps, and their Hell under the earth, with its fire and worms (each to be entered at death

and inhabited for ever), a quite different idea of the future state. Those among us who are most convinced that "the soul of a man never dies," still admit that they have not the vaguest notion where he lives nor how he lives after death. We have a heaven which is nowhere in particular, and a hell whose localization by any preacher's imagination in the remotest region of the astronomical universe is instantly scouted and derided on all hands. In a word, we, men and women whose minds are so constituted as that every idea must take its place under the great *intuitions à priori* of time and space, we who can think of nothing lucidly except in relation to time and space, have contrived to banish our own immortality to a twilight Limbo which we place nowhere in the universe of space, and conceive of as nowise affected by the limitations of time. We believe indeed that we shall exist hereafter; and that, in some unknown way, in that unseen, unknown existence, our moral sense will be satisfied by the reward of suffering virtue, and the punishment of vice unchastised upon this planet. But beyond this, "who telleth a tale of unspeaking death?" Who ventures so much as to cast an image from the magic-lanthorn of Fancy upon that dread "cloud" which receives all the dead out of our sight, and whereon our fathers threw the phantasmagoria of the *Divina Commedia* and of *Paradise Lost?*

What must be the result of this dissolving away of the old heaven and the old hell? The result is plain. The worlds enveloped in mist are fading away into comparative insignificance. We do not think of them as we once did. We cannot measure the latitude of our voyage over life's ocean by orbs hidden behind the clouds. Without denying, or even gravely doubting, we allow the Future to pass into the dim distance, and the Present to fill the whole foreground of our thoughts. We live in "the light of common day," no longer illumined by gleams of radiance from the open portals of the Celestial City, nor yet made lurid with the reflected flames of Gehenna. The relative positions of the two worlds has been counterchanged. The present world has gained in interest whatsoever the future world has lost. Or rather we may say, that the shade and uncertainty in which the all-wise Creator has been pleased to leave for the present the immortal life of man, and the

consequent vividness of his present interests and duties have returned to their normal degree; and the education upon earth of the heir of heaven is no longer disturbed by dazzling visions of future greatness, calculated to throw all the trials and punishments of this life into insignificance. Henceforth that other life beyond the tomb, reduced by imagination to a moral sequel and conclusion of life upon earth, will only serve to add solemnity and weight to the duties to be done here below, and never again will stand (as it has done since the rise of Christianity) as the aim and purport of those duties; the great reality of existence which made this life, with all its struggles and prayers, only a feverish and delusive dream. Men will strive henceforth for virtue and for union with God, believing that such virtue and such divine union will not cease at the grave's mouth, but last and grow for endless ages in the unknown life beyond. But they will not again strive for them *because* thereby they shall escape the burning cave of hell, or climb the diamond battlements of the New Jerusalem. There is no more *living for* the future possible. There is only living *in* the present, feeling assured that as is the present, so, in a moral and spiritual sense, must all the future be. The law of continuity has prevailed even in this region of thought. There is no longer a contrast between this world and the next, but an ever-extended uniformity of order and of law.

The secular result of this change has for some time been familiar. This world to the early Christians, who looked for its immediate end, was a place not worth working for. The only philanthropy of the age was to preach repentance, and so save men's souls from the judgment to come. In later Christian times, when the Last Day began to be looked on as more distant and uncertain, the relief of suffering, the assuaging of all the symptoms of evil, came into practice. Philanthropy, then, had two aims: to save men's souls from hell in the first place (a salvation to be accomplished, if needful, through much burning of bodies); and, in the second, to comfort the faithful under the temporary ills of mortal lot. But in these later times, when the Judgment-day is postponed *sine die*—nay, made in common parlance a sort of synonym for the Greek Kalends or "to-morrow-come-never" —in these times, when the whole future world has grown

misty, and the present life of this planet comes out in the vivid electric light of our universal and instantaneous communication—in these times, the work to which good men turn is different from what it has ever been before. Philanthropy seeks indeed still the salvation of souls; but, save in narrow sects of Revivalists, it is hardly in any church the old gross idea of salvation from future punishment which is sought to be realized, so much as the true salvation from sin to righteousness. The sufferings of want and disease are also relieved more carefully than ever. But the peculiar and predominant philanthropy of the age is the effort *not* to sacrifice this world for the next; *not* merely to relieve the symptoms of evil, but to *mend* the world; to reach the root of the diseases of crime and poverty and pestilence; to prepare our land, our whole planet-home, for no "general conflagration," but for indefinite millenniums of virtue and health and prosperous human existence.

A Monastery of the olden time, where men renounced all the joys and interests of life,

> "And sought to merit heaven
> By making earth a hell,"

and where the monks gave daily dole at the gate to the beggars whom their alms supported in idleness almost as saintly as their own—such was the type of the virtue which prevailed in the Middle Ages as the natural result of the received doctrines concerning this world and the next.

A Social Science Congress, where hundreds of men and women meet to consult (perchance sometimes vainly, yet very sincerely, as their lives of labour prove) how to *prevent* crime, how to cure pauperism, how to hinder the approach of epidemics, how to lift women out of the temptations which drag them down into vice, how, in a word, to reach and kill the roots of all the poisonous plants in the garden of our land—such is the type of the virtue of our time, the natural result of our ideas concerning the importance and sanctity of this present life upon earth.

Again: Another, but still future, result will be a change in our way of viewing the death of criminals. The notion that when men die they "fall into the hands" of a terrible Judge, that eternal perdition or eternal joy may depend on the conditions of mind of the last few hours or moments in this

world,—this absurd doctrine seems invariably to come into action when it can do mischief, and to be forgotten when it might be supposed likely to do good. No wicked man seems to be deterred by it from vice or cruelty. Even those whose professions expose them often to danger are found to be as brave as (on their hypothesis) only a saint has a right to be. And when their offences have been so great as to end in capital punishment, the doctrine comes up to nullify the whole moral of the act of public justice. They believe, and are instructed by their appointed teachers to believe, that the most ferocious murderer (having during his last hours in jail duly accepted the Christian atonement) swings from the gallows straight into paradise. One wretch after another, with hands red with the blood of his kindred, with heart as hard as the nether millstone, with words of disgusting hypocrisy on his lips, goes off, "launched into eternity" as the cant has it, and firmly assured that that "eternity" is for him the immediate beatitude of the sons of God. The thing is the disgrace of the Churches, the *reductio ad absurdum* of their doctrine of the Forgiveness of Sins. But while the scandal yet fills the journals of the day, we are told from a thousand pulpits that the dogma of the eternity of future punishment is the safeguard of public morality! Only when that monstrous teaching is ended,—only when men are really taught that

> "God is just; He made the chain
> Which binds together guilt and pain,"

and that no solvent of blood, no bony hand of death, can dissolve or break that iron link,—only then will the doctrine that there is a Life to come be a support to the laws of morality.

II. Other changes in the popular creed have introduced (or rather are beginning to introduce) differences which will be hardly less important to the Happiness of life than those above stated concerning the next world, have already brought into our idea of its Duties. These other changes, however, have not yet passed over nearly so many minds as the former, and their results must be altogether more remote. Till the old orthodox views of God as a wrathful and vindictive Being have been wholly exploded, till the

dread scene of Calvary has come to be understood universally, if not in an Unitarian or Theistic sense, yet in some sense such as men like McLeod Campbell would give it, the newer and brighter day cannot begin, and the duty of being happy, the duty of bringing up children to regard Happiness as the normal and healthy and *holy* condition of the souls of God's creatures, cannot be fully understood. Let us explain what we mean more fully.

A certain mistrust of extreme and unusual prosperity has manifested itself under various religions from ancient days. The inequalities of human destinies, the success of the wicked and the sufferings of the good, have suggested to pious souls, from the Psalmist's days to our own, the idea that those inequalities would eventually be reversed and the apparent injustice of fate rectified. Souls not pious, but devil-worshiping, have, on the other hand, seen in extraordinary felicity an object for the jealousy of superior beings. Niobe's children, so beautiful and numerous, must perish by the shafts of envious deity. Crœsus must be ruined before death seals a life of unbroken prosperity. One way or another, by the pious way or the impious, men have always looked for catastrophes to terminate unusual happiness, and the natural mutations of events have sufficiently supported and verified their expectations.

Much further than this, however, has modern mistrust of felicity proceeded. Christianity, in giving sacredness to sorrow, in proclaiming comfort to the mourner and blessings on every bowed and humbled head, has had from the first, and even in its purest form, a tendency to instil a distrust of the opposite conditions of joy and cheerfulness. The exaggerations and corruptions which the faith taught on the Mount of Galilee has undergone, have deepened this tendency inordinately, till the genial spirit of the great Founder has often seemed to disappear altogether from the Christian Church. Had Polycrates lived seven centuries later than he did, he would not merely have feared that his extraordinary prosperity would provoke the jealousy of the Immortals, but that one so rich as he would have no more chance of attaining the kingdom of heaven than the camel of entering the needle's eye; and that, not by the easy sacrifice of his ring, but the hard penance of a life in the Theban desert, could he propitiate the favour of God. In those days and for ages

afterwards, he, and he only, was supposed to be the elect of heaven who was most completely denuded of the good things of earth. Mosaic promises of lands flowing with milk and honey, peaceful years under a man's own vine and fig-tree, numerous progeny and length of days, were no longer legitimate objects of the godly man's ambition. Rather were the prophet's threats of poverty, disease and humiliation, things to which the seeker after celestial treasure aspired. Nothing seems to have more vividly struck the Romans who witnessed the early phases of Christianity than the gloom of its disciples, contrasted with the gaiety which, among all the horrors of the times, their own heathen population managed to maintain. In Puritan sentiment, what had been fitful shade in Catholicism settled into a sort of moral November, wherein the sunshine fell no more upon any object, and cold damp gloom pervaded the land. To this hour all Catholic countries are gayer than Protestant ones; and the "merrie England" of olden time (to judge at least by the childishness of the jokes at which it was ready to laugh) was considerably more light-hearted than the England which enjoys its saturnine smile over the *Saturday Review*. Catholic asceticism has a certain *raison d'être* in the admitted vividness of the joys of natural life of which it commands the sacrifice. But true Puritan sternness despises both the pleasure and the sacrifice of the pleasure. According to the old witticism, it forbids popular sports, not because they are wicked, but because they are amusing; and saves the bear from baiting, not because the baiting would give the animal pain, but because it would give the spectators pleasure.

In the actual English mind of to-day, it cannot be doubted that the Puritan sentiment has left deep traces. Of course the opposite section of the National Church, which from Laud's time has not ceased to encourage sports and mirth on festivals, no less than fasting at appointed times, has done much to counteract the influence of the Puritans; albeit her clergy might too often repeat to the stubborn children of Saxondom the complaint of the boys of Jerusalem, "We have piped unto you and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you and ye have not lamented." Spiritual *drill* is a matter at all times repugnant to natures having any spontaneity of action; any real religious joy or

sincere religious sorrow, which will not adjust themselves by happy accidents to the proper days of the week or seasons of the Christian year. Again: the immense body of the unreligious, the children of this world, who say practically, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,"—these have helped Nature to vindicate her rights against the Puritan. Where faith abounded most, as in Scotland, there the gloom was thickest; there even now a permanent shadow has been left upon a race which should have inherited the Celtic lightness of spirit of Ireland and Wales. We speak under the correction of those more largely acquainted with Scotch men and women than ourselves, but as far as our knowledge goes, there lives hardly one (however liberally educated from infancy) on whom Calvinism has not left its mark in a certain under-current of sadness, a certain vague sense that to enjoy is *not* "to obey," but to trespass on the borders of sin.

Speaking generally, the result of the old creed has been to extend over our minds an influence unfriendly to natural joy, to that sense which we perceive in all children not artificially depressed, the sense of delight in existence, independent of other conditions than those which the Creator has attached to life and health. This condition, for which all the gold in the world would be too poor a price, we actually behold only under rarest circumstances among adult men and women, and, I venture to affirm, *never* among those who are deeply imbued with the ideas of the popular religion. These last may have much better things than joyous, childlike spirits; they may have heavenly hope and blessed inward peace; but the childlike spirits they have not got; though why the one should exclude the other, is not to be explained without admissions from which most enlightened Christians would shrink. The education which most of us receive leads us to expect the world to prove a "Vale of Tears," and all its pleasures Apples of Sodom. Thus all that vast *prestige* which comes of anticipation, of looking for good or looking for evil, is all on the side of evil from our first entry into life. We are as travellers visiting the galleries of the Capitol or the Louvre. We have been told to expect to see certain ugly statues and pictures, and we are consequently on the look-out for them. When we reach them we pause before them. "Ah! here is the hideous

Clytæmnestra; here the gray, cold St. Bruno; here the disgusting Butcher's Shop." Had we been told to look for the Faun of Praxiteles or the Venus of Milo, for the gorgeous Rubens or magnificent Titians, we should have hurried past all that was ugly and mean, and stood, till the swift march hurried us on, thankfully drinking in the grace and the glory of Nature. How will the new creed deal with this matter of natural enjoyment?

There can be little doubt that when a generation has grown up under the influences of a creed which shall, at all events, exclude belief in an eternal Hell and personal Devil; when the idea of Sin shall be understood in the filial rather than the servile sense, a great reaction as to natural enjoyment will take place, and Virtue will be divorced from Gloom and wedded to Cheerfulness. Habits of feeling outlast the notions from which they arise, and will thus make the change long incomplete, while the immersion in business cares of half our population must leave religious ideas of any kind a limited scope; but yet a perceptible change, we believe, must take place, and is even now in progress. Men will enjoy more the natural blessings of life, and will be more thankful for what they enjoy. The thankfulness will purify and elevate and vastly increase the enjoyment, and the heightened enjoyment will stimulate greater thankfulness.

Again: The wondrous drama of Calvary, at which (according to orthodox views) all heaven and earth stood aghast, is certainly calculated to absorb the whole attention of those who believe in it, and to divert their regards from the everyday scenes wherein the Creator displays His ordinary goodness. No one who thoroughly realizes that tremendous conception and the extent of the benefit it is supposed to have effected, can find leisure to think also very much about such Providential gifts as sight and hearing and food and sleep,—about loving friends, and wise books, and sunny skies, and odorous flowers, and all the joys of this beautiful world, to which the senses and the intellect of man have been made the portals. No one has time enough to think, no one has heart enough to feel grateful for things like these, when there is that stupendous Redemption to occupy all thought and feeling. We do not stop to thank the man who rescues us from a burning house, because he also throws a cloak over our shoulders. But when men come to think of God simply

as the Giver of *all* good, and not primarily as the awful "Father" who stands behind the Cross, then will begin a habit of considering His secular benefits in quite a new manner. Every one who has himself quitted the orthodox churches must have perceived this phenomenon taking place in his own mind. Expressions of gratitude for, and enumerations of, natural blessings, are rare almost in proportion to the orthodoxy of the sects in whose worship they find a place. They immediately appear and multiply as we recede from orthodoxy. Thus we conclude that the transition which sooner or later must modify, if not explode, the popular doctrine of the Atonement, will tend to make men think more of, be more grateful for, and enjoy more, the natural pleasures of existence.

Again: Not only the relinquishing of the old tremendous dogma, but the admission of the new views of the perfection of the Divine Goodness, will make men feel that they are out of harmony with His merciful will, out of sympathy with His bright world, when they yield to prolonged sorrow or indulge a melancholy frame of mind. Grief will be borne with a greater effort to rise above it into serenity and cheerfulness; and innocent pleasure will be tasted, not with that pseudo "moderation" which is the term for a sort of unmeaning asceticism peculiar to the Protestant mind, but with hearty and natural enjoyment. There will be then not Seven Sacraments nor Two, but a thousand; and each will be a Eucharist, at which we shall not merely put our lips to the chalice, but drink the bright wine of life with thankful hearts, and pass it on to all whom our hands can reach.

The recognition of the sanctity of the natural laws (of which we shall speak hereafter as one of the great changes of the time) must also contribute not a little to the recognition of the sanctity of natural Joy; for such joy appears as one of the clearest of the designs of nature. We are intended to enjoy sleep—else why is the moment of gathering slumber so full of sweetness? We are meant to enjoy food—else why the infinite varieties of agreeable flavours presented to our palates by the means of necessary nutriment? We are meant to enjoy sweet odours, fresh sunshine and calm starlight; the sea, the mountains; the society of our kind; the love of husband, wife, child, parent,

friend—else why are they all so fitted to our natures? To frustrate the beneficent intentions of Providence, to take kindness with coldness and indifference, will by and by be looked on as no less ungrateful to *God* than similar treatment of his gifts would be to a human benefactor. To say, "I never know or care what you give me," would be an ungracious retort to a mother who strove tenderly to surround us with gentle cares. Why it should be less ungracious to say practically the same to God does not appear.

III. A strongly marked distinction between the results of the old creed and the new must appear in the conception of a Perfect Life. To the old Romans and Greeks, the part which religion occupied among the duties and interests of life was comparatively small. A hero of Plutarch, the "magnanimous man" of Aristotle, might or might not be specially addicted to sacrificing to Jupiter or any other god or goddess; and might or might not have been initiated in the Mysteries, or have built a temple or erected a statue or altar, quite indifferently as regarded his general claims to be considered good or great. Though any flagrant impiety might have been accounted a blot on his character, yet the whole attitude of the man as regarded the Immortals, and his warm expectations of Elysium or vivid terrors of Tartarus, were matters well-nigh ignored in the estimate made of him by his countrymen. To be just, brave, of equal mind in prosperity and adversity, and, above all, to be a patriot—these were the characteristics which, in the opinion of the ancients, constituted nobility of nature. The life which most strongly illustrated them was the most perfect life of which they had formed a conception.

Very different was the ideal of mediæval times. Here the religious side of life threw into shade the moral and secular; and a man was judged to be good, not merely primarily on account of his religious exercises, but for their sakes exclusively when his outward life might rather have provoked condemnation. The standard of judgment was transposed; and whereas it had before been a man's relations to his fellow-men which determined them to praise or condemn him, it was now his supposed relations to God in which (such was the marvellous potency of the Christian idea!) they learned chiefly to regard him. Morals were so

far submerged in religion, that no independent judgment was based upon them. Such at least is the impression left on us by the chronicles of the times, although some deduction from it ought probably to be made on the consideration that priests and monks were the common historians, and that the public opinion of the Dark Ages has descended to us only as the opinion of the cloister.

Again: In Protestant times and countries, while the moral element has been vastly elevated, and the domestic and social virtues generally made to play a higher part in the construction of a perfect character, the accepted standard of life has been as it were bifurcated; there is one standard for the "professed Christian," another for the man of the world; one standard preached of in churches and written about in pious biographies, another and wholly different one to be found in newspaper obituaries and the conversation of men and women in clubs and drawing-rooms. While the old Roman had only honour for a hero, and the mediæval Christian for a saint, we have abundance of reverence for our saints and most genuine enthusiasm for our heroes. But at the same time it must be observed that the Roman ideal lacked many of the chivalrous and unselfish qualities we demand from the hero; while the mediæval saint, if he escaped our police regulations as a mendicant, would assuredly fall under our contempt as a fanatic. Taking all, ancient and modern, together, we meet nowhere with the complete ideal of the Perfect Man. Our own hero who is no saint, and our saint who is no hero, can in no case be received as models of the character which must absolutely unite heroism and sanctity.

A different idea of perfect human nature from either of these half-sided ones seems destined to arise in future. Remotely rooted among the dogmas of the old theology lie the ideas of the impurity of the flesh, the intrinsic merit of self-denial, and many cognate notions concerning meats and drinks, marriage, and other matters connected with our physical life. These ideas, so long as they pervaded men's minds, left no room for the great modern dogma which has sprung up as they have died down—the SANCTITY OF NATURAL LAWS. A purer theology, freeing God's character from miserable shades, ever-advancing Science adding each hour a fresh verse to the endless psalm glorifying the wis-

dom and goodness displayed in His creation—these have given us the great new doctrine which is destined to affect beneficently every department of human life. The moment men receive it thoroughly, the idea of a Perfect Life must thenceforth be the idea of a life developing every faculty of the mind, every power of the body, every holy affection of the heart of man. We shall have no more of those lop-sided saints who fill the niches of the Past. We shall have saints who shall be heroes, and heroes who shall be saints; men and women who shall shew at last how beautiful and noble a thing is that Thought of God which we speak of as Human Nature.

With the change in the idea of what constitutes a perfect man, must come a corresponding change in systems of Education. Hitherto, those who have regarded Religion as the one thing needful, have aimed so to saturate the minds of their pupils with their own beliefs and imbue them with their own sentiments, as to make the future man or woman, before all things else, a Catholic, an Anglican, or an Evangelical. That he should read and hear nothing but what should tend to enforce the special views of his teacher, and that he should be led, lured, guided, driven, goaded, in one way or other forced, to adopt those views,—this has been the most essential part of the process of education. When the parent or guardian has made of the boy a devotee of the Romish Church, doubting nothing she teaches, and obediently following all her behests—or when he has made him a devout and ascetic Anglican—or has carried him through the process of an Evangelical "conversion"—in each case the work of education has been felt to be satisfactorily accomplished.

Very different in this respect will be the labours of future teachers. In a late number of this Review, the duty was urged of honestly and frankly bringing up all children committed to our charge in those religious ideas which to our own consciences have approved themselves as true. The disgrace of those who have themselves attained to pure and happy thoughts of God, and who yet for worldly motives allow their children to grow up under beliefs false, low and miserable—this disgrace and *sin* we maintained could not for ever be laid at the door of liberal thinkers. When men better understand the bearing of their own views, when

those views are partaken of more generally, the practice will cease of accepting our opponents' idea that the next best thing to not knowing a truth is not telling it. But will the instruction of future Unitarians and Theists of all shades to their children be therefore only a repetition of the old effort to drench the pupil's mind with the teacher's beliefs, and keep from him every opposing idea? Surely there will be a great difference, and for this reason.

It is a part of the old creed in all its forms, that one special and exclusive Divine Revelation has been given to mankind. It may be Jewish, or Mahometan, or Catholic, or Reformed; but *one* only there is or can be, and *that* of course is the doctrine of the believer's own church, whichever it may chance to be. The moment a Christian fairly passes beyond this narrow idea of revelation, and admits that God has spoken to Hindoos and Parsees as well as to the Prophets in his own direct line of spiritual ancestry, from that moment he has transcended the bounds of orthodoxy, and entered on the path whose only logical end is Parker's doctrine of the normality and universality of Inspiration. Now a man who believes that he and his Church possess the clue to eternal truth, that God has wrought a cycle of miracles to give it him, and that the rest of mankind grope in darkness,—such a man *cannot* approach the religions of other men with fairness and openness of mind. It would be to stultify himself to maintain that he had been taught his creed by teachers delegated from God, or by a book written at God's dictation, and yet admit at the same time that another man, without such teachers or such book, knew something more of religion than himself. He may indeed, if he be singularly humble and honest, admit with shame that a Heathen or a Jew may be *morally* better than himself, but as *wise* as he, in any, the smallest, matter which should concern religion, he cannot think him. Thus such an one is unavoidably deficient in that candid, genial, cosmopolitan spirit, whereby large and free souls, going forth through the world of books and men, receive the fullest culture, and concentrate the light of many minds on the subjects of their thoughts.

Here, then, will be a marked feature in the liberal education of the future. The youth will indeed be fully instructed in his parents' religious views, and as he grows up

he will be shewn why they have accepted one doctrine and why they have rejected another. His mind will be stored with whatever treasures of pious feelings and rational judgments they can bequeath to him. But he will not go out among other men or study their writings with the preconceived idea that he has come straight out of the schools of the Prophets, or that he has got God's last word locked up in the Testament in his trunk.

It is a remarkable sight to one who travels much to observe how the adherents of every form of the old creed mutually despise the worship of those who hold a different form, even if it be one but slightly removed from their own. We all know how at home Churchmen and Dissenters respectively feel to the cultus of the parish church and the village "tabernacle," the county town cathedral and the Baptist chapel. To hear a Low-churchman talk of St. Alban's, or a Puseyite of some "barn" (as he calls an ugly church) where the Evangelical clergyman pours out his Christian appeals, is enough to bewilder the listener who stands remote from both, and remembers that they are actually members of the same great Church and repeat the same creeds every Sunday. Again: The behaviour of Protestants in Romanist churches abroad has long been the scandal of southern Europe; while the conduct of nearly all Christians amid the kneeling and barefooted worshipers in the mosques of the East, is enough to make the disciples of Islam believe them "infidels" indeed. Only those who are assured that God has taught their brethren as well as themselves, and that He hears prayer uttered in every spiritual dialect—only those whose eye of faith sees the incense from all earth's thousand altars blend ere it reach the sky—can reverence aright the worship of their fellow-men. The education which will make men thus feel, will be the religious education of the youth of the future. Instead of insisting on an overstrained and unquestioning reverence for the particular form of belief and worship of the parent, and encouraging a corresponding irreverence and contempt for the creed or cultus of others, the effort of the teacher will be to inspire a profound love and respect for Truth *as* truth, wherever it is to be found, a sincere sympathy for piety, even when it uses the least congenial expression. "By this" also "may we know that we have passed from

death unto life," if Truth be dearer to us than the creed we learned at our mother's knees, and if the Love of God, discerned as genuine in any human heart, never fail to call forth our sympathy and honour.

We have now discussed a few of the most important of those changes in the popular creed which seem immediately impending, and whose results we contemplate with unalloyed hopefulness. There are other changes either impending or within easy probability, which suggest more anxious speculations. There is the vast comprehensive change—nay, revolution—from a religion resting on a definite and elaborate system of theology claiming Divine Authority, to a religion whose theology is too simple to be called a system, and which claims no other authority than that which it derives from the reason and conscience of man. There is impending a second and hardly lesser change, which concerns our ideas of sin; Sin in the abstract, as an act either of treason against God, or else (as some would tell us) as the mere stumble of the infant learning its first faltering steps; and Sin in the concrete, the actual guilt or innocence of many acts which hitherto have passed unquestioned under the condemnation of the supposed Divine Authority. Lastly, there is impending a third great change, the change which must take place in our practical forms of worship when the conception of the nature and objects of Prayer have been remodelled in accordance with the truer science, the higher piety of coming time. These great changes and their results, together with some lesser and collateral alterations in our thoughts and their secular manifestations, we shall hope in some measure to trace in a future paper.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

II.—THE CLERICAL PROFESSION.

THE cry is going forth from various sections of the Christian church in this country, that there is a dearth of ministers. In the Establishment, the supply by no means equals the demand, and the candidates for ordination are coming, in increasing numbers every year, from training colleges of very inferior pretensions, rather than from the national universities. In the Dissenting denominations the same tendency manifests itself. The Independents have recently bewailed the small proportion of their divinity students who take a degree when it is placed within their reach. Some sections at least of the Wesleyans are obliged to lament that they have more harvest than labourers. The college to which Unitarians look for their leading ministers is rich in everything except students. Various suggestions have been made as to the remedy for this state of things. In order to judge how far they are likely to succeed, we must first endeavour to ascertain its cause.

The change which has taken place in modern days in the manner of looking at the minister of religion, is indicated by the altered phraseology by which his walk of life is described. Instead of speaking of "the priestly *office*," we now talk of "the clerical *profession*." The old idea of the priest, as still preserved in the Roman Catholic Church, and in a portion at least of that of England, sinks entirely all considerations as to his personal qualities, by looking exclusively at his official character. He holds his high position and exercises his sacred functions, not by right of any powers or acquirements of his own, but exclusively on account of the authority transmitted to him at his ordination. His dignity and claim to respect are therefore quite irrespective of his talents or virtues. And though human instincts are too strong to allow this theory to be practically acquiesced in to its full extent, and men *will* honour intellect and morality more than ignorant stupidity and sensualism, even when both are alike covered with the priest's garment,—yet there are many well-known cases in which, while it is acknowledged that the man is despised, it is nevertheless held that in his official character as priest he must be obeyed. Though the medium be a base one, it serves to

convey by apostolical succession the electric current of divine influence. Though the vessel be cracked, and impure both inside and out, it does not thereby pollute the holy water poured into it. When once made a priest, a man is henceforth in a position apart from the rest of the community. As he thereby loses some of the interests, pursuits and amusements, in which others may innocently partake, so he at the same time gains a dignity he can never again forfeit. The priestly office outweighs all considerations of individual character and conduct.

To the majority of Englishmen, however, the minister of religion appears in a very different light. Though much of the old phraseology still hangs about us, it is probable that all sections of the Established Church but one, and nearly all Dissenters, agree in regarding him only as a worthy clergyman, who has deliberately assumed the position as his life's work, and who holds it in right of his self-devoted consecration of his powers to God's service, rather than of any human ordination. In this view, the minister who fulfils his duty thoroughly is worthy of highest respect and honour; the one who simply gets through his work without disgrace is tolerated; while he whose character is inconsistent with his position is at once to be expelled from his office. The priest's garment is not here allowed to conceal any moral disqualifications, or even to place talent and incompetence on an equality. To have obtained a footing among the consecrated ranks, no longer secures any one a permanent place there. Success or failure, continued service or speedy expulsion, respect and influence or neglect and obscurity, are the alternatives, in this as in other professions, awarded to knowledge or ignorance, strength or weakness, industry or indolence, virtue or vice.

Those therefore who feel themselves attracted to the ministry in the present day, have to look at it as a profession. Not that they are justified in entering on it simply as a means of living. The nature of its duties makes it essential that there should be a high and noble motive, "a call" from God, and that a felt love of the especial studies and pursuits to be engaged in should precede the entrance on preparation even for a ministerial career. But taking for granted that there is this moral preparedness, the man who aspires to the ministry must necessarily ask himself how far he is

likely to succeed in it. That he has the requisite education, that he has been accepted by ordination or some equivalent to it, will not, among Nonconformists at least, secure for him all that he may desire. The veneration for the mere office being in a great measure lost, there is nothing to replace it but respect for the inherent powers and actual achievements of the man; and he who cannot command this respect will find himself in every way miserable in the clerical profession. He will not only fail to obtain the sufficient means of livelihood; he will also miss, what is even more valuable, the consciousness of success in the path he has chosen.

There is no doubt that a perception, more or less clear and definite, of this changed state of feeling, operates in many instances in deterring young men from making the ministry their chosen profession. The cases in which there is so manifest a call to the work that the alternative of following any other course cannot be thought of, and the language of the heart is, "Woe unto me if I preach not the gospel," must be comparatively few. Generally speaking, there is a comparison of different paths in life, and a calculation of results, before the ministry is embraced as a profession. Hence it is the view of many persons that the principal means of increasing the number of ministers is to improve their worldly position. Notice is often drawn to the contrast between the income of a working clergyman, and that which the same man might gain in another profession or in trade. The inference desired is, that larger incomes would produce a larger number of efficient clergymen. We believe that the expectation of such a result is to some extent delusive. That men should be willing to devote a greater portion of their property than they do at present to the service of religion, is no doubt much to be desired. But they ought to do this from a loving allegiance and a loyal self-devotion to spiritual interests, not from a fallacious hope that they shall thus bribe men to become ministers. You can no more manufacture a minister than you can a poet. The men who are tempted into the ministry solely by the pecuniary rewards that it offers, are not likely to prove worthy labourers. At the same time, every change by which a better rate of remuneration than that now offered is made customary in the clerical profession,

will do something to remove a barrier which does at present stand in the way of the increase in the number of ministers which is demanded by the amount of work that has to be done. However high be the motives and however pure the character of one who is looking to the ministry for his life's career, he must be aware that the education he will receive and the habits he will form during his period of training, must tend to render indispensable to his comfort those refinements of social life, and opportunities of mental cultivation and congenial society, which are totally inconsistent with poverty. He may be entirely free from selfish and mercenary feelings, and sincerely fond of ministerial work, and may yet shrink from the prospect of a life of struggle with the difficulties of a scanty income, accompanied by the necessity of maintaining the position of a gentleman. He dreads to find himself fond of reading, yet unable to purchase books; capable of enjoying refined society, yet shut out from entering it on terms of equality, and compelled to be content to appear in it only as a favour; fully appreciating the advantages of education, yet deprived of the means of giving it to his children; anxious to devote all his powers to mental and spiritual work, yet obliged frequently to employ himself in considering how he can multiply the few loaves and small fishes that fall to his lot. It is no detraction from the nobility of purpose with which a man enters life, to say that such a prospect may make him pause, and that in many cases it altogether deters him from making the ministry his profession. To render the income of the profession commensurate with its importance, would remove this barrier. But it should not be expected that this will by itself prove sufficient to remedy the scarcity of Christian labourers complained of. There are other considerations, perhaps even more important, to be attended to.

The complaint that the ministers of religion are underpaid is, in fact, often pressed far beyond its legitimate limits. In the Church, the scanty incomes of the curates are counterbalanced by the very large ones enjoyed by the higher dignitaries. Among Nonconformists, the men of striking power, intellectual or moral, always find their own level and obtain a competent support. Among those who toil on with a very scanty pittance, it is, sometimes at least, the case that they are persons totally unfitted, by defects either of

nature or education, for being ministers at all; there are many who would probably not succeed much better in any other walk of life. But after making all these deductions and allowances, the fact still remains that even the most successful Nonconformist minister cannot hope to reap so plenteous a harvest of pecuniary reward as the successful merchant or lawyer or physician. But the ministry has compensations which serve to counterbalance these drawbacks; and it is unreasonable for those who feel and value the distinguishing advantages of their profession, to grumble perpetually because it is not also equally rich in this world's good. As no man can serve God and mammon, so no man can at the same time be gathering in a spiritual and a material harvest. Let us try to point out what are these compensating advantages which make the clerical profession dear to the heart of him who has experienced them.

Many a successful merchant laments his inability to give more than the odds and ends of his time to intellectual culture. For thinking and studying he has only the intervals of business. Many a lawyer and physician esteems it his greatest happiness to devote his leisure hours to literature or philosophy. Now the minister is able to make these, the highest pursuits of our race, not his occasional indulgence, but his regular occupation. Thought and study are his peculiar work. Joined with these, the cultivation of his moral and religious powers, that he may be able to cultivate those faculties in others, and the development of the sweet charities of life, are his habitual employment. It is surely no small advantage for a man to have a path in life which thus makes his *work* occupy and engage all the higher parts of his nature. The diligent employment of any of the powers God gives is a good and noble thing. The man who labours with his body, especially if he seeks opportunities to exercise his mental faculties as a rest from bodily work, deserves no scorn. But the higher the class of faculties our peculiar task calls forth, the more enviable our position. We doubt if any minister, who has a few years' experience of the sweets of his profession, would change places with the wealthy merchant, when he remembers that he must purchase that wealth by devoting to business the time he now gives to mental growth and moral effort. This is what is really meant when it is said that employment in clerical

duties is doing God's work. There is nothing really more divine, nothing more strictly in accordance with God's will, in preaching and visiting the sick, than there is in ploughing and weaving, book-keeping and manufacturing, if they are done dutifully and religiously. But the former occupation employs a higher class of faculties, one which brings us into closer union with God. To be able to give the life to this is the highest privilege a human being can enjoy.

To a perception of this advantage of the clerical profession, in the fact that its habitual work calls forth and engages the higher parts of our nature, must be added a genuine interest in the advance of religion and morality in the world, and a strong philanthropic feeling, to lead a man thoroughly to devote himself to this employment. The pecuniary prospect can never be the leading motive; if there is good reason to hope that they who preach the gospel will be able to live by the gospel, this is as much as will be asked for by those who enter on the task with right feelings, and this is also as much as we can ever expect will be generally provided for the clergy.

How then do these considerations explain the decreasing number of candidates for the ministry? It must be confessed that the tone of a large portion of modern English society tends to depreciate in men's minds the value of the motives above alluded to, and to give exaggerated importance to the attainment of wealth. It is not that there is a general diminution of interest in religion, or that the desire to be useful in promoting the highest interests of the human race is less powerful now than it was in other days. But it is perceived that others besides the clergy may engage in these labours, that he who is outside the clerical profession may nevertheless do much religious and philanthropic work. When a young man is deliberating about his future course, the alternative is not—as it once appeared to be—to be a clergyman or to be altogether unconnected with all efforts in the cause of duty and of God. The first great motive which would lead to a ministerial life has therefore less power. The other consideration, the choice of a profession which shall employ the higher rather than the lower faculties, loses some of its weight, when the popular estimate of riches sways the mind, to the exclusion, or at least the abatement, of that strong desire for mental and moral growth

which should counterbalance it. Add to this other minor discouragements, and there is sufficient explanation of the comparative dearth of aspirants worthy of the clerical profession.

Turn we then to the remedies for this state of things. It can hardly be doubted that it is a state that should be altered. No one who believes in and cares for Religion and Morality, whatever be his theology, will deny the absolute necessity for the existence of a clergy. That there should be a class of men by profession thinkers and students, who make it their one great concern, the work of their lives, to seek for truth and as far as they know it to teach it, prepared by education and trained by experience to arouse and strengthen the religious impressions and feelings of their brethren, and ever ready to give a helping hand to every cause of true philanthropy, is as essential to the well-being of the community, as the existence of husbandmen to cultivate food for the body, or physicians to care for its health. Changing circumstances may do much to modify the peculiar characteristics and position of the clergy; they can never destroy the need for such men. The means of increasing their number cannot be found in any formal plan or artful organization, but must be sought in an adaptation of the thoughts and feelings of the community to the altered circumstances in which society exists. The old veneration for the priestly office being lost, the notion of a peculiar sanctity in the clergyman being abandoned, the idea that he does the work of Religion for the people, and that they have nothing to do with it, being renounced, there is needed, to take the place of these exploded superstitions, a higher estimate than formerly prevailed of the value of spiritual pursuits and interests, and a consciousness that the cultivation of the immortal parts of our nature is a better thing than mere money-making. This right estimate of things does already to some extent prevail. Every individual who shews by his conduct that he possesses it does something to help on its progress. Whenever he refuses homage to mere riches, consents to recognize a higher standard of value, gives his own time and labour to spiritual work, publicly honours the thinker and the saint, however low their worldly position, he is thereby hastening on the silent revolution which, when it reaches its

consummation, will place the clergy in their right position as the most honoured of the community, simply because they are its most intellectual and spiritual members.

It will be objected to these statements that, as a matter of fact, the clergy of the present day, including those of every Christian church, are not strikingly pre-eminent for intellectual ability. The popular estimate of them is often that they are good but weak, with right intentions but deficient in practical power. The old story, that it is a libel to call a lawyer a fool, because a fool cannot be a good lawyer, but that a similar aspersion on a clergyman is no libel, because his folly is no necessary bar to his professional efficiency, represents the impression still prevalent in many quarters. But this impression arose when the old idea was maintained, that it was the office which dignified the man, and in proportion as our people outgrow this idea, they demand a class of ministers not only respectable in character, but also powerful in intellect. Even if it be acknowledged that, while there are striking exceptions whose eminence is universally recognized, many modern ministers are simply commonplace men, and that there is often found among them a want of practical sense and power such as habits of business cultivate, this will not affect the character of the profession as a whole. Let the concession be made the most of, and the fact yet remains, that the clergy of this country exhibit an amount of intellectual power and mental cultivation such as is found in no other class. In villages and country districts they are the centre of everything that promotes enlightenment and spiritual progress. In towns they are found among the active leaders in all educational and philanthropic movements, and often holding a high place among local philosophers and literati. Two obstacles require to be removed in order that this may be more generally true of them. The first is the habit of expecting from a clergyman attention to many trivial duties, such as might as well be performed by a man of very inferior education. Modern satirists have drawn amusing pictures of the multiplied avocations of a pastor, who is called on to arrange Sunday-schools, to superintend day-schools, to preside at ladies' meetings, to organize every kind of charitable society, to manage his choir, to make himself sociable in all the homes of his congregation, and

to be the general adviser and pleasant companion, as well as the religious guide, of his people. It may be granted that it is his duty to take an interest in everything that is for the welfare of his congregation, and to give it a general superintendence. But as far as details are concerned, it is his part to set others to work rather than to work himself, and if his time is frittered away in constant minute serving, he has no hours left for reading and thought. The cases in which the evil reaches its height are found among Dissenters, where especially the visiting demanded from the minister is a very serious encroachment. The duty of pastoral visitation, especially to those who are in sickness or sorrow, is not denied. The advantage to the minister himself, of alternating with his study of Religion such practical application of its power, is undoubted. But in many cases, this demand for a minister's visits arises not from a desire for religious conversation, but from a feeling that they are "an attention," to which the people have a rightful claim. The limit to the claim is, that its exercise shall not interfere with such time for thought and reading as may enable him to maintain his intellectual position. If he is so busy going "from house to house" that his pulpit services become valueless for want of due preparation, or that his own mind stands still, the minister is thus fatally injuring himself, and is at the same time lowering his profession.

The other obstacle to the proper dignity of the clerical profession is the notion that it places its members in a different category from other men; that, on the one hand, allowances must be made for them, they must be treated with a gentleness almost like that due to women; and that, on the other, indulgences, amusements and occupations justifiable in the case of the laity are forbidden to the clergy. This they must entirely renounce. As they claim a right to do without blame what other men do, and practically assert that nothing is wrong for the minister which is not wrong for the man, so they must simply stand on their own merits, shelter themselves under no professional shield, but be willing to fight their own battles on a perfect level with other sections of the community. Much has yet to be done to vindicate the *manly* character of the clergy. Let them banish every approach to effeminacy. Let them vindicate their right to appear at the card-table,

the ball and the theatre, on the race-course and the hunting-field, unless they are prepared to preach that it is wrong for their congregations to be seen there. Let them take their place in the cricket-club, the rifle-corps, the boating-match, as freely as they did in their student days, provided the taste for these athletic exercises still survives. With all this, let them refuse to accept any concessions to them on account of their profession, and shew they can hold their own on every fair field without asking for favour, and the consequence will be a greater and truer respect than any now given. A further result will be, that when it is seen that a ministerial life is not synonymous with an unmanly life or a virtual retirement from the world, many an energetic youth, with warm sympathies and high aspirations, who now shrinks from destining himself to the ministry because he wishes to be like other men, and not to be frightened from this or that pursuit by the bugbear, "It is not fit for a parson to do," will enter the clerical profession; and of such "muscular Christians" the best ministers are often made.

Let it not be supposed, because we have deprecated the demand for so large a portion of the minister's time in visiting as will interfere with his individual culture, that we are blind to the value of his social influence, or the happiness it may give him when rightly exercised. The prospect of this is not perhaps calculated to allure candidates to the ministry, because it is a thing that can hardly be understood by anticipation; but those who have experienced it may be believed when they say that it is a source of ever-increasing satisfaction. There is something indescribably close and tender in the friendship between a minister and his flock. Rich and poor, young and old, welcome him, consult him, confide in him. He is at home in every home. The well-spread table of the wealthy always has room for him, and the working man is not ashamed to ask him to share his humble meal. When the door of the house of mourning is closed to every other guest, his entrance is no intrusion, but a comfort. As he approaches the bed of sickness, the dim eye brightens and the pale cheek flushes with pleasure. He is associated in his people's hearts with their most touching household memories,—the marriage tie, the new-born babe, the grave of the departed. He has the

privilege which is the most severe test of friendship, that of reproof; and words which from another would be resented as an insult, are from him often received as a mark of kindness. Little children look on him as a second father, youth comes to him for guiding sympathy, maturity finds in him a trusted friend, and even while he is yet young, old age waives its privilege in his favour and treats him as on an equality with itself. If the happiness arising from the relation of the true minister to his people could but be understood by young men about to choose their career in life, it would indeed be a strong motive to incline them to the profession. As we have said, they can hardly realize it from the experience of others.

There is one other requirement to make the ministry what it ought to be, and that is the enjoyment of perfect freedom. Any education worthy of the name fills the pupil with an earnest love of truth. The mind desires to examine for itself, and to judge by means of its own powers, all assertions presented to it. If there be any intellectual energy, there is a corresponding indisposition to receive a system passively. If there be any moral energy, there is a corresponding disdain at the notion of concealing thought and opinion. The noblest and strongest young men are therefore just those who most certainly shrink from mental bondage, and refuse to shackle themselves by subscription at the very outset of their career. There are many who get over the difficulty by what we must designate sophistry. There are others who are by this cause precluded from the Church of England ministry. Among Dissenters the same evil prevails, in some cases in a worse form, the candidate for the ministry having to make a statement of his opinions, or even to undergo a verbal examination, before he can be accepted. Even those who consider themselves the most free have yet something to learn on this subject. It is only too easy for a cry of heresy to be raised against a young minister; and where there is neither standard of orthodoxy nor recognized tribunal to appeal to, the task of rebutting such a cry is the more difficult. By hints and inuendoes, by private talk and letters, the impression may be produced that a man is not sound, has dangerous opinions; the timid hold aloof, the cautious exclude him from their pulpits, institutions get rid of him as a prominent member, lest he

should injure the subscription list; and though some worthy men may rally round him—not because they share his opinions, but because they love freedom—he has many a mortification to undergo, and many an up-hill battle to fight, the sight of which deters others from entering the clerical profession. "If we are laymen," they say, "we can think and believe what we like; but if we become ministers, we are liable to be called to account for our opinions." Now the right state of things would be for the principle to be firmly established and generally acknowledged, that the minister is not pledged to any system. As far as his connection with a particular congregation is concerned, there must be such an agreement in opinion as will enable him to lead their devotions; and if so great a divergence occurs as to render his ministrations no longer productive of spiritual benefit to the congregation, a true minister will not wish to retain the pulpit. But no change of opinion should be regarded as unfitting him for the ministry, if he can find a congregation to minister to. He should be at perfect liberty to pursue Truth with unshackled powers, and to follow her wherever she may lead him.

The ministry, then, as it is already existing among the freest of modern Christians, as it will ere long be recognized among all, is the devotion of a man's life to the cultivation of his highest powers with the especial and definite object of being useful to his fellow-men. It differs from the life of the mere student or philosopher, inasmuch as it binds its members to be constantly labouring for others as well as for self-improvement. They have a rightful claim on the community for such a pecuniary support as will enable them to devote themselves entirely to their vocation, uninterrupted by the wants and cares of poverty. Riches they cannot expect; but they may be content with a modest competency, since the nobility of the work they undertake, the opportunity they enjoy for the constant cultivation of the mind and soul, and the social advantages they gain from their peculiar relation to the community, are a sufficient compensation for their loss of the wealth gained in other walks of life. To understand this would make men more ready to enter the ministry than they now are. To increase, in the world at large, the value attached to mental as contrasted with material advantage, to obtain a wider

recognition of the truth that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth," is the surest method of recruiting the ranks of the clerical profession. To expect from the minister no more practical labour than is consistent with his constant employment in self-culture, thought, reading and meditation,—to encourage him to "dare to do all that may become a man," without granting him priestly authority or claiming from him monkish asceticism,—to give him perfect liberty of thought in practice as well as in theory,—these are the methods by which the profession may be rendered more attractive. Such are the views we have endeavoured to set forth. We have done so in the conviction that there is a mighty religious work to be done in our own day; and if it be not done, it is not because the fields are not white to the harvest, not because there are not many brave hearts and active minds ready to enter on the task, but simply because old things, with their prejudices and fallacies, are not yet passed away, though they have lost much of their power, and there needs some re-arrangement and modification before the new things can rightly fill their place in the world. When this has been done, the race of clergymen, who are in no sense priests, may go forth, with a free intellect, with a pure faith, with a holy love, to do such a work in the world as no priesthood ever has accomplished.

JOHN WRIGHT.

III.—THE BISHOP OF NATAL AND THE CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA.

1. *Memorial from certain Members of the Church of England in Natal, calling upon the Bishop of Capetown to resign his Office of Metropolitan.*
2. *The Metropolitan's Reply to the Memorial calling upon him to resign.*
3. *Reply of the Memorialists to the Bishop of Capetown.*
4. *Letter from the Bishop of Capetown to the Editor of the Contemporary Review.*

WITH those who do not wish to see the shadows cast by coming events, it has become a fashion to say that the weak

criticisms of the Bishop of Natal have found their true level, that all his difficulties have turned out to be corroborations of the narrative assailed by him, or, to use the language of the Dean of Maritzburg, that he has only helped to place on a surer basis the accounts of the Creation and the Fall, of the Deluge and the arrest of the sun's course over Gibeon.

To more impartial and indifferent spectators, the field of present controversies exhibits a very different sight; and few probably who have examined it closely will care to deny that Bishop Colenso's appeal to facts has changed the course of recent thought, and stirred to their lowest depths the hearts of all who are determined to seek the truth, whether in history or in the phenomena of the outward world. To all such it is abundantly plain that an issue has been raised which cannot be evaded, and that the forces are ranging themselves for the final conflict between traditional dogmatism and that faith in a living God which is prepared to accept all facts without any reference to consequences.

Even among professedly liberal members of the Established Church, not a few were disposed, or perhaps are still disposed, to regret that Dr. Colenso should have adopted a negative method in his examination of the Old Testament; while some have gone so far as to maintain that his criticism has arrested the progress of free inquiry, and thrown back the minds of people generally for more than a hundred years. If by this it be meant that the clearness with which he has unveiled positive contradictions and absurdities in alleged historical narratives has roused a wide reaction, that it has driven dogmatical theologians to insist on the paramount and exclusive importance of dogma and faith, and that it has imparted a seeming strength to the great ritualistic movement, their assertion is probably true. The backward tendency thus produced is exhibited in a more startling form, when we find professed champions of Anglican liberalism falling back on the maxim that the State is bound to look to the religious and intellectual faith of the citizens. There is some cause for anxiety when the development of a splendid ceremonial, and of the mysterious dogmas of which that ceremonial is but a symbolical picture, frightens "advanced liberals" into the adoption of axioms dear to the hearts of tyrants and persecutors.

But unless by dint of new legislation (a result, to say the

least, most unlikely) either of these two sides can conquer and crush the other, this conflict must determine not only the limits of communion in the Church of England, but the extent to which the patient and unprejudiced examination of facts may be carried, whether by her clergy or her laity. Nor must it be forgotten that this conflict has been roused, not by theological or philosophical speculations, not by *a-priori* considerations as to the nature of God or man, but simply by the inquiry whether certain alleged historical events have taken place as they are recorded to have taken place, or whether they did not. That the account of the Servian constitution is either true or false, the strongest dogmatist will scarcely venture to deny; nor will he shut his eyes to the singular contradictions and impossibilities in the story of Servius himself. Nay more; when he finds that of the important legislation ascribed to that king, the later history of Rome exhibits no trace, and that it is impossible to reconcile the whole course of that history with any of the changes said to have been introduced by him, he will admit that a grave doubt is cast not only on the reality of the constitution, but on the very existence of the legislator. Even if he stops short of actual unbelief, he will probably reach Mr. Grote's conclusion, that as the possibility of such events cannot be denied, so neither can their reality be affirmed.

The application of the same critical test to the history of the Pentateuch has roused the most vehement conflict of opinion which has marked the course of modern thought since the days of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Yet it cannot be too often repeated that this storm has been raised by objections which are directly concerned, not with theology nor with miraculous or supernatural occurrences, but with the commonest matters of fact. Caring little to discuss the possibility of signs and wonders, the Bishop of Natal has contented himself with shewing that the conditions of later Jewish society, as known to us through the independent testimony of the prophets, are throughout irreconcilable with the account of their earlier fortunes as given in the Pentateuch. His greatest stress has been laid on the fact, that a legislation, said to have been promulgated with the most solemn and divine sanctions, was never carried out at all; that there is not the slightest evidence in later annals of the celebration of Sabbatical years or years of Jubilee;

not the smallest warrant for thinking that the frightful penalties of the Levitical code were ever put in practice or even so much as thought of; not the faintest sign of the sacerdotal predominance of the Levites during the whole period of the Judges or of the earlier Kings; no evidence that the great festivals were annually celebrated or that they were even known; and, more than all, that the general condition and temper of the people precludes the idea that their forefathers had been indoctrinated with the monotheism of the book of Deuteronomy. It may of course follow that such objections, if not refuted, bring into serious doubt not only the details of the patriarchal story, of the sojourn in Egypt, and the Exodus, but even the life and personality of Moses himself. The unhistorical character of the narrative, thus demonstrated, may tend possibly to remove many moral doubts relating to the character of the Mosaic law, or justify a summary rejection of narratives which are felt or avowed to be immoral, iniquitous or disgusting. Beyond all this, such objections may, in their logical issue, affect popularly-received theories on revelation and sacrifice, on atonement and mediation; but all these are simply consequences, and with any consideration of these consequences the mind which really loves and seeks the truth will steadily refuse to be shackled.

What the ultimate issue may be, it is not for us, and it may be impossible for mortal man, to say. How far the strongest convictions of the Christian world may be modified, or to what extent they may be abandoned, we cannot tell; but it is obvious that the course of thought and inquiry cannot be permanently arrested by insisting on the mischievous results of historical analysis. If the subject be regarded as one strictly of historical credibility, there is something ludicrous in references to recognized bounds for orthodox freedom of thought. It is worse than useless, it is a real retrogression to the old method of mediæval theology, to assert, as the "Guardian"* asserts, that a disbelief in the "historical crust" of the Bible cannot be dissociated from disbelief in its doctrines, and that to avoid an issue so disastrous it is indispensable to receive the recorded events as in every case actual facts. Such arguments may

* October 10, 1866.

have weight with those who are unable or afraid to think; for all others the question will still remain, "Are these things so?" and none the less resolutely will they seek the answer, because they do not know how that answer may affect their traditional ideas, or because any class of men, interested in established systems, denounce such curiosity as a sin more deadly than idolatry or witchcraft.

These, however, are topics with which we are not immediately concerned. Momentous as may be the issues raised by the historical criticisms of the Bishop of Natal, the two points which alone have a legitimate interest for the English public lie in the answers to be given to two simple questions: Are Dr. Colenso's statements of facts true? and, if they be true, are they statements which may lawfully and honestly be made by a clergyman or layman of the Established Church of England? With the former of these two questions all Englishmen, all Christians, are directly and closely concerned; and in the latter, they may have a nearer and a deeper interest than they think of. If there is something nauseating in the furious abuse which the questioning of an alleged scriptural fact calls forth from self-styled orthodox controversialists, it is intolerable that the pretensions of sacerdotalists should interpose a barrier to the equitable administration of English law.

From this point of view, the intricate pleas urged in behalf of the inherent independence of colonial churches become altogether irrelevant. We may sweep aside at once all speculations on the earliest phases of the Christian church, on the inalienable authority of metropolitans, and on the essential unity of Catholic belief. Such subjects as these may be highly interesting to those who seek to set up ecclesiastical societies or to revive sacerdotal pretensions long since obsolete or rejected. It is quite possible that the next generation may see in Southern Africa and New Zealand churches whose constitution would delight the heart of a Hildebrand. When Dr. Gray and his supporters find that patents from the Crown are worthless, and that his metropolitan jurisdiction depends entirely on the patents, he may then set up a new society "in union and full communion with the Church of England," or with any other body which he may prefer, and in that society he may bear sway over all who voluntarily put themselves under it.

Having no position as an officer of the State, receiving no money subscribed for the use of the Church of England, he or his successors may exhibit the apostolical zeal and exercise the apostolical power of Augustine or Xavier or Archbishop Manning. But all this is a dream of the future. At present he belongs not to the Church of South Africa, but to the Church of England, between which and the Establishment no distinction for either legal, moral or spiritual purposes can under the existing constitution be drawn; and the point of paramount importance is this, that Dr. Gray has in his diocese, as well as in his so-called metropolitan province, clergymen who left this country on the distinct understanding that they were still to be subject to the law of the Church of England, and to retain the right of appeal to its supreme tribunal. If in any given case he can produce a document in which the clergyman has renounced this right and accepted the jurisdiction of his metropolitan as final, Dr. Gray might with some plausibility maintain that the clerk in question should be suffered to lie on the bed which he had made; but it is very doubtful whether he would not have acted illegally by entering into such a compact, until existing arrangements had been openly set aside by the substitution (with the consent of the State) of a Church of South Africa in place of the Church of England. It is not pretended, even by Dr. Gray, that his decision, given in synod, would be final against a clerk brought before him on charges of heresy, or that he could bar his appealing from the Archbishop of Canterbury in his Court of Arches to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. Hence all his proceedings against the Bishop of Natal, his solemn citations, his grave judgment, his still more awful excommunication of his brother prelate, lose all interest for the great body of the English people, whose common sense tells them that no one man is to be picked out and, for whatever cause, submitted to a jurisdiction as final, which would not be final for anybody else. Yet this is what has been done in the case of Dr. Colenso. If his several heresies, or heresies tenfold worse, had been put forth by Mr. Long or Dean Douglas, Dr. Gray knows perfectly well that, by a course which he could not arrest, the case would come before the Crown, and there receive a decision which he could not dream of resisting. But, inasmuch as the offending clerk

is a Bishop, and as the mode of proceeding in such a case is not distinctly specified, Dr. Gray has seized readily on the opportunity thus given for setting at work an ecclesiastical machinery which may perhaps be legitimate in other states, but of which in England we know nothing. It is of no use, therefore, to speak big words in describing the lapse of the Bishop of Natal; the point which the people of this country insist on having determined is, whether he has said or done that which a clergyman beneficed in England could be punished for saying or doing.

To argue that the case is clear in equity, whatever may be the barriers opposed to a legal condemnation owing to the connection between Church and State, is for the present simply ludicrous. High-churchmen, and Low-churchmen too, who look with alarm on critical examinations of alleged historical documents, are wont to solace themselves with the thought that, although the civil power compels them to let Essayists and Reviewers and other transgressors go free, yet the Church in bondage places upon them a ban to which the emancipated Church will know how to give force. It is pleasant, in the conflict with undogmatic liberalism, to think of the general consensus of Christians on certain doctrines termed essential; and it may serve a purpose to stigmatize as grossly dishonest all who, while questioning or rejecting any of these doctrines, continue to hold office in the Establishment. Such epithets may distress or scare some sensitive minds; but none who calmly look facts in the face can fail to see that legal decisions alone can determine the boundaries of intellectual freedom in a body which is not only declared by lawyers to be a compromise, but which is seen at every turn to include the most discordant elements. Its final tribunal has declared that the opinions of the Essayists and Reviewers may be held by her beneficed clergy, that they are not bound to maintain the endlessness of future punishments, or to deny that the redemption wrought by Christ is co-extensive with the whole human race. It has further established that not all the contents of the scriptural books are necessary to salvation, and that on questions of date and authorship the clergy are free to adopt any conclusions which may recommend themselves to their minds. Doubtless, the Houses of Convocation, if endowed with the power, would very speedily and

by a large majority, ban opinions so obnoxious, and eject from their livings all who hold them; but it is impossible to suppose that these alone would be the sufferers. Dr. Pusey, who holds that human ideas of justice have no common measure with divine justice, now ministers in the same communion which shelters Mr. Maurice and his followers. No differences can be greater than those which divide men who maintain that the sacrifice of Christ lay solely in the submission of his will to the Divine will, from the men who assert that the shedding of his blood was the indispensable condition of human forgiveness. The several opinions entertained on the subjects of Sin and Atonement, of the Sacraments and Inspiration, are such as could not possibly be tolerated in any voluntary society based on a dogmatic creed. What body, which refused to allow unlimited freedom of thought and expression, would suffer clergymen who set aside some of the Bible teaching as false, inadequate or immoral, to hold office along with Mr. Burgon and the Bishops of Manchester and Oxford? The antagonism is so great that it cannot well be made greater; and hence the law alone can determine whether this or that man has exceeded the large licence which it allows him. It may be very dreadful to maintain that six hundred thousand armed men did not come out of Egypt with Moses, or that the Israelites were never in Egypt at all; to assert that there was no Levitical order in the days of the Judges, and that the monotheism ascribed to Moses was the doctrine only of the teachers of a later time; but it is hard to see how this can be worse than the pictures drawn by Bishop Wilberforce of devils tormenting the lustful man by the instrument of his lusts, while Mr. Wilson is teaching his people, "Nihil impossibile Omnipotenti et nihil insanabile Factori suo."

Whether a society which exhibits such astounding divergences of doctrine is a good or a bad thing in itself, is a question which must be discussed and settled on its own merits, and which may possibly be answered by Parliament in the negative. When that answer is given, the vested interests of clergymen who have taken orders under the present state of things must be scrupulously respected, and the nation must compensate those holders of ecclesiastical property who do not choose to be committed to the arbitrary

action of any voluntary society. But, in other words, the Church of England, as now known to us, will have ceased to exist, and another Church of England may be set up with which it will have nothing in common. It is possible that that new society may be formed on the old Catholic model, and may assume the old Catholic name; it may have a creed which will leave nothing ambiguous, and articles to which no ingenuity could impart a latitude of meaning. The Church so formed may claim to be the body to which Hooker and Laud and Hammond and Ken belonged in old time; but among its members will probably be found not one of those who are now striving to harmonize faith with science, and to interpret Christianity in accordance with the facts of the visible creation. For the present, however, the members of the Establishment (and eminent jurists have maintained that every English citizen is included in the number) are concerned with nothing but the law of the land. The Church of England is a legal compromise, and the terms of the bond are binding only so far as they are declared to be so by the Parliament (in other words, by the nation) which imposed them. If these terms are found to be too elastic for convenience or safety, the remedy must be sought in new legislation, and in that only can it be found; but until the new laws are made, the old laws must not be broken, nor are a few men to be hunted down socially because the existing machinery may turn out to be inadequate to crush them legally.

It is clear that this question, as arising out of the charges brought against the Bishop of Natal, can never be settled by the most elaborate researches into the relations of the Colonial Church with the Church of England, or by the most impartial decisions as to trust-deeds and trust-funds. From this point of view, the protest of Miss Burdett Coutts, although otherwise most important, carries with it no force whatever. It may be perfectly true, as she asserts, that the money which she gave to endow the See of Capetown was given on the distinct understanding that the clergy and laity of that diocese were to be subject in every respect to the laws and discipline of the Established Church as administered in this country, and that neither bishops nor clergy were to exercise an authority from which no appeal could be brought to the supreme ecclesiastical tribunal of

this country. This might prove (as the High-church journals have said) that Miss Coutts has made a great mistake, and quite misconceived the nature of all spiritual bodies; that whereas she supposed that the receivers of her money assumed a trust to be faithfully discharged, she ought to have esteemed it the highest of all honours to be allowed to devote her wealth to that vague abstraction "The Church," without asking troublesome questions as to the mode of its employment; that, if she still refused thus to humble herself, means must be found which may enable Churchmen to fling back her paltry gold,—the idea that the wishes or opinions of the founders of these sees "should determine the constitution or organization of those churches in the very slightest degree," being "too preposterous to be stated seriously."* But, on the other hand, her statements might prove, as Lord St. Leonards contends they do prove, that a distinct trust had been grossly violated; and even if Miss Coutts' protest be set aside as of no account, a formidable hindrance to the quiet action of sacerdotalism may yet be found in the persons of those clergymen of the Cape diocese or province who went there distinctly as clergy of the Church of England, and who do not choose to be regarded as anything else.

But however interesting these topics may be to the people of Grahamstown and Natal, they cannot help us to determine whether the Bishop of Natal has transgressed the bounds of that liberty which the law of England allows to the clergy of the Establishment. Hence, except as being likely to affect the ecclesiastical pretensions of Bishop Gray, the expected decision in the matter of the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund is only of the very slightest importance; for in this case Dr. Gray will be a sufferer from an adverse judgment not less than Dr. Colenso. Such a judgment would prove only that certain funds were raised for a purpose which has turned out to be impracticable, and that the funds should be restored to the donors, unless these choose to waive their right; but it cannot prove that the Bishop of Natal is justified in advancing any one of the propositions for which he has been arraigned, or that Bishop Gray has acted legally in condemning and deposing him. If the decision be that

* *Guardian*, July 18, 1866.

these prelates are not the persons to whom the incomes in question are to be paid, Dr. Gray will still regard himself as possessed of an inherent spiritual power for the repression of heresy, and Dr. Colenso must still declare that he has not been proved guilty of the slightest infraction of the ecclesiastical law of England. The former will pay no heed to the comments of unprejudiced thinkers in this country; and the latter will care nothing for the supreme audacity which maintains that a legal trial has become superfluous when Convocation and the visionary Church Catholic have assigned him a place amongst the most odious of heretics and traitors. For the sake, therefore, of quietness and peace (although these, like Astræa, may almost be thought to have forsaken the troubled earth), we may well hope that the coming judgment may insure both Bishop Gray and Bishop Colenso against all temporal losses. Any other decision will but add fuel to the flame, and, while it exasperates existing animosities, will render the struggle more fierce and enduring.

But when from a survey of the subject as affecting the future history of the South African Church, we turn to the specific charges on which the Bishop of Natal has been illegally condemned, we see in their full proportions and meaning the sacerdotal pretensions of Dr. Gray, his aiders and abettors. Far from exhibiting even a semblance of regard to the judgments of the ecclesiastical tribunals of the Established Church, the Bishop of Capetown singles out for his severest censures on his brother of Natal precisely those points which it has been ruled that any clergyman of the Establishment may maintain. With a vehemence almost amusing from its apparent earnestness, he specifies as among the most heinous of his theological enormities Dr. Colenso's supposed disbelief in the existence of the Devil. But even at so late a date as that of his answer to the Natal memorialists who have requested him to resign his office of Metropolitan (May, 1866), Dr. Gray can only say of this crowning charge, that Dr. Colenso gives an evasive answer. "He does not say whether he does or does not believe in the personal existence of Satan;" and because on this head he fails to satisfiy Dr. Gray, the Bishop of Natal is to be condemned for keeping silence on matters about which English clergymen have full liberty of speech.

The utter hopelessness of bringing Bishop Gray to a judicial temper is convincingly shewn by his absurd lamentations, that "when invited," as he says, "by me, if he had been misunderstood or misrepresented, to relieve our minds and clear himself by declaring what his real convictions were, and giving to the world a full confession of his faith," the Bishop of Natal very naturally declined thus to surrender himself to those who had condemned him long before they summoned him to their tribunals. The days are long since past when in the plenitude of their power priests could demand of suspected persons any number of declarations or confessions; but even if Dr. Colenso had been so weak or so foolish as to comply with a request disgraceful in any judge, to what purpose could the confession have been made? Of what use would it have been if the Bishop of Natal had said, "I believe all the propositions contained in the three Creeds," when Dr. Gray could at once retort, "In what sense do you hold or believe them? I must have no shuffling. We have had enough of this from Mr. Maurice, who finds in the Athanasian Creed the strongest argument against the endlessness of hell torments, and gathers from the confession of Nicæa the plain inference that the body laid in the grave is never raised from its corruption." It comes then to this, that Dr. Gray wants not a subscription to creeds and articles as interpreted by the ecclesiastical courts of the Church of England, but a declaration of adherence to them in the sense which Dr. Gray is pleased to put upon them, and which he further delights to call the Catholic sense. Such a confession would be a virtual admission of Dr. Gray's most extravagant claims; and knowing, as Dr. Gray does, that point after point has been determined in senses indefinitely opposed to his own meaning, there is something more befitting a Roman inquisitor than an English judge in his eagerness to obtain answers not called for in reply to specific charges made in open court. The supposition is simply monstrous that his own sense alone can be legitimately held by all members of the English Church, when he knows that on almost every proposition he will find an indefinite divergence of opinion in half the parishes of England.

But, after all, the judicial extravagances of a man who in the present age can gravely ask another to declare his

belief in a personal devil and his attendant demons, should cause no great surprise. Doubtless, like Bishop Wilberforce, Dr. Gray has come to the conclusion that the Church has lost its hold on the minds of the educated classes, and is prepared to preach his gospel to the poor and ignorant. For the edification of such, probably, the indictments against Bishop Colenso were drawn up, with the idea, it may be, that the sentence of condemnation would carry more weight, the less chance he left that any lawful ecclesiastical court would justify or uphold it. On this hypothesis he has acted wisely, and has carefully chosen those means by which the weak may overcome the strong, and the foolish confound the wise. In England, it has been ruled that no clergyman is bound to believe or to preach that God will deal out to the lying child a punishment equal in duration to that of the perjured and blood-stained tyrant; in Southern Africa, Dr. Gray decides that such licence of opinion is as intolerable in the Church of England as it was in the days of Fulgentius. But although Fulgentius indulged in blasphemies which would delight the heart of the Jesuit Pinamonti, Dr. Gray forgets that Gregory of Nyssa was on this point a heretic almost more perverse than the Bishop of Natal. When, in the second count, he stigmatizes as abominable the belief that good heathens are justified, he not only defies the ruling of the Privy Council, but, as the Dean of Westminster in his eloquent summary reminded him, he condemns all those Fathers who maintained not only that they were justified, but even that they were Christians before Christ. On the third head, Dr. Gray rules that it is impious to speak of the Atonement as a reconciliation of man to God, not of God to man; and thus, as Dr. Stanley has again and again maintained, condemns a sermon preached by the late Professor Robert Hussey, and dedicated by permission to Bishop Samuel Wilberforce. As on these points, so on the next, that Holy Scripture and the Word of God are simply convertible terms, it is enough to say that the South African sentence is "brutum fulmen" to those who are bound to accept the decision of the Privy Council. The fourth charge, relating to the authorship of the Pentateuch, brings him into collision not only with that Erastian Court, but with the Judge of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who declared virtually that any clergyman might ascribe any book of the

Bible to any author he pleased. If, however, he has lost a disciple in the Bishop of Natal, he has gained one in Mr. Kingsley, who, valiantly insisting that Moses wrote all the five books ascribed to him, asks triumphantly, "If he did not write them, who did?" The next count, which denies that any distinction can be drawn between one part of the Bible and another in respect of its goodness or its truth, opens the door to an inquisitorial tyranny which may well appal the voluntary members of the future Church of South Africa. Happily, neither laity nor clergy of the English Establishment need be frightened by all these great words, since it has been expressly declared that so long as a clergyman admits the Holy Scriptures to contain all things necessary to salvation, he is quite free to hold and teach that they contain much which is unnecessary or even worthless. The seventh charge reveals the real ground of his animosity. No terms are too strong to upbraid the Bishop of Natal for asserting that Christ, as man, was not omniscient, and that on such subjects as Jewish history and antiquities he adopted the current opinions of the day. From Dr. Thirlwall's sarcastic reference to Cyril of Alexandria, Bishop Gray may have received no unalloyed gratification; the eulogies which have compared him to Athanasius have doubtless conveyed to him a more genuine pleasure. Yet the Athanasius of Nicæa was on this head not less heretical than the Bishop of Natal. The matter cannot be got over. As Mr. Isaac Williams, when seeking to harmonize the narratives of the nativity, interpreted the positive statement that Joseph and Mary went straight from Jerusalem to Nazareth, as a declaration of their *intention* to go thither, so Dr. Pusey, brought face to face with this very serious difficulty, can only say that some great writers "*seem* to impute ignorance to our Lord as man." But these great men say all that the Bishop of Natal has said; and they are lauded as saints, while he is thrust down into the lowest pit.*

* Of the discussion which has been raised by Dr. Colenso's remarks on prayer to Christ it is unnecessary here to speak. So far as the trial at Capetown is concerned, all reference to writings later than the earlier portions of his work on the Pentateuch is effectually barred. If Dr. Gray chooses to bring against him a list of wholly fresh charges, he is at liberty to do so, and the Bishop of Natal will unquestionably interpose no objection. But by so doing he will have nullified all his previous proceedings, and held up his solemn conclave to something like the contempt of a profane and undiscerning world.

The tyranny of a dominant opinion has seldom perhaps been more disgracefully shewn than in the language which even those who have most deprecated the violence of Dr. Gray have employed when speaking of Bishop Colenso. Some of the phrases uttered by members of the Upper House of Convocation we shall have occasion to notice presently. In the Lower House, one marked exception is furnished by the Dean of Westminster, whose challenge would have been heroic if it had only been a little less qualified. Dr. Stanley is in no way called on to adopt the critical method of the Bishop of Natal; and it was scarcely necessary for him to mention in such an assembly that he by no means accepted all his opinions. Every one knows that Dean Stanley takes on many important points views very different from those of Dr. Colenso; and hence there was something almost bordering on the ungenerous in the parading of his own positive criticism of Scripture as contrasted with the negative method of the Bishop of Natal. Surely when he spoke with so much complacency of his own habit of seeking "to get whatever there is of good, whatever there is of elevation, whatever there is true, honest, lovely and of good report" in the Scriptures, Dean Stanley would have done well to remember that there may be times and places when negative criticisms are imperatively called for, and that his own method of extracting simply the honey may be applied with equal success to the sacred books of Buddhists, Brahmans and Mahometans. How will it enable us to determine whether Moses did or did not live, or whether his legislation be or be not the magnificent dream of a late age, if all that we can do is to praise the spirit of faith and the love of truth and justice which marks the book of Deuteronomy?

But the Dean of Westminster touched the key-note which will vibrate through every candid English heart, when he insisted that a more scrupulous justice should be dealt out to the friendless and unpopular Bishop of Natal than "to persons holding similar or like opinions in our own Church, who are not equally friendless and unpopular." Dr. Stanley spoke the bare truth when he said that Dr. Colenso had been "attacked by every epithet which the English vocabulary has been able to furnish against him." He might have added, with equal truth, that some of the choicest vituperations were at that very time being lavished on him

by speakers in the House of the Bishops. The challenge by which he followed up this appeal to their sense of decency and fair dealing may be conveniently passed by for the time, but it will not be allowed to drop out of memory; and Englishmen will insist that if Dr. Stanley be indeed amenable to the same charges, he should be punished not less than the Bishop of Natal, if either deserve any penalties at all. Neither of them, we may safely say, needs to fear the issue; but it is a mournful sign of the temper of ecclesiastical assemblies that one man only could be found to protest against gross and persistent injustice, and declare his willingness to take his place with Gregory of Nyssa, with Jerome and Athanasius, in whose goodly company he should find the despised and rejected Bishop of Natal. The true reward of both is reserved for another generation.

So far, then, as we in England are concerned, not only are the whole proceedings of the Bishop of Capetown null and void in law, but on each specific charge his decisions have been overruled by declarations of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, and they are therefore opposed to the law of the land. But there is another point of view, of less importance in this country, but of momentous significance for all who may be entangled in the meshes of Dr. Gray's voluntary society; and here Dr. Stanley has done the highest service in exhibiting that studied disregard of all ordinary forms of justice which marked the so-called trial of the Bishop of Natal. Consecrated by the Archbishop simply as Bishop of Capetown, and deriving his metropolitical jurisdiction confessedly from a Royal patent (whether valid or invalid), Dr. Gray proceeds to assert that this coercive jurisdiction is a purely spiritual power inherent in his office as Bishop; and on the strength of this theory he summons before him the Bishop of another diocese, whom he condemns and deposes on his own sole authority. This was, indeed, denied by one or two members of Convocation, who maintained that the Metropolitan could act only in synod, and that the consent of its members, or of a majority of them, was necessary to give validity to his sentence. But to any such plea an emphatic contradiction is given by Dr. Gray himself, who at the close of the trial, when thanking Bishops Cotterill and Twells for their advice, informed them plainly that he had simply asked their opinion as assessors,

but that the judgment proceeded from himself alone. Having thus constituted himself autocrat, he proceeded still further to deny to the defendant any right of appeal. Bishop Gray himself will scarcely venture to say that he was thinking of the law of the Established Church as administered in this country, when, in consideration (as he phrased it) of the peculiar circumstances of the case, he professed his readiness to allow an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury in his private capacity. The plea is a miserable shuffle, and will be rated in England as of much the same worth with a permission to appeal to the Archbishop of Westminster.

The history of ecclesiastical societies contains the records of many high-handed proceedings; but although some have been more fierce and unchristian, few have been (in the strict meaning of the word) more iniquitous than this mock trial of the Bishop of Natal. Iniquitous it may well be called, not only because Bishop Gray by his own arbitrary decree constituted himself a final judge, but because he charged the defendant, not with a breach of English law, but with an infraction of that which he was pleased to call the creed of the Catholic Church; iniquitous because he proceeded to judge, not by the formularies of the Church of England only, but by a comparison of his writings with books written hundreds of years ago by persons of whom English law knows nothing; and iniquitous yet further in the sham appeal granted to Dr. Longley in his private capacity, when he knew perfectly well that Dr. Longley, although the matter might be brought before him as a judge in the Privy Council, had prejudged the case by volunteering a condemnation of Dr. Colenso.*

* The utter injustice of all these proceedings is felt in Natal as keenly as it can be in England. With a singular assurance, Dr. Gray reproves the Natal memorialists for insisting on the resignation of patents from himself rather than from Bishop Colenso, "who had caused all the strife," and for not requesting the latter "to retire from the contest he has raised," instead of urging "the Bishop of another diocese to resign his distant cure, where all is peace and no battle rages." The memorialists in their rejoinder calmly expose the sophistry by which Dr. Gray construed their request as a demand that he should resign his see, when he knew that they had put his see and his metropolitan office together merely because both had been conferred on him by patent. On the other suggestion they say plainly, "You ask us why we have not called upon the Bishop of Natal to resign his patent instead of yourself. We answer, that the Bishop of Natal is acting within the law, whereas your Lordship and

We have spoken of a mock trial and a sham appeal. The language is not stronger than that which has been employed by Dean Stanley and Bishop Thirlwall. In the debate which ended somewhat impotently by passing a resolution that the Church of England was in communion with Dr. Gray and the Bishops who had deposed Dr. Colenso (a fact not much more to the point than if it had spoken of them as having played a game of croquet), the Bishop of St. David's treated with contempt the alleged legal proceedings in the Bishop's Court or Synod at Capetown. It can scarcely be said that Convocation has failed to answer any purpose, when it gives occasion for such a protest as the following:

"I cannot agree," said Dr. Thirlwall, "with what was said on a former occasion, that Bishop Colenso is the titular Bishop of Natal, but that he has nothing more than the title. . . . My reason for saying that I think Bishop Colenso still remains as much as ever he was, and to all intents and purposes, the rightful Bishop of the diocese is, that I believe the sentence which has been passed upon him to be utterly null and void in law, in reason and in justice. The trial, in my opinion, was no trial. To a trial it appears to me essential that there should be a hearing on both sides, unless with this particular exception, that the cause of the absence of that hearing amounted to a virtual admission of the charge. In this case, the Bishop of Natal entered a protest against the jurisdiction of the tribunal. He has uniformly declared that he is ready to submit his opinions to a competent tribunal, and he believes that he shall be able to shew that they are not at variance with the doctrines of the Church of England. Then would come the question whether that is so or not; but it appears to me that until those opinions have been defended on the grounds that he may be able to adduce, it cannot be said either that he has had a fair trial, or indeed that he has had any trial at all. I consider the accusation as merely a statement of theological opinions, certainly very plausibly set forth, but, without the hearing of the party accused, utterly insufficient to form the ground of a sentence of deposition. I hold that he never has been rightfully deposed; and I must say still more, that I think I never in my life saw a sentence which more urgently needed revision in order to satisfy impartial minds than that sentence of

those who act on your advice and example are distinctly violating it; and however much some of us may regret that the Bishop of Natal has by his publications troubled the peace of the Church, we have all of us far more dislike and dread of the arbitrary ecclesiastical power which you and your adherents are attempting to exercise over us, and we are determined to resist it."

the Bishop of Capetown. There are things in it which I might agree with; but there are also others from which I should be prepared entirely to dissent. But let that be as it may, I contend that the trial was a mock trial; that it was an imperfect trial; that there was no sufficient ground to support the sentence of deposition; and that consequently the Bishop of Natal retains everything that he had previously possessed, and is at present the rightful Bishop of that diocese."

With the bearings of this debate on the limits of episcopal or metropolitan authority in the colonies, we are not for the present concerned. Whether Convocation be right or wrong in asserting that certain Churchmen in Natal would not, by electing some one to a see called the see of Maritzburg, put themselves thereby out of communion with the Church of England, is a matter of very little consequence. For the person so elected it may be a subject for serious consideration; and the scanty encouragement doled out by the English House of Bishops has frightened Mr. Cox of Hobart-town, the Bishop-designate, into a rejection of the proffered post. To him the result of a trial of Dr. Colenso might, as the Bishop of London forcibly pointed out, be followed by no agreeable results. Asserting that a legal trial in this country was within the bounds of possibility, Dr. Tait held it also possible that Dr. Colenso's defence might prove his innocence, or that he might retract; and in either case, where would then be the Bishop of Maritzburg? But on the supposition that Dr. Colenso should be found guilty, where even then would be the other Bishop? "The persons, whoever they may be, who are entitled in that event to elect a successor to the Bishop of Natal, would of course claim the right to proceed to a new election, and could not but regard the other Bishop as an intruder." But supposing, again, that the Crown should not choose to exercise its right, or should waive it, "there will then be persons who, representing the Church of Natal and acknowledging this formal trial, would say that it is their business to elect the Bishop, and that we had forestalled them in electing an intruder in the mean time."

It may be worth while perhaps, for the sake of declarations so manly and just and so urgently needed, to tolerate the senseless abuse with which other prelates interlard their homilies in Convocation, or to forgive the singular incon-

sistencies in which even the Bishops of St. David's and London have by their very protests involved themselves. Both alike hold that he has never been tried, and never therefore deposed; and the latter admits that the result of a trial may be to establish his innocence either wholly or in part; and yet both have suffered themselves to be so hurried away by the torrent of popular opinion, as to preface their speeches with a few words in condemnation of the man whom they are legally and morally bound to regard as guiltless. The Bishop of London regrets the pernicious character and tendency of his writings, when, as a possible judge of the case in the Privy Council Chamber, he has no business to say or to know anything of either; the Bishop of St. David's, more deliberately acknowledging that he was following a fashion, plunged into the miry waters and disturbed them still more by an ambiguous phrase. Doubtless there may be truth in his opinion that Bishop Colenso is not a person fitted to be Bishop of a diocese like Natal; but his words may have a meaning exceedingly unpalatable to the prelates who were listening to him. Doubtless Dr. Colenso is a very unfit person to hold the episcopal office, if mere peace and quietness are alone to be sought after. Doubtless it is highly unmeet, in the company of people who hold strongly to a set of preconceived opinions and stereotyped maxims, to assert that those opinions are delusive and those maxims false. Doubtless it is, to say the least, incongruous to assert that there was no Levitical hierarchy in the days of David, in the presence of persons who insist that all their hopes for earth and heaven depend on the fact that the order was then as completely organized as were the sacerdotal armies of Latin Christianity in the days of Hildebrand. Dr. Colenso is indubitably a very unfit person to hold office in the ranks of a clergy who are expected or prepared to speak smooth things and prophesy deceits.

But all such declarations of opinion on matters which may come before a legal tribunal are in such an assembly as Convocation highly unbecoming. If it be thought unseemly to prejudge the case even of burglars and murderers, the act is not more respectable when it has reference to matters on which there exist notoriously vast differences of opinion, and in which persons indefinitely opposed to each

other have combined to crush a common enemy. The acrimony with which the Bishop of Natal's case has been prejudged reflects the deepest disgrace on the temper and character of all who have given expression to it. Doubtless the Bishop of Oxford was only too ready to anticipate practically the doctrine laid down by a speaker at the recent York Congress, that one thing only is worse than religion without morality, this worse thing being morality without religion. We feel, therefore, no surprise when we find him stating that the Bishop of Natal's books and teaching have led to "every conceivable form of evil;" and perhaps there is not much greater cause for wonder when we hear from a man like Bishop Harold Browne the frank declaration, "I should be perfectly willing to say anything you like in condemnation of Bishop Colenso." He is ready to bespatter him with the foulest epithets, to impute to him actions and motives which would be worthy of Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia; and this, in the interests of orthodoxy, he is quite ready to do to a man whom for a long series of years he has called his friend, and who has sacrificed himself to the most devoted missionary work on ground which had never been broken before him. Bishop Browne is possibly very sound in the faith; he is probably not prepared to deviate a hair's-breadth from ancient Catholic formulæ; but we are not yet justified in forgetting that his theory of truthfulness in ordinary matters is singularly vague and weak. Dr. Browne, it must be carefully remembered, is the man who, fighting for the authenticity of the Pentateuch, said—(1), that "it would be *wrong* to deny that the numbers of the Exodus are inordinately great and proportionately puzzling;" (2), that "if for 600 (thousand men fit to bear arms) we might read 60, *all* would be clear; every numerical difficulty worth thinking of would vanish at once;" then (3), that "the conquest could have been achieved only by countless numbers;" then (4), "that 60,000 would perhaps be as much too small as 600,000 seems too large a number;" (5), that, after all, "it is very questionable whether the difficulties would not be greater on the supposition that the numbers were much less;" then (6), that "the insuperable difficulty would be in the supposition that the numbers fell short of an almost countless multitude;" then (7), that in favour of the large numbers the *miraculous* character of the narrative may

fairly be pleaded; and finally (8), that "the conquest of Canaan could, *humanly* speaking, only have been effected by the invasion of masses or hordes of an almost countless multitude."* These barefaced contradictions, it must further be remembered, were not the result of any change of opinion, for Dr. Browne did not say one thing first, and then, retracting it, keep to his second statement, but shifted from one statement to another to suit the convenience or pressure of the moment. Thus, then, we have before us a man ready to utter any hard words against another, while standing himself in the position of a witness who should state in court that a certain robbery has been committed by a large gang of thieves; then that it was committed by a small one; then that there was a difficulty in thinking that it was large, and again in thinking that it was small; then that the large numbers should be admitted because there were certain marvellous or prodigious circumstances connected with the transaction; and finally, that, *humanly* speaking, the robbery could have been committed only by a large gang. If pleas so wretched are to be bandied about, it is a pity that we have not some formal treatise, like that of Alphonsus Liguori, which might suggest a more skilful method to those who in the Anglican communion feel it their duty to lie for God.

These remarks are not, under the special circumstances of the case, irrelevant. When a man like Dr. Browne charges a brother Bishop, untried and uncondemned, with dishonourable conduct and gross treachery, we are bound to ascertain whether his own rules of action and speech are undeviatingly stringent; and we are further justified in recurring to words spoken by the accusers only a few months ago, when the Bishop of Capetown, in his answer to the Natal memorialists, wanders at large through writings by the Bishop of Natal spread over many years, culling from them whatever may chance to suit his purpose for the time.

Nor must it be forgotten, that while his opponents thus express their readiness to say anything that any one likes

* These contradictions will be found on a comparison of pages 26 and 78 in Bishop Browne's work on "The Pentateuch and the Elohistic Psalms," with his letter to the editor of the "Examiner," August 23, 1865. The reader may also consult the "Examiner" for August 12 and Sept. 2, 1865, and Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch, Part V. pp. xvii, &c., 307, 314, 315.

to his dishonour, the Bishop of Natal has never meted to others the measure so lavishly dealt out to himself. He has imputed no evil motives, he has indulged in no harsh words, he has shrunk from no legal scrutiny, and sheltered himself under no sophistical pleadings.

It is, however, abundantly clear throughout these proceedings of Dr. Gray and the debates in Convocation, that the object which the sacerdotal party has in view is not so much the conviction of Bishop Colenso for holding opinions not permissible within the pale of the English Church, as the setting up of a society governed by a different system of law and having a more definite creed than that of the English Establishment. It was an essential point in the resolutions proposed (happily to no effect) by the Bishop of Oxford, that "an instrument should be prepared declaratory of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of South Africa, which every priest and deacon appointed to any office should be required to subscribe." In other words, Bishop Gray was to be empowered to do at Capetown that which Dr. Longley dare not dream of doing at Canterbury or Lambeth; and thus a clergyman who, while declaring himself at one in opinion or faith with Dr. Gray, should yet refuse to put his name to an instrument which could not be imposed on clergymen in this country, would be incapacitated from holding office in Southern Africa. Nothing further is needed to shew how completely Dr. Gray and his adherents hold themselves emancipated from obedience to the ecclesiastical law of England.

In this less favoured country, where the hand of the State lies heavy on those who seek to revive Catholic action, an ambition so exalted would be somewhat out of place. Here the party of traditional belief, whether on the side of High-churchmen or Low-churchmen, would be well content if they could bar the tide of thought with a legal decision which should say, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." Some may perhaps hope that a reversal may be obtained of decisions which leave the clergy and laity free to deny the existence of an endless hell, the actual historical truth of every narrative, and the wholesomeness or authority of every precept, whether of the Old Testament or the New. But such dreams can never be realized without destroying the composite character of the English Church; and until

they are realized, the "Gorham" and "Williams—Wilson" decisions cover almost every case that may arise either from a theological or an historical analysis of the Bible. Hence, in the instance of Bishop Colenso, but little faith is placed by any in the issue of a legal trial; for even in the case of prayer to Christ, he has laid down no principle, but contented himself with saying that the general complexion of the offices of the Established Church is not that of special devotion to the Second Person of the Trinity. The utmost that any can do is to wonder at the apparent inconsistency of a man who makes no objection to the use of certain forms, and yet objects to their multiplication. The inconsistency is only in seeming, after all. The prayers addressed to Christ in the Prayer Book are one thing; the anthropomorphic and even erotic effusions which abound in "Hymns Ancient and Modern" and similar books of devotion are another and a very different thing. The former may be used without hesitation by many who regard the latter as purely mischievous and debasing.

Thus, then, so far as it has a direct interest for members of the National Church of England, the Colenso case has been virtually decided. The expected decision on the subject of the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund can but determine whether the income arising from certain trust moneys may be rightfully paid to prelates in the position of Dr. Gray and Dr. Colenso; while the law courts of Natal can only assert Dr. Colenso's rights as the Bishop appointed by the Crown. But none of them can advance matters a single step towards the only settlement which impartial judges can desire. That issue may be raised at any moment. Let the Bishop of Ely present his old friend to a benefice in his diocese, and then summon him before the Court of Arches for his published writings, or for the first obnoxious sermon that he may preach. The Bishop of Natal is not likely to retract anything or to modify his teaching in the fens of Cambridgeshire, or to interpose any hindrance to a trial before a court competent to take cognizance of the case. If Bishop Browne is unwilling to do this, it may be more seemly to curb the licence of his speech when he finds it necessary to attack an absent and a friendless man.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the Bishop of Natal has no friends even in this country. They

may be found in the ranks of those who are quietly seeking to ascertain the facts of the natural world, and the conditions which have determined the history of mankind; but these are the men who are more and more withdrawing from theological controversies, and leaving the field in possession of bigoted zealots and blind enthusiasts. That they should do so is matter for grave regret. For lack of their restraining influence, theological animosities are becoming more bitter, and the desire for persecution more intense. There is little doubt that the Bishop of Natal's writings have given strength to a reaction which the decisions in the "Gorham" and "Williams—Wilson" cases would in any event have ensured; they have made the way easier for High-church organization, and hastened the developments of Ritualism. A more ominous sign is the fact, that many who would regard themselves as ultra-liberals are beginning to cry out against the liberty conceded to sacerdotalists. The harsh invective of an article on "Recent Movements in the Church of England," in Fraser's Magazine for September, 1866, may almost lead us to think that a judicial impartiality is nowhere to be looked for. Profound disgust at what is styled the mediæval hocus-pocus has brought this writer to the conclusion that the ritualists must be forcibly repressed. Whether the Liturgy and Articles will bear any further stretching, it is for the courts of law to decide; but not many, probably, will share his admiration for the eighteenth century as a period during which "the Established Church fulfilled, substantially and healthily, its proper functions as a common-sense guide for English Christians through life to death." Surely we have had enough of the quietness which results from mere stagnation. That the period was one of little disturbance only because they who sought to know the truth were convinced of the desperate folly of publishing it, is painfully shewn by a Letter from Dr. Hare, Bishop of Chichester, 1746, to a young clergyman who wished to enter on a systematic study of the Scriptures. That study, the Bishop warned him, was the surest road to ruin. Many, who had distinguished themselves in other paths, had been diverted from the most noble and most necessary of all studies by the "want of liberty which in this study only is denied to men. They found it was dangerous to

examine impartially and speak freely; that it would be expected of them to strain all their wit and learning to patronize and palliate gross errors . . . To make such a blind use of their learning and abilities was, they thought, to pervert the very end of them, and really to dishonour God, for whose service they were given." So they betook themselves to heathen literature, and thither the Bishop urges the young clergyman to follow them. "Spend ten or twelve years upon Horace or Terence. To illustrate a billet-doux or a drunken catch,—to explain an obscene jest, —to make a happy emendation on a passage that a modest man would blush at, will do you more credit and be of greater service to you, than the most useful employment of your time upon the Scriptures, unless you can resolve to conceal your sentiments and speak always with the vulgar." This daubing of a wall with untempered mortar seems much to the liking of the writer in "Fraser," who thinks that "there is a limit to forbearance," and that "the common sense of our great-grandfathers was wisely guided when it limited the celebration of the Eucharist to four times a year." To all this there is a plain and conclusive answer. Protestantism may be all right, and Catholicism all wrong, but the Communion Office of the English Church treats the Eucharist as furnishing the food of the Christian soul, assumes its constant administration, and declares that they who do not partake of it shut themselves out from the Christian life. If the realizing of this doctrine leads to mummery, and if everything can go on well enough with four communions a year, why should they not go still more smoothly with three, or one, or none? Because to the writer in "Fraser" the ritualists and their doctrine of transubstantiation are exceedingly offensive, therefore he would have them put down by the State, and he protests against the position that the State has nothing to do with religion. Where he learnt that "the experiment of a State which leaves the highest sanction of human conduct to be settled by every man for himself has yet to be tried," it is hard indeed, with the United States before us, to understand. Is it then come to this, that liberals wish to take us back to the old Aristotelian theory, which declared that the State is to prescribe to every citizen the studies which he shall pursue, the books which he shall read, and the food which

he must eat? If so, we may well betake ourselves away from an atmosphere which can breed nothing but mischievous delusions. That the writer in "Fraser" has been thus deluded is clear enough. The people, he thinks, have no belief in the sacerdotalism which is simply thrust upon them by "a number of the clergy." The statement is utterly untrue. The system stands solely by the support of the laity, among whom is to be found a bigoted zeal and an unquestioning credulity which is by comparison rare among the clergy. All, or almost all, the assaults made of late years on traditional beliefs have proceeded from the clergy, while the laity have looked on with supine indifference, or hugged their chains and sought to fasten their bonds on others.

The remedy for this state of things is to be found, not in abuse, whether of the Bishop of Natal or of the ritualists, but in an impartial administration of the law as it now stands. New legislation may impose on us fresh duties. It may make it clear for some one or more of the parties now comprised in the Church of England, that the Establishment can no longer furnish them a home, or it may annihilate the Establishment itself. Meanwhile, the questions raised by the Bishop of Natal will not be allowed to sleep; and narratives abounding apparently in inconsistencies and impossibilities will not be accepted as in every particular true. Contradictions such as those which are exhibited by the personal history of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians when compared with the story of the Acts, will be brought out into greater prominence, and their bearing on the Gospel narratives will be accurately measured. In the sequel, it will be seen that things which cannot bear examination may safely be cast aside, and that their rejection will leave our sight more clear, our trust in a personal God and Father more firm, our assurance of his absolute justice and love and mercy more unclouded. Men will then feel that the Bishop of Natal has done the work of God by striving to break a heavy yoke and let the oppressed go free; and they will also learn that the same work has been furthered, in varying measure, by all who, like the Bishops of London and St. David's and the Dean of Westminster, have dared to speak unwelcome truths and demand a fair field for one whom shortsighted partizans on

either side are seeking to put down by sheer abuse and barefaced calumnies.

Since the preceding pages were written, the Master of the Rolls has pronounced judgment in the suit brought by the Bishop of Natal against the Trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund. Decisive as the judgment is on all the points submitted to the Court, it leaves the merits of the case between the two contending prelates entirely on one side. This of course was to be expected. Lord Romilly makes no silly affectation of ignorance in the matter, and admits that if an issue had been raised on the ground of Bishop Colenso's opinions, he would have been bound to take notice of it, if no other Court could have been found to try the question. Far from this, however, the whole matter was made to turn on the validity of patents and the ability of the Bishop of Natal to perform the terms of the contract into which he had entered at the time of his consecration.

"I have nothing to do," says Lord Romilly, "with the question whether his works have or have not an heretical tendency. That question might have been raised, and might have had an important bearing on the question whether the plaintiff is or is not entitled to be paid the salary in question; but that question not only is not raised, but it seems to have been on both sides carefully excluded from the pleadings."

The Trustees profess to have been actuated solely by misgivings as to the legal status of Colonial Bishops, and in proof of this they alleged that they had also declined to pay the Bishop of Capetown his salary.

It would be hard to imagine tactics more disingenuous and disgraceful than those which this one circumstance brings to light. So long as there appeared to be any chance of shewing that Bishop Colenso had *personally* broken the terms of his contract, so long was the issue left to be decided in his instance alone. When all hope of so doing had vanished, the Bishop of Capetown was placed in the same boat with his brother of Natal. If the alleged motives of the Trustees had been their real motives, they would at the outset have suspended the incomes of both the Bishops, and Dr. Gray would in that case have become joint-prosecutor with Dr. Colenso. But so utterly unfair would even such

a measure have been to both these prelates, that we are again brought back to the conclusion that these proceedings were prompted, not by any anxiety to clear up a legal doubt, but by a personal feeling against the Bishop of Natal on account of his critical and theological writings. Had it not been so, they would never have submitted either of the Bishops to the expense and vexation of resorting to the law in their own persons, when they might themselves have brought the matter to an issue by taking the decision of the proper court on the general question of the competency of Colonial Bishops to discharge their functions.

Why these tactics have been adopted it may perhaps be of little use to inquire. It is quite possible that the first intentions of the Trustees may have been to raise the question of Bishop Colenso's heterodoxy, and that they may have been dissuaded from such a course by Bishop Gray himself, who was well aware that such a plan would immediately transfer the question *on its merits* to the decision of the Crown,—an issue against which his sacerdotal schemes pledged him to fight to the death. Thus debarred from a direct assault on the Bishop of Natal, the Trustees may have taken the only course then open to them, unless indeed they had chosen to submit unconditionally and without a struggle.

As it is, the matters brought before Lord Romilly have been settled really, not in the person of Bishop Colenso, but in that of Bishop Gray. The Judge had to uphold, and he has upheld, the rights of the latter not less, nay, even more, than those of the former; and every purpose of the Trustees would have been as fully answered if they had left Bishop Gray to prosecute, instead of the Bishop of Natal. The failure to do so places them in a humiliating light, and points to the underhand intrigues which have disgraced the action of the Bishop of Capetown and his abettors against the Bishop of Natal, whether with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel or in other quarters.

But although the Bishop of Natal may still say, "I have not offended against the laws of the Church of England, I have never been lawfully accused, tried or condemned, and I am ready to submit to a fair trial in a competent court," yet there can be little doubt that Lord Romilly's decision has effectually disposed of the visions and schemes of the

Bishops of Oxford and Capetown. Far from having it in their power to associate themselves together in a Church which professes union and full communion with the Church of England, Dr. Gray is informed that his Church of South Africa is for him and all other members of the English Church an illegal society.

On this point the decision speaks in no uncertain language. "If a class of persons" (we are told) "in one of the dependencies of the English Crown, having an established Legislature, should found a Church, calling themselves members of the Church of England, they would be members of the Church of England; they would be bound by its doctrines, its ordinances, its rules, and its discipline." The statement is most important; for it asserts plainly that if any one professes himself a member of the English Church, intending at some future time to make his position the basis of another society in close connection with that Church, he thereby deals the death-blow to his scheme in its germ, and must take the consequences of his ill-advised acknowledgment. Nay, more: "If a class of persons should in any colony similarly circumstanced call themselves by any other name, such as, for instance, the Church of South Africa, . . . the fact of calling themselves in communion with the Church of England would not make such a Church a part of the Church of England, nor would it make members of that Church members of the Church of England."

Now Bishop Gray has spoken of himself as a Bishop of the Church of South Africa, and the Convocation of the province of Canterbury has seemingly countenanced him in so doing, and thus far, then, Bishop Gray is not a member of the Church of England. But he is a Bishop of that Church; and thus, in terming himself the member of any other Church, he is doing an illegal act, for which there may be a legal penalty. That act, as Mr. Long expressed it, is "one of virtual secession from the Church of England," and cannot be permitted in one who holds office in it.

The decision further upsets Dr. Gray's fallacy that a Bishop who has not this power of spiritual action is no Bishop at all. The idea is essentially a mistake. The Bishops of colonial dioceses have precisely the same authority with the Bishops of English dioceses; they may exercise the same control over their clergy; the only difference

being, that in order to enforce their sentences they must resort to the civil tribunals. To this condition Dr. Gray refuses peremptorily to submit, and he must bear the consequences of his act. Declining to take the legal course of accusing Bishop Colenso of erroneous doctrine in courts which would have allowed an appeal to the Sovereign, he has foregone the chance of a verdict which might have left the see of Natal legally vacant, because he cannot brook the thought that the Crown in the last resort is to decide, in the case of every member of the English Church, whether he has or has not offended against its ordinances or its doctrines.

It is here that the point of real interest for all Englishmen is to be found. Questions relating to the jurisdiction and coercive powers of Bishops may be very curious and intricate; but the maintenance of the right of appeal to the Crown is of the very essence of the constitution of the English Church. With this right, which merely affirms the Royal Supremacy, the law of England will suffer no interference; and they who set themselves in opposition are walking in dangerous pathways. The "Guardian"* announces that Bishop Gray has deferred his intended plan of consecrating a new Bishop for Maritzburg. His change of mind is well-timed, and in this instance he may be praised for a sound discretion. Perseverance would have been perilous. The Bishop whom he might send to Natal would, Lord Romilly affirms, "have no legal authority to exercise any of those functions which belong exclusively to a Bishop of the Church of England. What his peculiar status in the Catholic Church of Christ might be, I do not profess to state; but I apprehend that he would not be a Bishop of the Church of England, and that, when the validity of his ordinations and consecrations came to be contested in a court of law, they would not appear to have made the persons ordained priests or deacons of the Church of England, nor would the places consecrated by him belong to that Church."

So fades away the vision of a sacerdotal society in Southern Africa, similar to that which Laud and Strafford sought to raise on the soil of England. Such visions may

* Nov. 7, 1866.

issue in realities elsewhere; within the Erastian borders of the National Church they are simply baseless fabrics of a dream. For prelates irresponsible to secular tribunals that prosaic Establishment has no congenial home. If, asserting their independence, they choose to retain their offices within it, they must be content to parade the semblance of an illegal authority, and be grateful that the tolerance or indifference of "the world" allows them to parade it with impunity.

PRESBYTER ANGLICANUS.

IV.—MISSIONARY WORK IN INDIA.

WE have achieved great things in India. From being the possessors of a few factories, we have risen in little more than a century to the dominion of a territory containing two hundred millions of souls. Throughout this vast country we have eradicated the scourge of civil war, and mitigated the desolating power of the periodical famines. We have made roads, and dug canals which extend from one end of the peninsula to the other. We have converted waste wildernesses into tracts of land rich with the labours of a thriving peasantry. We are knitting together the various interests of our Indian empire by a rapidly progressing system of railway communication. We have established a plan of national education which embraces almost every village in our vast dependencies. We have given security to life and property, and supremacy to law. But if our rule were annihilated to-morrow, we should leave no record of ourselves written in the hearts of the people. In spite of European contact and European influence, the Asiatic is still an Asiatic in act, in thought, and in opinion. The line of demarcation which divides the conquering from the subject race remains as clear and unbroken as ever. We have succeeded in instilling into their minds no principles of conduct, nor developing any powers for self-government. Our withdrawal from the country would be the signal for universal anarchy, bloodshed and misery. There are no signs on which to build the faintest hope that we shall ever

feel it to be our duty to lay aside this heavy responsibility of Indian government. For all national purposes, the people of India are as lifeless and dissevered as the dead bones in Ezekiel's valley of vision. The spirit of the old religions is dead. All freedom of intellect, all originality of thought, are crushed by a hard and repulsive fatalism, which has descended like an arctic frost over the whole land. There is no feeling of continuity in the life of the Hindu. He is not conscious of any unseen link which binds his affections to the Past, or connects him in a living interest with the Future. He accepts without astonishment or sense of injury the inflexible divisions of caste. He has forgotten, and cares not now to inquire for, the thoughts and emotions which once found an expression in the ceremonial which is for him the whole of religion. He acquiesces in these, and in the whole scheme of things, as established by the decrees of a Power whose will is omnipotent, and whose purposes are inconceivable.

English government in India may be regarded as an experiment on the grandest scale, how far it is possible to elevate a people to higher levels of thought and action by appliances *ab extra*. Looked at from this point of view, the experiment has been unsuccessful. The condition of the people is a striking proof that the intellectual and moral faculties require a nourishment of their own, deprived of which they remain useless and inert in spite of a constantly increasing material prosperity. The question, then, naturally arises, what that nourishment is? If we examine the history of mankind, we perceive that nations have exhibited the greatest vigour in the region of pure intellect, and in all those qualities which confer a grandeur on the lives of men, when they have been most deeply conscious of a Divine Power working visibly on the earth. When this conviction has been weakened—when a living God has been refined away into a metaphysical abstraction, or His existence denied, or idolatry, or a superstitious fear of the unseen world substituted for the awful sense of a Divine Power continually present—the nations have become feeble and disunited. The intellectual powers and the moral sense have alike decayed, and they have fallen an easy prey to the first aggressors.

Such was the fate, in succession, of the Jewish monarchy,

the Grecian republic, and the Roman empire. Such is the present condition of our subjects in the East. The shameless immorality and reckless want of truth which disgust and exasperate the European in his intercourse with the Hindustani, the intellectual apathy, the incurious indolence, designate a want which centuries of material prosperity can never supply. The standard of excellence to the mind of a native is the prevailing custom, or, failing this, the interest or the pleasure of the moment. But the great men who are the salt of the earth—the glow in whose hearts is sufficient to keep alive or regenerate the energies of a nation—have invariably been nurtured into strength by long hours of solitary communion with God. The belief in the possibility of such a communion seems to have deserted the Asiatics of Hindustan. The notion of a Supreme Being, like the ineffable Brahm, without thought, qualities or volition, to whom activity of any kind is a degradation, has borne its appropriate fruit. If, in addition to our external achievements, we could communicate a faith in a living God, we should furnish a motive power and an encouragement to action which would snap asunder the fetters of fatalism and superstition. The missionaries whom we and other nations have disseminated broadcast over the land, profess to be attempting this. In some parts, such as Tinevelly, the converts, in point of numbers at least, are said to be considerable. But no one acquainted with India will deny that as yet the missionaries have nowhere succeeded in implanting on that heathen soil a shoot of Christianity sufficiently vigorous to flourish and bear fruit by its own inherent power. The little bodies of converts scattered here and there are like hot-house plants of the delicatest constitution. They must be watched over, nurtured and tended with constant care. The winds of heaven must not visit them too roughly. If the superintendence of the missionary were withdrawn, they would, like the seed sown among thorns, be instantly choked and bring no fruit to perfection.

There are many who console themselves for this ill success by attributing it to an absence of that Divine Power which assisted the apostles in the early ages of Christianity. They think that if the missionaries were able to speak with tongues, could exercise gifts of healing, and had the power to perform miracles, they would make rapid and triumphant

progress where now they only meet with disaster and disappointment. Such attempts at consolation will not endure the scrutiny of a moment. If we have any faith in the promises of the Bible, we must believe that the Holy Spirit is working with no less energy now than in the early days. If all the achievements of man are to be ascribed to Him, surely the marvels of modern science—the electric telegraph and the railway—are evidences of a Divine Power assisting us, which carry a conviction to the mind as strong as would be occasioned by the healing of a lame man, or conferring sight on the blind. Such miraculous powers would constitute no extraordinary credentials in the judgment of a native of Hindustan. He believes them to reside abundantly in many of his rivers and sacred places. He attributes them to many of his priests and faquirs, who have acquired a sacredness by eating fire or elevating their arm in one position until it has become withered and dried up. He does not consider that such power necessarily implies a new and direct revelation of God. We certainly cannot speak with tongues, as appears—on one hypothesis at least—to have been the case with some of the converts in the early church. But this is an obstacle which a few months of persevering study can overcome. In the work of conversion there are other qualifications requisite than mere fluency of speech. It is absolutely essential that the preacher should possess an insight into the peculiar feelings, opinions and necessities of those whom he is addressing. The miraculous acquisition of a language cannot bestow this insight. It is obtainable only by intercourse with the people, and a study of the literature which enshrines the best thoughts of the best minds. Whoever remembers this will not consider such study a waste of the missionary's time, but an indispensable preparation for his work. We must, then, search for other reasons for our failure, and these are not difficult to discover.

In this world's history, the names of only a very few men are recorded as having been gifted with that particular kind of power which overturns long-established systems of belief. There is a great similarity discernible at the first glance in their lives and characters. They have been, one and all, men possessed by some overpowering idea which would not let them rest. The word of God, to quote the language of one of the old Jewish prophets, has been a burning fire

shut up in their bones, compelling them to speak by dint of sheer mental agony. The intense reality of their convictions has served to keep alive the fire of faith through long years unchequered by a gleam of hope—has endowed them with an unconquerable energy of spirit which was proof against the severest persecutions and the most imminent peril, and given to their language a penetrative power which tore asunder the defences of interest, of custom and of prejudice, as it were, *forcing* men's hearts to believe and think in harmony with their own. Whatever reluctance we may feel to assign a method to the ways of Providence, we must admit that He has hitherto only employed instruments like these to bring about great religious revolutions. It will not, then, be unreasonable to inquire if the missionaries in India fulfil these conditions. If they fall very far short of this standard, the feeble and unprogressive character of Indian Christianity will at any rate be partially accounted for.

Keeping, then, steadily in mind the sort of man that the missionary of a new faith should be—remembering that at present we are only attempting to account for the ill success of Christian preaching in India, and not to ascertain if it be possible to furnish the proper men in sufficient abundance—let us inquire whether the Indian missionaries, as a body, are gifted, like the Jewish prophets, with that inner eye which pierces to the truth, without apparently any intermediate process of reasoning? or, failing this, do they possess the large and liberal spirit of St. Paul, and his admirable power of becoming all things to all men? It is idle to interpose with a remark here, that such faculties cannot possibly be found in any large class of men. Unless the missionaries do possess either the one faculty or the other, they are unfit for the work which they have undertaken to do. The question simply is, do they possess these qualifications, or do they not?

The writer of the present article has spent many years of his life in India, and confidently affirms that an immense majority of the missionaries do not possess them. By a singular fatality, the missionaries are imbued with a spirit exactly the reverse of St. Paul's. They are generally virulent sectarians—contemners of what they ridiculously call "secular learning"—holders of extreme opinions which they

expect their converts to swallow in all their natural condition of unmalleability and angularity. We do not mean to say that there are not excellent men in India, who work with thorough earnestness and devotion according to such light as they have; but something more is required for the arduous work which they have taken in hand than good intentions and a positive conviction of being in the right. Missionaries, being sent out to India by the various societies perfectly at random, without any anterior preparation or test of their fitness, the conditions of the life in that country are favourable to the introduction of a great number of professed missionaries who do not even possess so much of the missionary spirit as earnestness and devotion. There are few hardships and no dangers to be encountered in India. The salary for a poor man, who has no future prospects in England, is sufficient for comfort. There is not the remotest possibility of being eaten, nor, unless the missionary is exceedingly injudicious, of being murdered. Consequently, men with no particular convictions—adhering to Christianity with the blind, unreasoning attachment of the limpet to a rock—appear as missionaries for the sake of a position which enables them to marry. These men naturally become indolent and indifferent. They pass many years in the country without attaining a knowledge of the language, and even in the essential virtue of kindness to the natives are often wofully deficient. This last assertion will appear to many people very incredible. In the excitement of a religious meeting at Exeter Hall, when the whole assembly is overflowing with piety and self-complacency, it appears the easiest thing to extend the right hand of brotherhood to the heathen all over the world. One longs for an opportunity of doing it. But in less exalted moods, it is extremely difficult to fraternize with people who have totally different ways of acting and thinking to our own. It is especially difficult to an Englishman, because he generally takes his stand upon the manners and customs of his native land as applicable beyond dispute to all people under the sun, and regards with the liveliest aversion and disgust whatever does not conform to that standard. Accordingly, most of our countrymen in India never learn to tolerate the natives at all. They look down upon them from a tremendous altitude, and invariably speak of them, and pretty

generally treat them, as the incarnation of all that is mean, base and abominable. This is the secret of the continued unpopularity of our government in India. There would be less cause, if not to reprehend, at least to wonder at, this assumption of superiority, if our countrymen were remarkable for anything else except this sublime arrogance. But this is not the case. In a great crisis, such as the Indian mutiny, the old English heroism will flame forth as brightly as ever, and English officers never hesitate at the call of duty to throw away life like a thing of no value. But at other times, scandalous gossip, and games of chance, and an absolute deadness to the enjoyments of literature and the exercise of thought, are the characteristics of social life in India. The high calling of a missionary does not render him exempt from the failings of ordinary people. And a native of India, by calling himself a Christian, can no more divest himself of his nature than a leopard can change his spots. We do not mean to say that the antipathy which the European generally feels for the Asiatic manifests itself in an extremely virulent form among the missionaries. But that it does exist to a great and harmful extent was clearly seen in the great missionary meeting held at Lahore in 1863.

This meeting was, we believe, the first assembly of the kind which had been held in India. There was a large collection of both laity and clergy. It was compared to heaven by some of the speakers, and there was a general feeling of surprise very frequently expressed that the members of so many denominations could pass a week together in such perfect harmony. Essays were read, which led to discussions upon various subjects connected with the work of conversion; and all "went merry as a marriage-bell" until, in an excess of candour, the clergy requested the native converts who were present to express their opinions upon the missionaries. The happiness of the temporary heaven was rudely disturbed by this unlucky request. The native converts, not caring for that admirable rule which obtains in all our religious meetings at home, that the speakers should confine themselves to mutual laudation, seized the opportunity of giving expression to feelings which had evidently been long pent up. A long string of complaints were made against the missionaries. They were harsh and supercilious. Although they associated

little with the converts, they liked to retain a small colony about them, as a sort of guard of honour. When the Punjaub Government expressed its willingness to provide situations for native Christians, many of the missionaries had been very reluctant to lessen the patriarchal state in which they lived, by recommending competent candidates for employment. Some of them had even been known to beat their native brethren—a proceeding not calculated to conduce to Christian charity and brotherly love. But that which does and will continue utterly to incapacitate our missionaries for the glorious work in which they are engaged, is a hateful and excessive spirit of sectarianism, which causes even the feeble powers which they possess to be expended in misdirected and divided efforts. It is hardly too much to say that there is no attempt made to convert the Hindu from his idolatry to the worship of the living God, but only to make him a Baptist, or a Presbyterian, an Independent, a Roman Catholic, or a Church-of-England-man. The ministers of the various sects absolutely *fish* for one another's converts, and these reproduce among themselves the spirit of dissension and animosity which they have imbibed from their teachers. It is absurd to expect that in such ways as these we shall break the chains of fatalism and superstition which bind our subjects in the East. When the apostles went abroad to preach the gospel in all nations, the minds of men were not sunk in sluggish torpor. Countless hearts were painfully demanding of "the eternal silence" if there was no basis for man's existence more enduring than the fleeting shows about him—no hope for him beyond the grave. To such inquirers the message of a Father, who had been watching over all the nations of the world from the dawn of creation, was the very revelation of which they stood in need.

In the sixteenth century, the fetters which had once appeared to the minds of men as natural and essential to their being as the atmosphere in which they breathed, were become a burden which the nations were not able to bear. When Luther proclaimed the falsity of indulgences, he only gave expression to a thought which had been silently present in a multitude of hearts. In India, we do not possess a field thus prepared and made ready to receive our communications. There is no longing for inquiry there. The native

does not move uneasily beneath the burthen which his priests have laid upon him. Like the unjust steward in the parable, they have not neglected to make friends with the mammon of unrighteousness. They have diligently written down the fifty measures of oil and the fourscore measures of wheat, in place of the hundred measures which appeared to be due. If we are to free the native from the falsehoods which enchain him, we must consent to lay aside the sectarianism and the bigotry which hinder us from acting in concert. If we wish to raise him to a nobler life and loftier belief, we must at least shew him that there is a God whom we rank above these denominations of Presbyterian, Baptist, Church of England, and so forth. If we are ever to unite the dissevered fragments of the vast continent which has been entrusted to our charge, we must convince the people that the caste distinctions which they have set up are not impassable barriers existing in the nature of things. What the missionaries are actually doing is to multiply these castes, by the introduction of a large variety manufactured in Europe, and to perpetuate division on the authority of a divine revelation.

That this is no vague charge, any one acquainted with the numerous sects which have representatives in India, and the unscrupulousness of their party spirit, will readily perceive. To those who do not possess these advantages, or think perhaps that the minister of a gospel would be likely to waive party considerations for the sake of higher interests, the following anecdote can hardly fail to be both interesting and instructive. At a short distance from the cantonment of Meerut, there is a little native village, in which a clergyman of the Church of England perseveringly taught and preached for many years. His exertions were at last crowned with success, and the whole of the little community professed themselves Christians. They were masons, and with their own hands they built a church and school. Unhappily for their welfare, a Baptist missionary in the city of Delhi ascertained that some of the inhabitants in this little settlement had not received the rite of baptism. Here was a golden opportunity for doing a fine stroke of work in the interest of his persuasion! Other men had laboured; he was to enter into their labours. Promptitude of action was however desirable, or his prey (there is no word which seems

to us to express so well the feeling with which he must have regarded these luckless victims) might be lost to him for ever. He rode off to the village at once, and, assembling the inhabitants, explained to them that until they had undergone this mystic ceremony their profession of Christianity was quite worthless. He, however, was a "padré sahib" (*Anglicé*, clergyman), and would, if they chose, baptize them without further delay. There was some discussion among the villagers at the receipt of this unexpected information. A number of them, however, seeing that the gentleman was a "gora" (*Anglicé*, European), and also a "padré sahib," came to the conclusion that they could not do wrong in accepting his suggestion and becoming baptized Christians as speedily as possible. Baptized they were accordingly; and in a short time, whoever cared to look might see a small Baptist chapel side by side with the little village church, and an era of sectarianism duly inaugurated. It does not appear to us too much to say, that in a case like this, the introduction of Christianity, so far from being the harbinger of love, has been the source of bitterness and dissension—and of bitterness and dissension alone. A village community in India is not like the inhabitants of a country parish in England, connected with few ties closer than the accident of neighbourhood. They are in all probability the hereditary tenants of the holdings of their fathers and their forefathers from time immemorial. They all consider themselves as members of the same family; and the family bond is the tie which, of all others, the native deems as the most sacred and indissoluble. A change of religion is the only wrench which is effectual to destroy it. That change must certainly have been effected here. In all likelihood these poor villagers will not even be able to perceive that they are worshipers of the same God. The one will be a Christian and the other a Baptist, with as broad a line between them as divides the Mussulman from the Hindu.

These, then, are the defects in the missionary body which incapacitate it for the work of conversion in India:

An almost total dearth of men gifted with the indispensable mental qualifications.

A large proportion of members who aggravate their intellectual deficiencies with the vices of harshness, indolence and indifference.

An unscrupulous sectarianism, which substitutes the insignia of a party for the name of Him whose servants the missionaries profess themselves to be.

On the last two defects it will not be necessary to dwell; but we will point out in more detail the operation of the intellectual deficiency, because the evil consequences which follow in its train are not so easily perceived or readily admitted. It is the fashion with a great many excellent people to talk as if a good man were capable by the mere force of example of converting any one. But as a matter of fact this is not the case, and the notion that it is so is rife with disastrous results. Men learn to take a pride in their goodness, or rather what Coleridge used to term their "*goodiness*," and imagine that all other things will be added to them without any exertion on their part. The sight of a good life may stimulate the curiosity of the spectator to inquire for the hidden source whence it derives nourishment and vigour, and it is so far an invaluable and quite indispensable portion of the calling of a missionary. But a good example can never do away with the necessity of reason. It cannot dissipate the error which darkens the mind of the inquirer. A good man who has not been at the trouble of cultivating his intellect, is just as incapable as a stupid man without the goodness, of giving a rational account of himself; and the inquirer seeking for information is baffled by a series of propositions either absurd in themselves or contradictory the one with the other. In India, the defective culture of the missionaries manifests itself in two ways. They have no understanding of the nature of the errors which they wish to eradicate, nor any clear and definite conception of the Christianity which they desire to substitute.

It must be borne in mind that in attempting the conversion of India, we are not dealing with a savage race whose powers of thought and whose literature are yet to be developed and produced. We have spoken of the powers of the people, as appearing to be stiffened and almost dead under the benumbing influence of fatalism. But in the old Sanskrit writings is recorded for our instruction and guidance what these powers are. These writings constitute the source whence it is possible to trace the origin and development of the innumerable rites and superstitions which have

woven an impenetrable network round the daily life of the Hindu. They indicate the avenues through which it is possible for the missionary to enter and arouse the slumbering soul. Without such knowledge, he may preach to the Hindu for ever; but, except by mere accident, he can never hope (adopting Coleridge's expression) to "find" him. This is so obvious, as to make it difficult to believe that a whole class of men could habitually ignore it. Yet this is just what the missionaries do ignore. Such gentlemen as we have had opportunities of conversing with on the subject, have generally manifested considerable impatience at the very thought of their time being taken up with such unprofitable labours. They appeared to have a confused notion that the application of their preaching to the wants of their hearers, was to be wrought out in some mysterious manner by the direct agency of the Holy Spirit—at any rate, that this was no part of their own work. Others, again, freed themselves from the labour of inquiry by attributing all false religions to the machinations of the devil, and regarding them as on that account unworthy of the examination of the minister of the gospel. In short, the missionaries entirely neglect the study of Sanskrit, and the greater part of them have no understanding of the form of religion against which their discourses are delivered. The notion, very frequently entertained, that the propagators of false religions are self-conscious cheats and impostors, induces too often the assumption of an attitude so antagonistic to the deepest convictions of those who are to listen to them, that indignation and disgust are frequently the only feelings which the missionaries are successful in awakening;* while

* As an example of this remark, we remember the instance of a missionary in the Punjaub, who began a sermon to a congregation of Mussulmans by denouncing Mahomet as a liar and an impostor—intelligence which occasioned an immediate riot, and placed the preacher in a position of considerable danger. This gentleman belonged to the German Mission Society. He was employed in teaching and converting, or rather attempting to convert, the inhabitants of the Kangra valley for about ten years, but met with very little success. He had a system of dividing his converts into first and second class Christians; the first class Christians receiving a higher monthly stipend for their spiritual attainments than the second; both, we suppose, as a reward of merit and also as a stimulus to devotion. We do not know if this classification of Christianity is generally practised, but paying converts so much a month during inquiry and after conversion, is the universal practice, and has always seemed to us one of the chief causes why Christianity takes such feeble root in the land. The reason given is, that a native becoming a Christian, becomes also an outcast

their ignorance confines, of necessity, their ministrations to the lowest of the people. They bring no message to the educated portion of native society, because they are incapable of meeting them upon the only ground where they are willing to accept of an encounter. The Brahmin pundit is quite ready to admit that the Deity may have revealed himself to other nations in ways more peculiarly adapted to their character and habits. The fact of another revelation does not, in his eyes, invalidate his own. He can appeal to the authority of sacred books accepted as a divine revelation from remote antiquity, the contents of which being perfectly unknown to the missionary, it is impossible for him to attempt a refutation. The missionary degrades himself by his own deliberate act to the level of a field preacher.

That the missionaries do not possess a clear and definite conception of Christianity is not remarkable in itself. The vast majority of professing Christians are in a like predicament. We talk of converting the natives to Christianity, as if the word "Christianity" were as clearly limited and exactly understood as the meaning of a mathematical term. What is this Christianity which we wish to convert them to? Is it not impossible for any inquirer to obtain a direct reply to any question that he asks about it? Is there not in almost all minds a bewildering confusion of facts and opinions in regard to it? Is the *fact* of redemption the all-important one for humanity, or is that fact of no value at all, except in conjunction with some particular opinion about it, labelled High-church, Low-church, Calvinistic, Lutheran, or some other, as the case may be? Do we believe in a Saviour because in every hour of our lives we are feeling the need of him, or is this belief only a corollary dependent on a number of other propositions about inspiration, church authority, authenticity of manuscripts, and so forth? These, and many other questions like these, are agitating

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from his family, and is cut off from all his old means of gaining a livelihood. There is much truth in this; and the condition of the native convert was even worse a few years back, when our Government tolerated every religion except that of Christians. But the consequences are, that a number of idle and worthless people profess Christianity in order to be supported by the mission societies; and even those who have been actuated by better motives, lose their sense of independence and in a great measure their self-respect. It is exceedingly rare to meet a native Christian who exhibits a character which it is possible to esteem cordially.

the laity and the clergy in England, and causing doubt and perplexity in the minds of the missionaries abroad. Or perhaps we are wrong when we speak of them as causing doubt or perplexity in the mind of a missionary. Judging from their discourses, the missionary appears to sanctify all his opinions with the attribute of infallibility, and not to be aware that there is anything to be doubtful about. From this habit of mind, he is placed at a great disadvantage. When the apostles entered upon their labours, they were encumbered with no such impediments as these. Their language never gave an uncertain sound, because they knew exactly what they wished to say. Their commission was clear and simple, and they never for a moment lost sight of it. They proclaimed to all nations the revelation of the "unknown God." But the missionary takes the field at the head of such a multitude of notions and opinions, the aggregations of eighteen hundred years—he is so impressed with the importance of maintaining unimpaired the divine authority of them all—that he is not capable of an aggressive movement. He is compelled to act only on the defensive. The enemy hovers about him—swooping down upon a prejudice, cutting off a notion, harassing his flanks and his rear,—until he is utterly perplexed what to do.*

This confusion of thought, which afflicts the religious world in India no less than in England, was very apparent

* We have often wondered that the missionary societies do not draw up some rules or hints for the guidance of those who come into the country unacquainted with the customs and the language of the people. At present, the missionary appears to be left entirely to his own devices. Not unfrequently he gives up the work of conversion altogether, and takes to teaching a school of children. The public preachings are upon the model with which we are familiar—a text with a discourse appended to it. These are followed or interrupted by theological discussions carried on between the preacher and members of the crowd who have assembled to hear him. We do not suppose these sermons do any harm, but we find it very difficult to believe that they do any good. The pulpit oratory to which we are accustomed is not likely to increase in powers of persuasion and convincingness when translated into imperfect Hindustani. What, however, does appear to us to be attended with considerable danger, is the dissemination of fragments of the Bible rendered into Hindustani. A passage of the Bible torn from its context is as likely to mislead as to guide aright, and a single error in the translator may pervert the sense of a whole passage. We remember an eminent Sanskrit scholar complaining, that in a copy of the Sermon on the Mount, he had seen the word "judge," in the verse, "Judge not that ye be not judged," translated by an equivalent which meant justice in a legal sense, and which consequently changed the sentiment into, "Do not do justice, lest justice be done to you."

in the Lahore missionary meeting which we have already mentioned. The work of conversion was continually touched upon both in the essays read and in the ensuing discussions, but it would be impossible to gather from the language of any or of all the speakers, that there was anything special to which the people were to be converted. The whole assembly appeared to look upon the Bible, not only as the record of the revelation of God to men, but also as a complete repertory of civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The sacred writings were examined for a code of rules in regard to the co-operation of the laity with the clergy in the work of proselytism. The patriarchs and their wives were passed in review, in the hope of obtaining some information whether a convert should keep his word to his heathen wives or abandon them. One gentleman mentioned Jacob as an instance of a man who had married two wives, without incurring the criminality or the penalties of bigamy. Another speaker replied that, in his opinion, many of the dealings between Laban and Jacob were not of a character to bear a close examination, and the less said about them the better. But the circumstance which induces us to refer again to this meeting was the remarkable prominence given to a single doctrine. Nearly all the clergy who were present appeared to feel deeply, and strove most earnestly to impress upon their hearers, that they and all who engaged in the work of missions were working out the salvation of *a lost world*. How to reconcile such a terrible belief as this with that of a Creator who knows no distinction of persons and loves all the creatures whom He has made, is perhaps discoverable by the missionary; but the inevitable consequences of such a doctrine, both on the mind of the preacher and on the mind of his listeners, are apparent at a glance. If, notwithstanding all that Christ did and suffered, he has accomplished nothing—if the salvation of India has still to be wrought out by the efforts of the Church Missionary Society—if even, at the best, only a native here and there is to be rescued from this vast multitude consigned to everlasting perdition—what wonder is it if the missionary quails before a task like this, and seeks a temporary oblivion in indolent indifference? What alternative is there left for any man, for any nation, except the stagnation of utter despair?

We are accustomed to the uncomfortable doctrine of everlasting punishment. We have had it dinned into our ears ever since we were children. Nevertheless we do not actually believe it. We only say that we do, and hope for the best. We never even in thought say to ourselves, "So-and-so has gone to everlasting punishment." But the Asiatic has not yet learned the use of these comfortable evasions. We can only faintly realize the revulsion of feeling, the incredulous horror which would take possession of an earnest and inquiring mind, prepared to listen to glad tidings of great joy, when this yawning gulf of endless anguish and despair is unexpectedly revealed to him as an essential portion of the good news. A timid man may hasten to profess himself a Christian in the hope of averting his doom. But it is a thing impossible for any unsophisticated mind to hail as *glad tidings* the intelligence of a Being who condemns every one to everlasting torment who does not happen to have had an opportunity of becoming a Christian.

Is it chimerical to hope that in the face of such an appalling contradiction as this, the clergy cannot much longer remain contented with such phrases as "the ancient interpretation of Scripture," or "the generally received doctrine of the Church"? We cannot see what magic there can be in such expressions to still doubt and inquiry, that they should be so confidently appealed to. There is almost no extravagance of belief which has not at some time or other been conscientiously deduced from Scripture and sanctioned by the authority of the Church.

> Christians have *burnt* each other, quite persuaded
> All the apostles would have done as they did.

We see clearly enough now the error of these amiable practices; but surely the belief that innumerable multitudes are condemned for no fault of their own to everlasting torments, is not one whit more opposed to the spirit of Christianity. But in whatever light we may choose to regard the doctrine itself, it is folly to suppose that the heathen will regard their impending and almost inevitable doom as a cause for great joy, simply because we choose to speak of it under the name of "glad tidings." The Hindu appeals to us to know if there be a Being who has both the will and

the power to free him from the cunning, the sensuality, the deceit and cruelty, which are holding in subjection the nobler faculties of his soul. When we tell him in reply that all his ancestors are sunk in hopeless perdition, and that he too, unless he can persuade himself by means of the perfectly unconvincing statements of a chance missionary to believe in a Saviour (who, from the missionary's own showing, is incapable of saving), will indubitably be involved in the same fate—however we choose to gloss over the truth to ourselves—we do really tell him that there is no such Being as he has been seeking for. We tell him that the very precarious chance of salvation which there is for him depends entirely on his own exertions, and, in a word, consign him to that apathy and despair in which he is already sunken. We would earnestly entreat of every clergyman who sees these pages, to ask of himself if, in the face of a belief in everlasting punishment, or, as the missionaries termed it, the doctrine of "a lost world," there is any other alternative open to the heathen; and if this be the case, whether it is possible that this is "*that knowledge of salvation*" which is to bring "*light* to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death."

It is not much which is demanded of us—and yet for the frailty of human nature too much—before we can effectually assail the strongholds of heathendom. The missionary who goes to India must consent to forget that he is a member of the Church of England as by law established, a Baptist or a Methodist, or anything at all but a messenger of Christ. However important these distinctions may appear in his own mind, they are worse than worthless to the Hindu. They strengthen the evil tendencies of his nature and darken his perceptions. He thinks it is another religion like his own which he is asked to entertain, and not a revelation accorded to man because man was incapable of discovering it for himself. He must also clearly perceive that it is a vain attempt to displace dark thoughts which have sought for expression in the immolation of widows, and the worship of gods of murder and destruction, by the presentation of a picture which surpasses in horror their gloomiest imaginings. Finally, he must have the courage to demand from his own heart what that is which binds his faith to Christ. That faith surely is not kept alive by

these tremendous visions of unending misery, but something the reverse of these. It clings to Christ because it finds in him the revelation of a love that knows no limit, and endures for ever and ever. This is the message, and nothing less than this, which he is commissioned to carry to the heathen in the East.

R. D. OSBORN.

V.—ARCHBISHOP WHATELY AND THE LIFE OF BLANCO WHITE.

THE publication in the Life* of Archbishop Whately of parts of a letter written by him, in 1845, to Mr. Fellowes, the publisher, in which there is ascribed to Blanco White a derangement that ought to have deprived him of a biography, and to his biographer untruthfulness aggravated by indelicacy gross in character and sordid in motive, requires that the following narrative and statements should be given to the world.

On the 23rd of February, 1841, Joseph Blanco White went to await death at the house of Mr. Rathbone, of Greenbank, near Liverpool. He had come to that busy town, where for the most part life is external, eager and hurried, January 10th, 1835, sick and a stranger, self-exiled from dear associates lest Christian faiths which he intended to avow should reflect on them, and had lived for the interval as a lonely invalid, with only such alleviation of solitude and suffering as the occasional attentions of a few persons not dwelling in the same house could afford. Greenbank had long before been open to him, and pressed upon him, as a last home; but he would not consent, for his own relief, to place a whole family within the daily shadow of pain and death for an indefinite time; and only when he saw the end approaching, he yielded to the natural desire that he might die among friends. He died on the 20th of May. As there has been a calumnious whisper of superstition,

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* Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, D.D. By E. Jane Whately. Two vols. 8vo. London: Longmans, &c.

proceeding solely from the cruel terror with which even the noblest heretic is regarded by those who tremble as for their life at an injury to the external charm, amulet or talisman that secures salvation, untrue to the unclouded faith and peace of his soul,—and as Miss Whately in the Memoirs of her father, twenty-five years after the death of one so far beyond the range of her spiritual understanding, has permitted herself to speak of him, in religious commiseration, as "this unhappy man," with an unsuspected pride of prejudice and ignorance that borders on a bold impiety,—it may be well that I should repeat here, once more, his own last assurances that in the contemplation of death, as ever before, he lived, moved and had his being in God.

"On the fourteenth of May, about two o'clock in the morning, awakening from a short sleep, he said to the friend who was watching by him: 'I see the links in the chain of Providence that has brought me to where I am. Though there are difficulties in the course of this our life, yet in the direction of those difficulties there are circumstances that are more than compensations. I never doubted of Providence, but I see it in my own case more clearly than in any treatise. These people are to me the representatives of a merciful God; but if for the purity of the house, or the health of any one, a change is necessary, let not me be considered.'

"The night after, to several members of the family collected around him, he spoke of the state of his mind in what he knew to be the presence of Death, and aware that the power of distinct utterance was failing, added: 'When the hour shall come, let it be said once for all, my soul will be concentrated in the feeling, My God, into Thy hands I commend my spirit. God to me is Jesus, and Jesus is God—of course not in the sense of Divines.'

"He remained some days longer, chiefly in the state of one falling asleep, until the morning of the 20th, when he awoke up, and with a firm voice and great solemnity of manner, spoke only these words: 'Now I die.' He sat as one in the attitude of expectation, and about two hours afterwards—it was as he had said."*

On his death, one of my first duties, as the friend and executor to whom he had consigned his papers, with the care of whatever business might require correspondence, was to convey information of his decease to Archbishop

* Life of Blanco White, Vol. III. p. 310.

Whately with whom he had lived in Dublin on terms of great intimacy and affection, and from whom, with a proper regard to what was due to the house of an Archbishop with a reputation for orthodoxy unjustly suspected, he had separated himself, with no rupture of friendship, as soon as he found that he was unable to retain Trinitarian views of Christianity. In acknowledging my communication, the Archbishop asked that his own letters should be returned to him, warned me that the Court of Chancery gave him the power of restraining the publication of any letter either from him or to him, and required that at the earliest possible period I should look through Blanco White's journals and private memoranda, and should "cut out every remark that related to him, or to any member of his family, and send them to him." The first request was immediately complied with: the second gave me the first alarm as to the man with whom I might have to do. I shrank from exposing to him in words the character of his demand, the treachery it involved in him and in me. I took no notice of it whatever: as I expected, it was not repeated. The letters I sent are those which appear, partly at least, in the first volume of the Archbishop's Memoirs. In them, with a dreadful power of wounding, of rubbing on a sensitive and affectionate nature, he again and again suggests to Blanco White whether he would not do well to suspect the soundness and clearness of his judgment, and suspend publication of his new convictions. Especially he deprecates as the gravest offence and treachery to himself—conceivable indeed, but too bad to be possible and only to be spoken of hypothetically—that Mr. White should print without first submitting the manuscript to him for his strictures and suggestions. The fact was, as he feared, that Mr. White, knowing that on the matter of religious evidence he and the Archbishop moved within different regions of mind and light, had resolved to save himself the extreme pain and useless harass of a discussion with a blunt, strong mind, whose only logic on such subjects was verbal, external, and beside the mark. Let any one patiently read those letters, and ask himself whether he can believe that any man with a heart could have written them to a friend whom he knew to be of the most tender and sensitive organization, and whose reason in the moment of his writing them he be-

lieved to be fluttering and disordered. The most reasonable man in the world, however indifferent he may be, will not be able to read them without irritation.

I had no further occasion for communication with the Archbishop until, in the preparation of Blanco White's biography, which he had entrusted to me, I came to the period for which it was possible that Dr. Whately, from correspondence and personal recollections, might be able to furnish interesting materials. To my application for this purpose I received the following reply, not from himself, but from his friend, the late Rev. Henry Bishop, of Tunbridge Wells. I had previously consulted the Rev. Baden Powell, the brother-in-law of the Archbishop, as to some passages in Mr. White's journals honourable to all concerned, but that might be of too private a nature to meet the public eye.

"Tunbridge Wells, 29th June, 1843.

"My dear Sir,—By a letter from the Archbishop of Dublin which from my absence from home reached me later than it ought, I find that he had referred you to me for a fuller answer to your application to him for letters, &c. of our late friend Blanco White than he could then give you, being in the midst of the hurry of business.

"The Archbishop has very strong objections to the proposed Memoirs for the following reasons. He is convinced that none could be published which would not tend greatly to mislead the public, unless particulars were entered into which no friend of Blanco White's could bear the thought of doing, unless forced by circumstances of the most painful nature to bring forward. The Archbishop has documents, to which none but himself has access, but he objects to supplying them, because he could not do so without laying before the world what it would be the wish of every person of delicacy to suppress, namely, the evidence and many of the details of Blanco White's *mental derangement.* Two medical men (over and above other testimony to the same point) independently and spontaneously warned the Archbishop to that effect. All evidence of this kind the Archbishop would gladly be spared the pain of bringing forward. If, however, the Memoirs should in any respect render it necessary, the Archbishop would feel himself under the painful necessity of producing as much, and only as much, of the matter in his hands as might be needful for disabusing the public mind on important points.

"The Archbishop has in this case a painful duty to perform, and I trust that you will give both himself and me credit for the

unwillingness with which we each take our respective shares in what at first sight might appear to you to be our discourteous communication. As to the manner in which it is done, I hope you will not consider that I have been deficient in any of the respect which I feel to be due to yourself. As far as the Archbishop is concerned, I can answer for him that nothing but tenderness for the memory of our deceased friend would induce him to return the refusal that he feels himself compelled to do: nor will it, I am sure, appear to you that he is claiming more than he ought when I bring to your recollection that he is only exerting that control which the Law of the Land has decided belongs both to the writer and receiver of private letters; for it has been ruled on a recent occasion by the Court of Chancery that a letter is the *joint* property of the writer and the receiver (or their representatives respectively). You will then not, I am sure, feel surprise that the Archbishop should be disposed to exercise this right, when I add that regard for the memory of his late and much valued friend leads him to take this resolution.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"H. BISHOP."

It was evident to me that this was a dictated letter,—that it was the object of the Archbishop to suppress any Memoir whatever,—that he had chosen as his mouthpiece a most amiable man much under his influence, who was likely to have weight with me from my knowledge of his tender friendship for Mr. White,—that the alleged derangement could not possibly have the importance assigned to it, knowing as I did the extremely narrow limits of time within which it must be confined, if it had any existence, —and that the threat of the Court of Chancery could not relate to the withheld materials, of which I knew nothing and could tell nothing, and betrayed the real purpose. I wrote accordingly, not to Mr. Bishop, but to his principal.

"July 13, 1843.

"My Lord Archbishop,—I have Mr. Bishop's letter, from which I copy the following words:

"'The Archbishop has documents to which none but himself has access, but he objects to supplying them, because he could not do so without laying before the world what it would be the wish of every person of delicacy to suppress, namely, the evidence and many of the details of Blanco White's *mental derangement*.'

"I had heard several years ago, though I did not believe it, that your Grace was in the habit of stating in Dublin that no

weight should attach to Mr. White's adoption of any convictions on account of his insanity. That there may have been times when his illness produced transient states that looked like derangement is highly probable, though I never witnessed nor heard of anything of the kind; but that he was ever in a condition that could properly be described as 'mental derangement' I cannot readily believe, nor could a period be mentioned in which I have not abundant proofs of his sanity, whatever may be the evidences of supposed contemporaneous insanity.

"But, my Lord Archbishop, when I applied to your Grace for such letters of Mr. White's as might serve to illustrate the character of your friend, I asked only for such as you could satisfactorily give to the world. You answer through another person that you have evidence of his mental derangement in your hands. I suppose I am to interpret this answer to mean that you can have no connection whatever with a Memoir in which the *whole* truth cannot be told. If this transient derangement, supposing it to be a fact, altered the value or the truth of any portion of his history or of his opinions, your decision would be the only one you could come to; but, certainly, this is not the case; his insanity, if it existed, must have been as an illness, and his opinions will have no more weight than the reasons he has given for them will carry along with them. No evidence of insanity would impair whatever truth of view and reasoning may be found in 'Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy.' But instead of giving this reason which I have suggested for your Grace's refusal, Mr. Bishop merely says: 'All evidence of this kind the Archbishop would gladly be spared the pain of bringing forward. If, however, the Memoirs should in any respect render it necessary, the Archbishop would feel himself under the painful necessity of producing as much, and only as much, of the matter in his hands as might be needful for disabusing the public mind on important points.' And then Mr. Bishop warns me, as your Grace had already done, of the power the Law places in your hands. So that, in fact, the alleged evidence of derangement is now notified to me only as an instrument in your Grace's hands for nullifying anything that might appear in the Memoirs displeasing to your Grace, or, as you might suppose, injurious to your reputation.

"My Lord Archbishop, if that is your fear, and you have been acting under that feeling, I would relieve you of it at once. Nothing could be farther from Mr. White's desire than to cause one moment's pain or embarrassment to your Grace, and nothing certainly could be farther from mine. Of you, from whom he continued to receive benefits until his dying day, nothing should proceed from him, living or dead, that could injure or afflict you;

and for my own part, if any impression that full justice had not been done to his former friends has undesignedly been produced, I looked to this publication as an occasion on which, *without suppressing any truth*, the fullest evidence might be advanced of their faithful friendship, and of his gratitude to and appreciation of them.

"When I applied to Mr. Powell for his judgment as to what might prove distressing to your Grace, it was respecting passages in his note-books recording incidents and traits of character which would certainly have lost you no honour with the world; but as they were of a domestic character, I wished for the judgment of one of your Grace's connections on a matter which could not be referred to your own. Mr. Powell, by communicating with your Grace upon the subject, instead of permitting me to have the benefit of his own feeling and judgment on the passages, left me but one course, after the decided expression of your Grace's wishes—to suppress them altogether.

"With regard to letters of Mr. White's of which copies were preserved by him, the course I have marked out for myself is this—not to think it necessary to ask the consent of the receiver of the letter to its publication in cases where nothing relating to him personally, or at least privately, is disclosed, so that if the *form* of the letter was altered and its contents thrown into a narrative shape, no just cause of complaint would exist. I only recollect one such letter to your Grace, that in which Mr. White announces his intention of publicly avowing his abandonment of the doctrines of the Church of England.

"And now, my Lord Archbishop, I must leave this matter in your hands, to do what you think proper. It is my duty to be as tender of the reputation of Mr. White as your Grace can be of your own, and to meet *even rumours* that might detract from its just influence.

"I am, my Lord Archbishop, with respect, your Grace's faithful, humble servant, "JOHN H. THOM."

It will be observed, in his reply to this letter, that the Archbishop does not deny that he had already given partial publication to the alleged derangement of Mr. White in order to break the power of whatever might come from him; whilst he is assigning to me his unwillingness to make this publication as his only reason for withholding biographical materials.

"Kensington, July 19, 1843.

"Rev. Sir,—The object of my letter to Mr. Bishop (whom I had supposed to be in communication with you) was to guard

against the publication of any Memoir of Blanco White as with *my* approval or consent, which I found myself bound to withhold; and also to guard you against inadvertently getting into legal difficulties by publishing any letters either *to* or *from* myself or any of my family; thinking you might perhaps not be aware of the decision of the Court of Chancery, that every letter is the *joint* property of the writer and the receiver (or their representatives), and is not to be published without the consent of both parties.

"I regret being compelled to decline complying with your application, because I have in my hands a great quantity of papers such that any Memoir of him published *without* them would not only be *imperfect*, but must convey to the public essentially *erroneous* views. But this could not be avoided in any Memoir, except by the publication of such documents as I should be very unwilling to make public without a strong necessity.

"Having stated to you what has come to my own knowledge respecting B. White's state of mind, and that I am able satisfactorily to establish it, I have thus at least cleared my own conscience.

"You must be quite sensible that there may be circumstances which would fully prove a man's unsoundness of mind to such persons as are acquainted with certain *other* circumstances; while to persons unaware of these, no such indication would be presented. For instance, a man may give a very plausible and apparently rational account of what happened to him, or was said or done by him or by others, at a certain time; and this might, to persons knowing that nothing of the kind really took place, be complete evidence of morbid delusion.

"And you must also be well aware that though, as you observe, mere abstract reasoning, without any reference to individual persons or events, has its own weight, great or small, from whomsoever proceeding, this is not at all the character of the greater part of B. W.'s writings. For instance, his 'Poor Man's Preservative against Popery,' and again his last published volume, are full of references, closely connected with his argument, to his own personal history. And I may add that a stranger in reading those two works would hardly fail to suppose them to relate to, and to proceed from, *two* different persons.*

"I remain, Rev. Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

"Rd. Dublin."

The Archbishop thus attempted to shut me up to one or

* Impossible; for the latter work, the "Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy," states his change, with its reasons and history.

other of two courses,—either to suppress altogether the biography which had been entrusted to me, or to take upon myself the responsibility of announcing to the world an impression Dr. Whately had received, he does not say from his own observation, to which I attached no weight, and which he declared that nothing but the necessity of defending his own reputation could induce him to make public. Was I to abandon the task assigned to me, and by my own act to extinguish the light of Blanco White's life and mind? Or was I, against my own conviction of the truth, to connect insanity with his memory, and whilst believing that the alleged derangement had no reality, and must be the misinterpretation of something entirely compatible with sanity, by my own act to unveil the concealed weapon with which the Archbishop threatened the "*Life*" of his friend, and whilst thus serving his purposes to relieve *him* from the responsibility of giving to the public what he professed his anxiety to conceal, and I did not believe? I told him that I should take neither the one course nor the other; that I should not withhold the "*Life*," and that I should not take the initiative in giving publicity to an allegation of derangement even for the minutest portion of time (it *could* be no more, as will presently appear), without having the means of examining and weighing its grounds; but that if he would place in my hands the documents and proofs of which he spoke, I should give them the fullest consideration, and make such public use of them as their importance might require. To this the Archbishop made no response; and nothing remained for me but to leave him to take his own course when the Memoirs appeared. That course was a very strange one: he fought privately against the "*Life*" with his concealed weapon; and he gave me no opportunity of openly meeting the charges and statements he put into circulation, unless I took the initiative in making the sanity or insanity of Blanco White a public question.

In 1845, there appeared under my editorship, in three volumes, "The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, written by Himself, with Portions of his Correspondence." That there were fewer of his letters to the familiar friends of one period of his life than might have been expected, is referred to in the Introduction in these sentences:

"In some cases they have been withheld because it was found impossible to separate what was proper for the public from matters strictly private and personal; in some, from the openly avowed feeling that their owners would not supply a line to the biography of a man whose latest theology was deemed so dangerous, though what they had to contribute must, in their estimation, have been of a corrective nature; in others, perhaps from a tender feeling that as they could not identify themselves with the whole of his mind, nor yet accompany their contributions with an analysis of what they deemed his infirmities or errors, they would keep sacred to themselves those relics of his former sentiments and views in which they loved him most. Amid the artificial difficulties which under every disguise beset simplicity and freedom in religious intercourses, it is next to impossible for even the noblest and most truthful to have no secret, perhaps unsuspected, dread of the man who has shared their most intimate confidence and then widely parted from them on every question involving practical interests in the profession of Religion. It is a heartfelt pleasure to record that his persuasion of the rectitude of his friends in connection with endowed Articles of Belief was in no instance disturbed; but those who freely open their hearts to one another will have some natural fear of him who, starting from the same principles, cannot stop where they stop, and whose self-sacrifice and practical fidelity to conviction must be ever awakening, in conscientious natures even morbidly, whatever unresolved doubts may lurk within them. It is hoped, when it will be seen in these Memoirs how earnest was his regard, how tender his respect towards those who ever had his love, and how little differences of opinion altered his affections or estimates of character, that no feeling will be left but the desire to perfect this his true Monument, and that a time may come when a fuller picture of the life and intercourses of his heart will complete the 'Sketch of his Mind in England.' It is true that he did not himself attach importance to his private letters as biographical materials, but this judgment must have proceeded from that earnest unconsciousness which renders of an unknown value the issues from the heart."

In the May of 1845, whilst on a visit in Leicestershire, I received information from the editor of a religious periodical that letters of Archbishop Whately's, most injurious to me, were to be seen in the shop of Mr. Fellowes, his publisher. He sent me, at the same time, a printed copy of some naturally severe remarks which he had prepared for publication on the faith of those letters. I requested him to suspend

their publication until I had an opportunity of seeing what it was that was alleged against me: with this request he did me the kindness to comply. Such was the manner of my acquaintance with the Archbishop's method of attack. I wrote to Mr. Fellowes, stating what I had heard, and asking for explanations. Mr. Fellowes' reply, all I could desire from him, was to place copies of the letters in my hands. This is the first of them, written *before* the publication of the "Life," and it will be seen that the proclamation of Mr. White's derangement, which the Archbishop had said that nothing but the care of his own character could force him to make, he here puts forth as a prospective defence, without giving himself the opportunity of seeing whether the Memoirs contained anything that needed correction or touched his reputation,—thus publishing gratuitously what he says "no person of any delicacy would like to publish."

"*To Mr. Fellowes.* "11 April, 1845.

"Dear Sir,—I see advertised a Life of Blanco White (Chapman), which I will beg you to get for me, as it is necessary I should see it, much as I grieve for the publication. I see the advertisement mentions among other things *correspondence;* now if any letters of *mine* are published, I may obtain an *injunction;* the law having been distinctly laid down by Lord Cottenham in the case of Lord Dudley's letters. Every letter is the joint property of the writer and the person to whom it is sent, and cannot be published without the consent of both parties, or their representatives. I have not only never given, but have expressly *refused*, consent to the publication of my letters to him. I was applied to by a Mr. Thom, some time ago (I think I have since heard of his death), for any letters or documents relative to B. White, whose life he was designing to publish. I answered him that I had in my possession most important papers, such that *any life of him* published *without* them must be, not merely imperfect but *erroneous*, conveying *false* notions to the reader; but I added that I declined having them published, because it would be impossible to put the public in possession of the most important truths relative to him, without adverting to the state of partial *derangement* in which he was for some years before his death, and which no person of any delicacy would like to publish. Mr. Thom replied that he had seen no symptoms of this derangement; and I thereupon informed him that (independently of the spontaneous declarations made to me by two medical men,

unknown to each other, and other evidence to the same effect) this alone might suffice as a proof, that Blanco White, of whose veracity I could not doubt, had made circumstantial statements, not apparently in themselves at all improbable, of things done and said by himself at various times, utterly at variance with anything that really took place,* and which could be proved by *written documents* in my possession to be wholly untrue, and the delusions of a diseased mind: and Mr. Thom, I added, could not be ignorant that in such a case a man may appear perfectly sane to those ignorant of certain facts, while one knowing the facts would perceive that (supposing him to be honest) he must be insane. If, for instance, I were to tell any one that I had seen you in Dublin yesterday, and had such and such conversation with you, most people would see nothing at all strange in this; though you would take it as proof of my being insane.

"Mr. Thom made similar applications, however, to Mr. Senior, Mr. Powell, Mr. Bishop, and in short to nearly all Blanco White's friends; and was refused by all. I don't know who it is that is now publishing the Life. You are at full liberty to make known to any one who may feel an interest in the matter all I have said.

"Yours faithfully,

"Rd. Dublin."

The second letter to Mr. Fellowes is the one which Miss Whately has published in the second volume of her Life of her father. She has printed it with large omissions, not I suppose from tenderness to me, but from regard to her father's character and memory. I grieve that I can abstain no longer: not from reluctance to expose what was said against myself, but from reluctance to expose him who said it. This letter has been in my possession for more than one-and-twenty years, and I have kept silence; doing no more than was necessary to stop farther publication at the time. I would have preserved, if I could, one who had many of the qualities of greatness from the wondering disrespect that may be excited by its publication now. Miss Whately by giving to the world, in a mutilated state, the letter in which the Archbishop had the opportunity of declaring Blanco White's insanity, and my untruthfulness and gross indelicacy, to a few frequenters of Mr. Fellowes' shop,

* There is no such statement of the Archbishop's in his letter to me, p. 89. There is a hypothetical statement of what under certain supposed circumstances might be evidence of delusion.

has compelled me to print it entire, as evidence of the state of mind in which he was, and of what he was capable, when he approached this subject. I shall exhibit the omitted passages within brackets. The date, 1843, as given in the Archbishop's Life, is a mistake.

"*To Mr. Fellowes.*

"26 April, 1845.

"Dear Sir,—The Life of Blanco White I have looked into just enough to see that it is pretty much what I might have expected, considering who the Editor is. For he is the very person who wrote, as I am credibly informed, a short Memoir of B. White in some Unitarian Periodical soon after his death, and which I happened to get a sight of a year or two after. In that, he represents B. W. as banished by his friends, and left to pass the remainder of his days in poverty and solitude; the fact being [as the writer well knew], 1st, that he left my house entirely at his own desire: 2nd, that he received a pension from me, and another from another friend: and 3rd, that I and my family, and several others of his former friends, kept up a correspondence with him, and visited him whenever we passed through Liverpool.

"From a person who, with the knowledge of these facts, could deliberately set himself to produce in the mind of the public an opposite impression (as any one may see by looking at that first Memoir I have alluded to), no great amount of delicacy or of scrupulosity could be expected.

"[I have often felt wonder and disgust at the morbid and base kind of curiosity which makes a portion of the public delight to intrude into domestic privacy, and eagerly to read what derives its chief or sole interest from the very circumstance of its being unfit for the public eye, and what no man (in his right mind), who had any delicacy, would have written but in the full expectation that it would never be seen except by his most intimate friends. And still more disgusting is the sordid and heartless avarice of those (so-called) friends who are eager to turn a penny by pandering to this depraved appetite, and as it were digging up the corpse of a friend, and selling it to be dissected and exhibited in a school of anatomy.]

"That the present publication surpasses the average in bringing before the public what is most emphatically private,—in the indecent exposure of the private memoranda of an invalid in a diseased state of mind,—this will be evident to any one who gives but the slightest glance to the book.

"I know publications of this character are a sort of nuisance for which there is no remedy. I am only solicitous to clear my

own character from the imputation of any responsibility on this account. I myself, as I have already informed you, was applied to to furnish letters, &c. from and to the deceased: and I declined, stating as one decisive reason, that I knew him to be in an unsound state of mind for several years; and that I could clearly establish this, both by documents in my possession, and by the testimony of several competent persons, including two of his medical attendants unknown to each other: so that no Memoirs not adverting to this fact (which of course I did not wish to proclaim) could be correct, or could fail to convey positively erroneous impressions. I am therefore no party to the publication; nor on account of his state of mind can I consider Blanco White as being so, whatever he may in that morbid state have said, written, or done. [It ought to be known, therefore, that the Editor has published what he *knew*, from the communication I had made to him, to be private memoranda of a *person* of *unsound mind*.] And this it is right should be made known to any who may feel an interest in the subject.

"[As for the general indelicacy of the publication, *that* speaks for itself to any one who opens the book, and therefore there is no need for me to make any remark on it. But this last mentioned aggravation of it, is what could not be known but from my information. I do really hope and trust such 'grapes and figs' as these are not the natural and necessary fruit of the tree of Unitarianism: except perhaps in the case of those who may merely use the name of Unitarians as a cloak to conceal total infidelity.]

"Yours faithfully,

"Rd. Dublin."

This was the way by which the Archbishop attempted to destroy the influence of his friend's life and mind. My first object was to defeat that attempt, to stop the farther spread of what I believed unfounded and mischievous in all its bearings, without permitting the sanity of Blanco White to be made a public question in the same hour that his Memoirs were given to the world,—which would have aided the Archbishop's intention to kill them in their birth, especially for those that most needed them, and have put a weapon that would be unscrupulously used into the hands of all who hated his opinions, and of all who dreaded the effect of his writings and of his example. I wrote to the Archbishop with the purpose of putting an end to these injurious rumours, at least until the three volumes of Mr.

White's Life should have time to produce their just and natural effect upon the public mind. I sent to Mr. Fellowes a copy of my letter to Dr. Whately, and I required him, as an act of justice, to shew my letter to every person to whom he had shewn, or might hereafter shew, the Archbishop's two letters, and to inform me whether he would comply with this requirement, as upon that point would depend the publication of the whole correspondence. Mr. Fellowes honourably replied in these words: "I am quite willing to comply with your request, which I deem but reasonable; and will take the earliest opportunity of shewing your reply to the few persons—only five in number—to whom I have shewn the Archbishop's remarks. But under present circumstances I shall not let any other persons see the letters or reply." Miss Whately has compelled me to give *the whole* of her father's letter to the world in evidence of his unsound condition of mind whenever he neared the subject of the Memoirs of Blanco White, and lest in some future edition of the Archbishop's Life the letter should be given entire when I am dead and gone. Nothing could more painfully increase my reluctance to print his letter as he wrote it, than that it obliges me in honour to print my own reply. Having exhibited him at his worst, I feel bound to do the same in my own case. I wrote in the first unrestrained outflow of a just indignation. I wrote with the determination of not permitting Mr. White to be stealthily sacrificed, his testimony and his martyrdom made of no effect by an imperious Archbishop who attempted to destroy the value of a whole life, to extinguish every record of it, by declaring himself to have a medical opinion that at some time or other, neither time nor circumstance being given, his mind was not perfectly healthy. Is there any man of sixty, of fine organization, a student and an invalid, of whom something of this sort might not be momentarily and innocuously affirmed, though his mind had not been, like Blanco White's, as a battle-field on which all the great controversies of the world had taken place? I cannot even now discover an untrue word in the following letter; but looking upon it through the quieting distance of one-and-twenty years, I am surprised to find it so angry,—and under the profound conviction that the two friends are now re-united where the waywardness and infirmities of mortal love are made of

no account, I could wish now that there had been less of resentment in it:—though resentment has its rightful place.

"Humberstone, Leicester, May 22, 1845.

"My Lord Archbishop,—Mr. Fellowes has furnished me with copies of two letters which you have addressed to him, with the view that he should put into circulation the gross scandals they contain without bringing upon yourself the responsibility of their publication. This purpose, with its motives, my duty to Mr. White (your malice against myself I might pass over as really something akin to derangement) will compel me to expose and defeat.

"When I applied to you for letters of Mr. White's, you refused on the ground that he was for some time deranged, and you stated that this fact nothing could induce you to make public but the necessity of vindicating your own character, should it be misrepresented in his Memoirs. You employed Mr. Henry Bishop, of Tunbridge Wells, to make this communication to me. The alleged derangement you used to justify your refusal of letters, and as a threat to deter me from publishing anything injurious to your reputation. But, my Lord Archbishop, you do not wait for the publication before you put your threat into furtive execution, and after having declared that nothing but the necessity of self-defence against misrepresentation could conquer your reluctance to expose to the world the derangement of your friend, you send to your respectable publisher a statement of Mr. White's insanity, and employ him to whisper it about, *before the Memoirs were published.* You do not wait for the offence; you are determined to provide yourself with a protection against anything that may come out, now or at a future time, that might inconvenience you. You anticipate disclosures by privately spreading the impression that the witness was mad.

"I replied to you, at the time, that I did not believe in the alleged insanity, that from abundant evidence in my possession it was impossible there could have been mental derangement, that you must have put this interpretation upon some occasional wanderings arising from physical disorder,—and as to medical evidence, I knew well how little such testimony could be trusted on that subject, with or without the opportunity of cross-questioning. I did not charge you with any wilful misrepresentation, but I knew your terror lest Mr. White's Memoirs should compromise your orthodox reputation, and I knew you sufficiently well to be aware that your pride and passions when alarmed or inflamed enable you to take a perverted view of facts.

"The following were my reasons for not believing your report.

"1. Mr. White went to live with you in June 1832, and left you in January 1835. He was more than six months in 1833 in England. The whole period of his domestic connection with you, including these six months in England, was two years and a half. You invited him to reside with you; you permitted him to repay your kindness by undertaking, without salary, the education of your son. So far, you must have supposed him sane. During this time there is no vestige of an unsound mind in his journals or letters. He writes all that I have published in his Memoirs, and a vast deal more of the same sound kind;—the 'Second Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion,' in answer to Moore; his two Letters on Anti-religious Libel; his Letters on Heresy and Orthodoxy; he translates and publishes Clairaut's Geometry; translates Clairaut's Algebra; publishes several Reviews, especially a remarkable article on Guizot's History of Civilization in the Dublin University Review; publishes a revised edition of 'The Poor Man's Preservative against Popery;' and collects a large mass of materials for other projected works. Yet of a man so invited to your house, so employed and trusted in it, you write to your publisher that you 'knew him to be in an unsound state of mind for several years.' Was I not justified in believing that in such circumstances there could have been no mental derangement, whatever reports medical men may have made on passing physical states?

"2. I knew him in the most intimate intercourse for more than six years afterwards; he had no reserve or disguise with me respecting any period of his life, and I found it utterly impossible to believe, with the full evidence in my possession relating to every period of it, that he ever was or could have been deranged. Yet you employ your publisher to circulate the report that he 'was in a state of partial derangement *for some years before his death.*' This is certainly not true.

"3. I had especial reason for suspecting your testimony as to the sanity of those who differ much from you. I knew that you had attributed insanity to ——,* whom you supposed to be undergoing a change of religious opinion, and whom you endeavoured in vain, for a time at least, to settle and convince. I have in *my possession* medical evidence *against* the necessity of your resort to insanity as the explanation of that person's state. Are you in the habit of attributing derangement to those whom you cannot

* I need here give no clue *whatever* to the person, and the name was not given in the original, as the letter was to be shewn to others,—though there was no insanity in the case, and I used it only as an instance of the Archbishop's liability to impute derangement where there was none.

convince?* Take care how you make it my duty to protect Mr. White and myself at any cost to you.

"But supposing I had believed your report of derangement, what wrong have I done? To have published with your name, and on your authority, what you declared nothing could draw from you but the necessity of self-vindication, would have been a breach of confidence of the grossest kind. Nor is there anything in the Memoirs or Correspondence which truth, justice, propriety or delicacy, would require me to withhold, even if I believed your allegation that there had been some partial derangement. You say that 'the indecent exposure of the private memoranda of an invalid in a diseased state of mind, will be evident to any one who gives but the slightest glance at the book;' and again, that 'the general indelicacy of the publication speaks for itself to any one who opens the book.' Now this is more like derangement than anything that can be contained in 'medical evidence;' and it is the extreme of folly thus to expose to the world your sensitiveness, and the madness of your wounded pride. A great number of persons have 'opened the book,' and, so far as I am aware, no one, privately or publicly, has expressed any opinion unfavourable to its strict and scrupulous propriety. I have before me the testimony of many persons, some of them not in any respect the inferiors of your Grace, who have testified to the just and conscientious spirit that has regulated the publication. Little do they know the amount of forbearance I have exercised.

"I find you informing your publisher that I applied for letters 'to Mr. Senior, Mr. Powell, Mr. Bishop, and nearly *all* B. W.'s friends, and was refused by all.' This is not the fact. Mr. Powell has given me every assistance in his power, sent me all the letters he had of Mr. White to him, and gave me permission to publish his own to Mr. White. Mr. Senior refused on the very sufficient grounds that *he had no letters of Mr. White's;* and Mr. Bishop, because he could not detach anything of interest to the public from matters strictly private and personal. Your letters produced the impression that all Mr. White's friends had refused on account of their knowledge of his derangement; from no one but yourself did I ever hear of this matter.

"You charge me with the 'disgusting, sordid and heartless avarice of being eager to turn a penny by pandering to a depraved appetite' in the public, 'and as it were digging up the corpse of a friend, and *selling* it to be dissected and exhibited in a school of anatomy.' I will not remark upon the character of mind

* See p. 116, for other instances of the same habit then within my knowledge.

which this suggestion betrays. I have no pecuniary interest in the success of the work, and never can have any. The copyright is the property of Major White, to whom the benefit, if any, will accrue. This the friends of Mr. White, and many of your own, know perfectly well. Mine has been all the *labour* and all the *risk* of the publication. If the work fails, I bear the loss; if it succeeds, I send the profits without abatement to the son of my revered friend. It really never occurred to me to protect myself against such slander, by stating these facts in the Preface to the work.*

"You state that in a former short Memoir of B. White, I 'represented him as banished by his friends, and left by them to pass the remainder of his days in solitude and poverty.' This is not the fact. I represented him as banished from his friends by the necessary workings *of the spirit of orthodoxy*, or exclusive salvation dependent on opinions. Is not this the truth? Was he not compelled in old age, suffering, disease (and you would have me believe, in derangement), to seek a new home, to abandon those who had invited him to live and die with them, because he came to differ with them on matters of opinion? Do you deny that this was so? Do you deny that it is a dreadful evil? You say 'that he left your house entirely at his own desire.' Did you ask him to remain when, to relieve you of a possible embarrassment, he offered to go, that he might be free to publish his convictions? You did not; you gave him clearly to understand that he could not remain with you after he had publicly avowed his Unitarianism. Was he not banished then by the spirit of orthodoxy? I distinctly guarded in that short Memoir against the blame falling anywhere but on the *system* which exacted such cruel sacrifices. But 'he received a pension from you, and another from another friend;'—the latter statement I never heard before, and do not now believe in its correctness; of the former, I do not remember whether I was aware or not when I published the paper. But it does not affect the matter, for I never charged you, or any of his friends, with personal unkindness. But here is an old man, in wretched health, you say deranged, driven from the home to which you had invited him for life by the exclusive spirit of orthodoxy; you tell him by letter after he came to Liverpool, that he could not have remained in your family even had you been not only not an Archbishop, but even not a clergyman, for he could not join you in prayer, nor could you trust your children to his influence; and when I represent all this banish-

* I find now that it *is* stated in the Life itself, in a letter from Blanco White, Vol. III. p. 24.

ment and exile of the heart as an enormous evil necessarily wrought by false religion, you pitifully say that you allowed him a pension. I had nothing to do then with such considerations, nor did I in any way impugn your personal generosity, and I have done full justice to it since; but *then* I was shewing the cruelty and wrong of the exclusive spirit in religion, which works evils that no personal generosity can abate. As to his poverty, even with your pension, the Queen's bounty had to be extended to him on his own petition, else he could not have met the expenses his helplessness and sufferings brought upon him; and when the cruel necessities of orthodoxy banished him from your house, he distinctly faced the prospect of poverty when he could not have calculated on your pension. You must have known that I was pointing out the moral and social evils inseparable from religious exclusiveness, that I had before denied all intention of implicating individuals in these workings of system, and that I have in the Memoirs done every possible justice to your generosity.—But you say that you corresponded with him after he left your house. I know what a part, and the first part, of that correspondence was, and, with my knowledge now that you believed him to be deranged at the time you were writing, it was cruel and shameful. You wrote unkind and galling letters, all evidence of which, out of forbearance towards you, I have hitherto withheld, but which are specimens of your power of tormenting and distressing even sane minds. You endeavoured to persuade him to withhold the publication of his new convictions; you employed others to write with the same object; and you endeavoured, even at a later period, to obtain the possession of the Memoirs which have so irritated you, and to have confided to yourself the responsibility of their publication. This you did without informing Mr. White that you supposed him deranged, and would pass his journals under the correction of such a supposition, yet I cannot suppose with the treacherous purpose of wholly suppressing them. Pardon me for believing that Mr. White judged rightly, and that much of the history of his mind would never have seen the light if he had trusted them to your keeping.

"You hope that my conduct is 'not the natural and necessary fruit of the tree of Unitarianism, except in the case of those who use the name of Unitarians as a cloak to conceal total infidelity.' This is a strange sentence: those who merely use the name for other purposes cannot well shew the natural and necessary fruits of that *which they are not.* Your charge of total infidelity is I suppose the first weapon presented to you by ungovernable passion,—and both the weapon and the passion are of a very vulgar

kind. Mr. White knew you well when he warned me that your passions might occasion me much trouble.

"I fear that now I must publish the whole matter between us, and the whole of your relations to Mr. White. I shall consult his friends and yours as to whether in any other way the wrong you have done can be corrected. But I now distinctly state to you that my duty to myself and to Mr. White will be my first concern, and tenderness or consideration for you subordinate to this.

"I ought to state that, after your allegation of derangement, you were well aware of my intention to publish the Memoirs without belief in the fact alleged, and that I stated to you what principle would regulate me in the publication of those letters of Mr. White of which he retained copies.

"The publisher of the Memoirs could desire no better advertisement than the publication of this whole matter. Yet no right-minded person could see the publication without sadness and shame.

"I am, my Lord Archbishop, your humble servant,

"JOHN H. THOM."

I am far indeed from being now satisfied with this letter: there is in it a needless effusion of feeling. I only plead in mitigation that, to extinguish Dr. Whately's letters, I had to write upon the moment whilst yet discomposed and stunned by a blow dealt me of a kind of which I had no previous experience; and that I was shocked by the Archbishop's stab at a whole existence, his purpose of ruining the credit of three volumes of the life and thoughts of a friend, into which he confessed that he had only cast one fierce glance of apprehensive egotism. I can take no blame for plain and indignant treatment of a great dignitary of the Church who had unrobed himself of dignity; but I especially regret one passage which, meant for a warning, looked like a threat. In telling the Archbishop to take care how he compelled me to protect Mr. White at any cost to him, I meant nothing more than that I might be forced to shew that to attribute insanity where there was no insanity, was not a new thing with him; and the letter of a distinguished physician which I could have given in proof need only have exposed the Archbishop's habit or capability of mind, without affording any clue to the person whose sanity he had so unwarrantably disputed. To make trouble between the Archbishop and the person whose reason was

so groundlessly assailed, or to discompose that person by a knowledge of the indignity, was not in my intention.

The question then pressed, how far it was necessary for me to publish at once the above correspondence, and by so doing to put into circulation on the authority of the Archbishop a report which I believed to have no grounds, or if any only of the most passing significance. I consulted on this point, as I told the Archbishop I should, his friends and Blanco White's. The persons I selected for this purpose were Professor Baden Powell, General Fox and Mr. John Stuart Mill. From the two former I obtained no decided opinion as to what I ought to do; the advice of the last determined me. Mr. Powell, the Archbishop's brother-in-law wrote:

"I am placed in so peculiarly awkward a position between yourself and the other parties, that the only course I can take is that of abstaining as much as possible from any interference in the matter. I beg you will be assured that this arises from no indifference either to your case, or to the memory of my valued friend B. White, or to the objects contemplated in publishing his remains, but solely from the cause just assigned: and that you will believe me always to remain very faithfully yours,

"B. POWELL."

Mr. Mill's counsel was, that if any attempt was made to discredit the Life by public statements of Mr. White's insanity, I should be bound to go into the whole subject; but that for the present, since Mr. Fellowes had shewn the letters only to five persons, who were also to see mine, and had promised to shew them no more, a case of necessity had not arisen,—and that as long as it had not, there were the strongest reasons, independently of considerations of taste and feeling, why the enemies of Mr. White's opinions should not have so easy a means offered to them of discrediting the book *without the responsibility of reading it* as the publicity of such a discussion would give,—a latitude which the Archbishop shewed that he, for one, was ready to take, and to invite others to take. This advice entirely commended itself to my own judgment as to the requirements of the case; and in adopting it I was strengthened by the opinion of the Rev. R. B. Aspland, the editor previously referred to, a man of excellent judgment himself, whom I knew to be in communication upon the whole subject with

persons of large experience. Mr. Aspland, without being aware of Mr. Mill's advice, expressed to me the hope that Dr. Whately's extraordinary charges might be kept from the public eye, and that on deliberation I should be of opinion that I had done enough to vindicate the sanity of Blanco White, and my own conduct as his biographer. I acted accordingly. The Archbishop made no reply whatever. The letters were withdrawn; and the whole matter might have sunk into everlasting forgetfulness if Miss Whately, after more than one-and-twenty years, had not published her father's letter to Mr. Fellowes, with remarkable omissions necessitated by a regard for her father's memory, but retaining everything that could possibly wound or injure me or Mr. White. For myself I have but one matter of regret, that the letter, if it was to be published at all, was not published in the lifetime of the Archbishop.

I have so far put the reader in possession of what actually took place twenty-one years ago between the Archbishop and myself. I can now calmly review the heavy charges made against me, as if I heard them for the first time, without anger or disturbance, or fear of the evil they might work.

I. I am charged with calumniating the Archbishop by wilfully producing the impression that "Blanco White was banished by his friends and left to pass the remainder of his days in poverty and solitude." This charge is confessedly not founded on the three volumes of the Memoirs, but on a short sketch of his life, four years earlier, written immediately after his death, and before I had time to examine all his papers, which appeared in the third volume of the Christian Teacher, 1841, a periodical I was then editing. Of this sketch the Archbishop took up a totally false impression, and then spread it as a veil before his eyes through which to misread the little that he did read of the Life itself. I might satisfy myself with the reply which I have given in my letter to the Archbishop (p. 100). But on looking back to the article in the Christian Teacher, I find that not only did I never represent him as banished by anybody, but that I never spoke of "poverty" as among the sufferings of his voluntary exile. So that the Archbishop actually made the opportunity, I am far from meaning intentionally, for introducing the mention of his own generosity. My letter to

the Archbishop was written hurriedly when I was away from home, and had not the opportunity of referring to my own words in the Christian Teacher, and I took it for granted that I had, as the Archbishop said I had, made "poverty" part of his martyrdom. That it was so was true enough, notwithstanding Dr. Whately's hundred pounds a year, for an invalid requires many comforts, and sickness is expensive, and a solitary student must have books; but I had not said so. These are the words I used in the article of which the Archbishop so grievously complains:

"Why was that venerable confessor, for no less he was, whose worn remains were lately committed to the peaceful grave in Liverpool, in the presence of a few who came to honour Truth in a Christian man, and to supply as far as may be with silent reverence the place of long familiar love, why was he, in his own pathetic words, in feebleness, in sickness, and in sorrow, 'made a beggar for kindness'? In the name of Christian humanity, what was there in the mere circumstance of his having adopted some of our opinions, to place him exclusively within the range of our personal intercourse, and to make him a dependant on our sympathies? We think these questions ought to be put, and answered by those whom they concern. Why came he to Liverpool in the last stage of worn life to make his home with strangers?"

And these words follow immediately on the same page, in a note:

"The writer of these notices would be doing great injustice to the friends of Blanco White who belong to the Church of England if he produced the impression that their affections were alienated from him by his religious opinions. He has reason to know that their friendship, and love, and generous care for him, never ceased. He would be understood, therefore, only to speak of the *necessities of system*, as manifested in the facts of Mr. White's change of condition and separation from former friends. These necessities individuals cannot consistently set aside, so long as they are identified with the system called Orthodoxy, which limits salvation to those who agree in certain opinions. He rejoices, however, to believe that in this case there were individuals who would forcibly have set aside everything but the dictates of inextinguishable love for a revered friend."

So that I am represented by the Archbishop as wilfully producing an impression in this article, which in the article itself I have expressly declared it would be a great injustice

to produce. And in the same article,* I gave Mr. White's own statement, that it would have been the *duty* of the Archbishop not to keep an Unitarian as an inmate. There could, indeed, be no choice in the matter. It was a deplorable necessity of the state of religious feeling in this country, that Mr. White should relieve his friend and banish himself. An Archbishop and an Unitarian could not dwell together, and both be free. That was the evil, and there was no escape from it. *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

That it was an evil, and how sorely it was felt to be an evil, is recorded in a letter to a most dear friend, which also contains one of the many testimonies I have publicly given to the continued friendship of the Archbishop.

"Liverpool, 5, Chesterfield Street, March 5, 1835.

"I can easily conceive your surprise at finding that I am in this place, and you will be still more surprised when I tell you that I have taken a house, and am living in solitude. The cause of this change is a feeling which you certainly will call honesty; but to which most people will give the name of folly and absurdity. The same horror of dissimulation which made me quit Spain five-and-twenty years ago, has obliged me now, in my sixtieth year, to give up my connection with the Church of England. I cannot allow death to overtake me while I believe one thing, and appear to believe the very reverse. My long examination of theological doctrines has ended in my being a Unitarian. It is impossible for me to state the sufferings of my mind while I resolved upon, and effected, my separation from the Whatelys. But such is the tyranny of ecclesiastical opinion, that even such a liberal man as the Archbishop of Dublin could not urge me to stay under his roof, when once I had declared my heterodox opinions.

"The kindness of those my friends is unaltered: to the bounty of the Archbishop do I owe the advantage of keeping an excellent valet, whom I was going to discharge before I quitted Dublin, and who from his good qualities and respectful attention to my comfort has become almost indispensable to me. I chose Liverpool because it is near to Dublin, and a short sea passage is all I shall have to encounter if I should be able to visit the Whatelys at Redesdale. Besides, this is not a *clerical* town, where the frowns and the insolent disdain of the orthodox may (as frequently as it would take place in London) move my indignation, and give me additional pain.

* Christian Teacher, Vol. III. p. 296.

"The spirit of intolerance poisons even the best hearts in this country. I know the pain that my presence would give to some excellent friends of mine, and I must keep away. I was in lodgings for a month, but I found them uncomfortable. I have taken a cheap house, which by means of a very little furniture I have made habitable; and here I am, wishing for nothing but that I may be allowed to die in *peace;* not in *peace* from theological obloquy, for that I think it my duty to encounter, but free from the necessity of looking for another place of refuge."*

I am tempted to extract one other passage to shew how little cause the Archbishop had to complain of me for concealing his generosity to his friend; and it must be remembered that the complaint was made *after* these passages were published.

"Liverpool, October 7, 1835.

"I am most anxious that the friend into whose hands my Memorandum Books shall come *after my death (I trust* it will be my dear friend the Rev. J. H. Thom) may have every possible means to do justice to the character of the Archbishop of Dublin, in spite of the clouds which have hovered between that excellent man and myself." * * *

"*To the Rev. Blanco White.*

"Redesdale, Oct. 6, 1835.

"My dear Friend,—The sum of £100 has been this day placed by the Archbishop's desire at your Banker's in Liverpool. You will not, I am convinced, by refusing to accept this yearly little addition to your few means of comfort, suffer us to feel that you are changed in heart towards us—but rather will consider it a pledge that we would have received the same at your hands, in similar circumstances. * * *

"Ever your affectionate,

"E. W."

II. The Archbishop states that I published what "I knew to be the private memoranda of an invalid in a diseased state of mind;" and that Blanco White was "in a state of partial derangement *for some years before his death.*" A more unscrupulous statement could not be made. During the six last years of his life I saw Mr. White continually: the Archbishop, accompanied by his son, saw him once for an hour and a half. I saw him at all times and seasons, in all circumstances of illness and of what to him was

* Life of Blanco White, Vol. II. p. 107.

health; I saw him dying weeks together night and day, and I affirm that during all that period I never observed, nor heard of, any signs that his senses were not perfect, that his reason was not lucid. Some occasional morbidness, but nothing that does not appear in the Life, some moments of irritation, once or twice traces of opium taken to lull pain, but which latterly he disused, do not qualify this affirmation. Through years of suffering, through his long dying, in which even the rest of a bed was impossible, I never knew him to lose the reasonable construction of every person and of every circumstance, even to the extent of Dr. Whately's words to his daughter, who, supposing him to be in the sleep of death, had disturbed him by a kiss,—"You ought never to awaken an invalid." This most natural and most reasonable speech, for which the Archbishop excused himself with the most touching humility and tenderness, was yet beyond the measure of any departure from the sweetness and the patience of reason towards those who waited on him that I ever witnessed in Mr. White. How, then, could I attach importance to the Archbishop's declaration that he knew him to be deranged? That declaration could relate only to the two years he spent with Dr. Whately in Dublin. To what particular date in those two years did it relate, and for how long? Why did not the Archbishop tell me? Why did he throw upon me the responsibility of suppressing Blanco White's Memoirs altogether, or of announcing to the world that Dr. Whately believed him to be deranged? Why did he not, as I invited him to do, shew me his alleged proofs, that I might judge for myself what weight ought to attach to them, and what notice they might require? He did not believe Mr. White to be insane when he invited him to be his son's tutor: and would any one in his own senses have written to an insane man the letters of the Archbishop to Mr. White on his coming to Liverpool which Miss Whately has published,—at which time I knew him not to be insane? To what portion, then, of the two years was I to suppose that the Archbishop's declaration applied? On such declaration, which at the utmost *could* only refer to the passing delusions of an invalid, which might happen to the most reasonable man in the world, and which might be utter misapprehensions of the unknown witnesses, for the Archbishop had

testified to me nothing from his own knowledge,—was I to obliterate, to hide away for ever from mankind, every trace of the sixty years that went before, and of the six years that followed, of an unexampled experience and an unique mind? If for the whole of those two years he had been subject to false impressions on the senses, which Mr. Huxley, in his Elementary Physiology just published, declares may happen to a person in the most perfect mental health, how would that, though if I had believed it I should have acknowledged it, affect the truth, or validity, or becomingness of anything affecting him that I have given to the world? The Archbishop has not been able to put his finger on a single misstatement of fact, on a single false impression. He only says that I *knew* him to be deranged, because *he* told me so. Yet, under these circumstances, the Archbishop in his lifetime gave partial publication to these libels,—that I was untruthful; that I was indecent and grossly indelicate; that I was sordid and disgustingly avaricious, as ready to use foul means of making money as a resurrectionist;—and these libels, of which I spared the Archbishop the exposure before the world and in a court of justice are, now that he is dead, with the exception of the last which was too shameful to be made known, given to the public by the Archbishop's daughter, and by her most respectable publishers. Of course they stand within the action of the law of libel: but they are safe from me.

It is necessary that I should state that up to this hour the Archbishop stands alone,—that not a word of corroboration from any other independent person or quarter have I ever heard. I am permitted to state, on the authority of Mr. Henry Crabbe Robinson, that Dr. Thomas Mayo, to whom both Mr. White and the Archbishop were well known, on hearing the allegation of derangement, declared it to be incredible. Mr. Henry Bishop was merely Dr. Whately's mouthpiece. Mr. Baden Powell in the Westminster Review* refers, clearly upon the same authority, to the impression upon three members of the medical profession (before it was only *two*), "that just before the period of his quitting Ireland" "he was in a state of mind at least bordering closely on derangement." This was the first public

* Westminster Review, Vol. XLIV. p. 322.

allusion to the subject. I exposed at the time, in the Westminster Review,* the grounds of the supposition, the narrow limits within which in any case it must be confined, and the recklessness of regarding some possible transient disturbance or disorder, when "just before quitting Ireland" physical distress and tortures of the heart met together, as proof of even the most temporary derangement. The editor in reply deprecated the construction that there was "an attempt to fix upon him the taint of insanity;" declared that "what is usually understood by that word, permanent organic derangement, did not apply to the case;" and acknowledged that the allusion ought to have been omitted, or more strictly defined in its application. To Professor Powell himself I had applied personally for the reasons that induced him to receive and to publish the impression of Mr. White's temporary derangement. Out of my respect for that able and excellent man, I print without comment the letter I received in reply. I have mentioned before that he was the Archbishop's brother-in-law. A remembrance of this is necessary to the understanding of the letter.

"Oxford, Dec. 6, 1845.

"Dear Sir,—Without entering minutely into the question to which your letter refers, allow me to observe, that I still think both the general tone of my remarks in the article on the point in question, and more especially what I have said at the top of p. 323,† may be allowed sufficient to counteract any impressions injurious to the estimate of Blanco White's mental powers, or to the value of his speculations and reasonings. It has been an object throughout with me to endeavour *to conciliate the prejudices which existed against the publication, and to attend to suggestions from different quarters*, though I am aware of the difficulty or impossibility of satisfying all parties.

"It is not my wish to take any further part whatever in the discussion of the matter, but I can feel no objection to your bringing before the public any observations you may think necessary.

"Believe me to remain very sincerely yours,

"B. POWELL."

III. The last charge I have to consider is, that the Life of Blanco White is "an indecent exposure of private memo-

* Westminster Review, Vol. XLV. p. 510. † Ibid., Vol. XLIV.

randa, as will be evident to any one who gives but the slightest glance at the book;" that it is "a sort of nuisance;" and that "the general indelicacy of the publication speaks for itself to any one who opens the book." I cite these passages, not to answer them—the book must "speak for itself"—but in evidence of the Archbishop's state of mind upon this subject. I have no intention of calling a number of witnesses to character; but I need not deny myself the satisfaction of producing the testimony of two persons, of not a lower mental rank and reputation than the Archbishop, of whom one had heard these charges from Dr. Whately himself, and records publicly his judgment upon them; the other gives his impression of the character of the book, not after "a glance," or upon "opening it," but after "reading it regularly through."

Mr. Baden Powell says:

"The subject of these Memoirs had for many years before his death been engaged in drawing up an account of the earlier portion of his life, copies of which were in the hands of more than one of his friends, and were seen by other persons. Besides these, he drew up what he termed the history of his mind during the middle and later periods of his life, which contains little of external narrative. He also kept diaries, the entries in which furnish, though with many interruptions, something like a continued sketch of his life to the last. These documents, together with some detached essays or fragments on theological or other subjects, were avowedly prepared for the press; and some time before his death he expressly consigned them to his friend, the Rev. J. H. Thom, with directions for their publication. That gentleman, therefore, had no option but to perform the task assigned him, and we think he has done no more than execute it with the most scrupulous exactness. A considerable mass of correspondence was also placed in his hands, of which ample use has been made. It is true, that both in the letters and the journals there are allusions to individuals in some of the closest relations of intimacy; and we have certainly heard complaints in some quarters that the publication of such details has been painful to the parties. On such a point, perhaps, no one can adequately judge for another; we think it right simply to mention the existence of such impressions; though we are sure in no instance can it be alleged that the parties are placed in any other than the most favourable light in what is stated respecting them. On such a point we shall only repeat, that we cannot decide for

others: for ourselves, we distinctly say, that we can see nothing to complain of in this respect."*

Mr. John Stuart Mill permits me to publish the following letter, written when the impression of the Life was fresh upon his mind:

"India House, 9th May, 1845.

"My dear Sir,—I have purposely delayed thanking you for your present of the Memoirs and Portrait of our friend Mr. Blanco White, until I had time to read the book regularly through. It is a book of very solemn and painful interest. If, as Carlyle says, there is the fifth act of a tragedy in every peasant's death-bed, we may say that the tragedy of Mr. Blanco White's life is both of a deeply pathetic and of a truly heroic character.

"I feel something almost amounting to remorse when I consider that, having had the privilege of knowing such a man, I have so few of the recollections which I so envy you the possession of —recollections of having contributed by sympathy and service to soothe the sufferings of his last few years.† But though I always respected him highly, I never knew a tenth part either of his nobleness or of his sufferings, and still less that yearning for sympathy which seems to have been his characteristic through life, and which so greatly enhances the honour due to his repeated sacrifices of all earthly ties and friendships to the love of truth and of duty. It is always so. Men's worth is only known when they are dead and we can do nothing more for them.

"But, to change from the elegiac to the epic—the third volume appears to me of great intrinsic value, and likely to serve the cause for which he suffered so much in an eminent degree, by the clear, strong, earnest manner in which it declares things which

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* Westminster Review, Vol. XLIV. p. 273.

† How little cause Mr. Mill had for self-reproach is shewn by the following extract, which Mr. White carefully preserved, from one of his letters, and which I venture to print here on my own responsibility:—"It grieves me to think that living alone as you do, and at such a distance from most of your friends, they cannot know how you are attended, and have it little in their power to do anything that might promote your comfort. I do hope you will consider me as one of those whom it would most gratify to be of any use to you, or to shew in any way my deep respect and regard for you. Pray do not hesitate a moment in letting me know of anything you need.—It is only my multiplied and multiplying occupations and cares that prevent me from being a much less infrequent correspondent of yours. They prevent me indeed from writing almost any letter without some special object: but to be of any use to you is an object for which I should easily find time.

"Ever faithfully yours,

"J. S. Mill."

when spoken are almost too obvious not to be admitted, but which hardly any one dares to speak.

"Believe me, with great respect, yours sincerely,

"J. S. MILL."

It is strange and sad—it would be amusing but for the solemn warning involved—to turn from this expression of Mr. Mill's feeling and judgment to the following letter from the Archbishop, which Miss Whately has published, written upon finding that the Life was not regarded by others as he regarded it, and to observe how completely he was delivered up to a blind panic both as to the character and as to the probable religious effects of the book:

"Tunbridge Wells, May 19, 1847.

"My dear Mrs. Arnold,—I am much annoyed at finding a different impression made on some persons from what I had expected, by the Life of Blanco White. Since it appears that some not ill-disposed persons can read it without disgust and mortification, I conclude that there will be great danger from it. Some will be convinced that free inquiry must in the end be fatal to Christian belief, and that, one by one, all doctrines will be overthrown by it; and hence, part will be led to shun and deprecate inquiry, and resolve to shut their eyes and 'believe all that the holy Church believes,' while another part will make short work another way, and believe no religion at all."*

It is a great pity that the Archbishop did not allow himself the benefit of his own counsel and warning to Dr. Pusey: "Your opinion will always have great weight with me, whenever you pronounce on any work of mine read *previously* to your making up your own mind.—It is a task of the utmost difficulty to take the same unbiassed view of any work, after you have both formed and written your own upon it, as you would have taken before."† His estimates of my own truthfulness and propriety, and his daughter's publication of them, I perhaps ought not to be surprised at when I find him in the same publication charging the Bishop of Exeter, with "very well knowing" one thing and yet "saying" another which implied that he did not know it;‡ Mr. Cahill, with "making statements respecting individuals which he must have known to be false;"§ Mr.

* Life of Archbishop Whately, Vol. II. p. 122.

† Vol. I. p. 137. ‡ Vol. II. p. 4. § Vol. II. p. 200.

Thackeray, with "knowing better about slavery" than he said;* and writing thus to Mr. Senior respecting a conversation between him and M. De Tocqueville reported by Mr. Senior himself: "He" (De Tocqueville) "could hardly have believed all that he said. And you" (Senior) "seem, according to the most obvious interpretation of your words, to have assented to much, and also added much, contrary not only to facts, but to your own knowledge of facts."†

Miss Whately has published in her first volume some letters of the Archbishop to Mr. White, written on his coming to Liverpool, and before the publication of his change of religious opinions.‡ The Archbishop, as I have already said, feared consequences and inferences injurious to himself unless he had the opportunity of inspecting and remarking upon the manuscript of the intended publication. I know how some of the Archbishop's letters at that time wounded and worried Mr. White. I have resolved, however, with a single exception, not now to introduce, for the purpose of defence, as indeed not being required for the vindication of his sanity or of my character, any *new* matter of difference between the friends. One extract from his hitherto unpublished journals will suffice to illustrate the Archbishop's correspondence at this time. It is with great reluctance that I permit it to see the light. That I print it now under compulsion—and it is a very small part indeed of what I might print—along with its marked difference from anything contained in the *Life*, will be some proof of how little I have wished to introduce such matter to the public.

"March 12, 1835.

"I wrote the day before yesterday to Mrs. Whately, in answer to a note where she complained that I had used the words *Archiepiscopal interference* in my last to the Archbishop. I was almost certain that I could not have used such words, for I wrote under the most solemn determination to check myself.§ But I did not

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* Vol. II. p. 305. † Vol. II. p. 317.

‡ According to the rule and warning laid down by the Archbishop for my guidance, that letters are the joint property of their writer and receiver, or of their legal representatives, Miss Whately, by printing these letters without obtaining my permission, has placed herself within my power, or my mercy. Let it be the latter; I shall not ask the Court of Chancery to restrain the book.

§ "It appears by a letter from the Archbishop that my expressions were these: 'Whatever you may think it your duty to do in order to remove suspicions injurious to your Archiepiscopal character.' How different from the

insist upon her re-examining my letter. My whole heart yearned for our former mutual love and tenderness, and I wrote asking pardon if I had hurt them, stating (without complaint) that his preceding letter had deeply wounded me, owing to its imperious tone, and the word *dishonourable* which he had used, though hypothetically, in regard to my intention of sending my manuscript on Heresy and Orthodoxy to the press without putting it into his hands. I will not stop to consider the nature of this assertion, and of the spirit which could consider me bound in honour to put into the hands of Dr. Whately a work on the very doctrines which, because I could not with propriety publicly deny while I lived with him, obliged me to quit the company of himself and his family, submitting to everything that could be most painful to my heart. In spite of the exorbitance of this demand, and just with the last hope of preventing a breach which I fear is becoming inevitable, I told him I would send him the manuscript as soon as it returned from London, though I would not enter into a discussion with him. I had some faint hope, though I know the enormous extent of his controversial unfeelingness, that my letter to his wife would have induced him to write to me with kindness, and give up a tone which he ought to know cannot fail to put me upon my mettle. No such thing. The coldest letter imaginable (written in the tone of coolness which he assumes when he meditates to overthrow his adversary—that tone so well known in Oxford) came to my hands this morning. It being my habit when contending with a friend (and even with one not a friend), when I find that I have mistaken him, to make a free and generous confession of the mistake—it had happened that in a letter of his at the beginning of this painful correspondence I misunderstood the following words: 'Had I known you in Spain, I should have paid *you* the compliment of discussing with you questions involving your continuance in the Church of Rome.' As the direction of everything he had said to me, from the moment I acquainted him with my determination, was that of inducing me not to separate from the Church of England—and though once he had said that of course he could not expect I should act against my conscience, he said at another time that *I might defer my declaration till after my death*—I believe he said this inconsiderately—I misunderstood the expression, 'involving my continuance in the Church of Rome,' for implying, favouring, by inference, that continuance. I may add to the

alleged expressions! But I never heard him confess anything to the advantage of the person with whom he contends. He might have said that Mrs. Whately had mistaken the words. No; this is not in his *controversial* or *logical* character."—J. B. W.

reasons which excuse this mistake, that I have heard him more than once deny the duty of a Roman Catholic who becomes aware of some fundamental error of that Church, to quit it. But my heart would not allow me to qualify my concession. I only rejoiced that, in the full proof of my candour, he might see the warmth of my love. But no: I perceived by his next letter that he had laid up this concession to use it against me as soon as it might suit his purpose. And so it has happened. In the letter which I have received this morning, after mentioning this misunderstanding of his words, and another supposed misunderstanding about Bull and Waterland, he gives me a hint about the necessity of my being watchful as to the source of this state of my mind.

"I have seen Dr. Whately on two occasions, when decided resistance to his will has been offered, regularly fly to the supposition of a certain degree of *insanity* in the opponent; and certainly if any man has the power to produce that effect by his tone of controversy, it is Dr. Whately. This is the reason why, after one or two experiments, I avoided all manner of discussion with him. I have loved—tenderly loved—his natural character, affectionate, tender, generous—but it is long since I began to perceive and avoid his *logical* or controversial character, which has all the opposite qualities in an eminent degree. He was spoilt at college—as almost all those with whom he has been on terms of intimacy have experienced. I once heard the Archbishop himself state, in the accent of bitter complaint, that Dr. Hawkins had told him—that while with *strangers* his manner was moderate, candid, and even conciliating, his friends experienced the very reverse of this at his hands. I have observed the same thing, before I experienced it myself.

"I will not answer his cold letter of this morning. It has the composure of a prize-fighter the moment he has stript and taken his fighting attitude. And this to me, a man that has loved him so as to quarrel with others in trying to defend his strong and questionable peculiarities of temper—to me in my circumstances! I cannot conceive, I will not believe that he thinks his kindness to me binds me to him in regard to his ecclesiastical plans of Church preservation and reform. No: his natural character forbids such a suspicion. I have besides served him, as tutor for two years, without salary. I hated the idea of being paid by so dear a friend. He has been kind in money, I in services. I am ashamed to be obliged to weigh the one against the other. But this haughty demand for deference on a point on which we are equally decided, is something inexplicable. I know that he wants *at least* delay, and the chances which delay may

bring, of the manuscript not seeing the light. His whole soul is devoted to the preservation of the Church. To that object he *sincerely*, as those things have been certainly done by excellent men, accommodates his orthodoxy. Why then should I consult him? Why did I leave his house but to be *free*?"

As a general commentary on the portions of the Archbishop's correspondence published in his Life, I content myself with reprinting the following letter, written at the time to a clergyman in the Archbishop's employment, and intended for his eye:

"Liverpool, March 18, 1835.

"My dear Friend,—You need not apologize for writing to me on the subject which presses most heavily upon my mind, and has become a source of mental suffering to the Archbishop. I know your kindness and friendship towards me, and thank you for the information, as well as for the advice you give me. The substance of that advice seems to be, *delay* in my publication. In my own mind, the circumstances which you mention require a speedy removal of the surmises of the Archbishop's enemies; and *that* can be done only by *publishing facts*. The inferences against the Archbishop are grounded upon the fact of my being an Unitarian;—and that is both true and public. Silence would necessarily strengthen the imputation, absurd as it is. The public must know from me that I have not consulted the Archbishop, because (among other reasons, with which the public has nothing to do, at least in the *present state* of things) I do not conceive it advisable to consult persons who, on the point in question, are completely at variance with the views of him who consults. If I had wanted advice,—such advice as is generally asked when a person wants to be supported in a certain direction—for instance, for the purpose of remaining in the Church,—I would have applied to some one whom I conceived to entertain similar opinions to my own, and who, being a good man, continued nevertheless in the Church. That, though I heartily wished to be able conscientiously to spare myself all that I am suffering, I did not go to the Archbishop, proves both that my conviction is strong, and that I do not consider him in the state which I have just described in regard to the *Divinity, and especially the worship of Christ*. Upon those points I consider him immovably settled. But our present concern is with the unfavourable reports afloat. I lament their existence from my heart; but I could not prevent them. Whatever men may think of me, I must obey my conscience. Whether my views are recent or not, whether I have acted rashly or not, is between God and

myself. If I cannot avoid blame in the execution of my duty, I must submit to it. But I have the most unquestionable proofs that, if I deserve any blame, it is on the score of delay. Perhaps I ought to have declared myself an Unitarian long since. I received the Sacrament at St. Anne's not long before I left Dublin, and I would receive it again, there or anywhere, if I had no better opportunity of performing that solemn remembrance of my Saviour. The Popish notion, which requires conformity on every tenet of those who administer the Sacrament, on the part of every communicant, is groundless. If the Church of England had no Articles, or if the members of the Church were allowed to publish freely their objections to those Articles, without thereby incurring excommunication (as it happens in Germany), I should not have thought it necessary to separate myself from it. But the very stir, and the persecuting feeling which any separation occasions, makes it incumbent on every honest man who has cause for separation, to make the lurking spirit of bigotry manifest at his own risk. The ditch must be filled, and I, for one, am ready to fall into it for that purpose. The citadel of intolerance must be taken.

"Consider, my dear Sir, my situation, and ask yourself, in my place, what I could do, except what I have done. God alone knows the pain with which I separated myself from the Archbishop and his family. I thought that when I had made that most painful sacrifice, I had met every claim of friendship in regard to that excellent man. But, because his enemies are maliciously absurd, it is now supposed I must drag a chain on my mind, the links of which can never be sundered. What must be done to restore myself to mental liberty, which, without liberty of expression and action, is a mockery? Must I discuss the whole Unitarian question, as well as the question of Establishments, with the Archbishop? But could we deny, if that were done, at present, that it was done with the object to stop the mouths of the Archbishop's enemies? And would it prove that *he* did not secretly hold my opinions? If he were as dishonest as his enemies calumniously suppose him, does he want ingenuity to maintain any point against me? The more I consider this painful subject, and it haunts me day and night, the more convinced I am that I cannot, must not, alter my course. A breach between the Archbishop and myself would be worse than death to me. But unless he can see my circumstances in somewhat like the light in which I see them, I must submit to the worst. What a thing this kind of orthodox good fame must be, when a breath may tarnish it like the honour of a maiden! I believe that if I were in the place of the Archbishop, I should

content myself with my own consciousness of rectitude, and expose myself to such ungrounded rumours for the sake of a friend who, old, weak, and in constant suffering, cannot bear an additional weight besides that which almost crushes him. What else did he do when the Bishop of Exeter, almost by name, charged him in Parliament with Socinianism? Whatever may be done on my part, to save him from those imputations, I will do most readily; but no degree of even temporary secresy, or concealment as to my change, must be expected from me. I am not to change my mental and moral character at the age of sixty. I have a duty to perform, and I trust in God I should find strength if the gallows or the stake awaited me. Consider again, I finally request, that the reports against the Archbishop cannot be checked by either delay of publication, or anything but positive and public assertions, which may be, and, if necessary, shall be, proved by unquestionable documents. The fact of my being an Unitarian is undeniable; and, far from concealing it, I wish it to be known. It is, indeed, so known already, as that no conceivable power could suppress it."*

It is evident that Miss Whately, like Dr. Whately, never read the book against which she has revived and perpetuated her father's injustice. She has no real knowledge of Blanco White. Justly venerating her father's vigorous mind and many admirable qualities, she has no idea of his true place towards Blanco White in genius or in learning. She is without suspicion of what must be thought, by any one who knows the men, of her statement, that "The Second Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion," "were written with the sanction and under the superintendence of the Archbishop." She, probably, does not know, for the first edition was published in 1830, and from the later editions after Blanco White's change of opinions the Archbishop expunged the Dedication which would have informed her, that to his friend he owns himself indebted for the intimate knowledge and for the most valuable suggestions that enabled him to write perhaps the best of his works, "The Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Nature."

I have finished my painful task. I deeply regret that it was made necessary. The wrong the Archbishop did might have been permitted to sleep for ever. Now it is past

* Life of Blanco White, Vol. II. p. 114.

remedy. Even if it disappears from all future editions of his Life, the accusation against character, the stain upon a noble mind, will taint the air far and wide where no correctives can follow. That the Archbishop, trembling for his usefulness, beset by enemies, with great interests at heart which would have been endangered by an aggravation of the distrust that unjustly pursued him, should have been rendered blind by fear and tortured pride, is a matter that can be understood and forgiven. But, now that he has outlived all dangers, and is universally believed to have been as honest as he was forcible, it is difficult to understand what is the justification, what the provocation in the Life of Blanco White, for offering this double sacrifice on the tomb of the Archbishop. It is through no act of mine if anything that had to be recorded here does not redound to his honour.

JOHN HAMILTON THOM.

Oakfield, Liverpool, Dec. 8, 1866.

VI.—UNIVERSITY COLLEGE AND MR. MARTINEAU.

IT was announced in June last that the Rev. Dr. Hoppus had resigned the Professorship of Mental Philosophy and Logic in University College, London, which he had held from the time of its first establishment. How many candidates presented themselves to fill the vacant chair, we do not know; the names of only two have been made public. The elder and more distinguished of these was the Rev. James Martineau, Professor of Mental, Moral and Religious Philosophy in Manchester New College, London. The second was Mr. G. C. Robertson, a young man of some five-and-twenty years, at present utterly unknown to philosophic fame, but bringing with him testimonials of a high class from his teacher, Mr. Alexander Bain, of Aberdeen; Professor Trendelenburg, of Berlin; and Dr. McCosh, of Belfast. The Senate of the College—that is, in other words, the Board of Professors—were, as usual in such cases, requested to report to the Council upon the qualifications of the candidates, and unanimously recommended Mr. Martineau as the

most eligible. But even at this stage of the proceedings a doubt was raised as to the policy of appointing to the chair an eminent Unitarian minister; although, on second thoughts, the Senate declined to express an opinion on the point, and left the whole matter to the arbitrament of the Council, with whom the appointment rested. At a meeting of the latter body, held on August 4th, Mr. Grote moved, and Sir Edward Ryan seconded, the following resolution: "That the Council consider it inconsistent with the complete religious neutrality proclaimed and adopted by University College, to appoint to the chair of the Philosophy of Mind and Logic, a candidate eminent as minister and preacher of any one among the various sects dividing the religious world." This resolution was lost on a division, the votes being 4 for and 5 against it. On the same day, a motion for the appointment of Mr. Martineau was also lost, the votes being 4 and 4, and Lord Belper, the Chairman, giving his casting vote against the election. At a second meeting of the Council, held on the 3rd of November, a similar motion for Mr. Martineau's election was again lost, 8 members voting in its favour, and 10 against it. The result was a very lively polemic carried on in almost all the daily and weekly papers; and a general impression was produced that in rejecting a candidate, confessedly the best qualified for the post, on any grounds connected with his religious opinions, the Council of the College had committed a grave offence against the fundamental principles of their institution. In this condition of public feeling—which was rendered more intense by the statement that Professor De Morgan, the teacher to whom, more than to any other, the College owes its reputation, had resigned the chair of Mathematics as a protest against Mr. Martineau's rejection—a requisition was drawn up, signed by fourteen Fellows of the College and six other Proprietors, asking the Council to take the opinion of a special court of Proprietors upon the whole matter. The Council, at a third meeting, held on the 8th of December, referred this requisition, in regard to which some legal difficulties were raised, to the law officers of the Crown; but refusing to wait for their answer, proceeded, by 8 votes against 6, to appoint Mr. Robertson to the chair.

So far as the Professorship itself is concerned, the contro-

versy is now virtually at an end. Even should the proposed court of Proprietors be held, it would certainly shrink from so far overriding the decision of the Council as to dispossess Mr. Robertson. But as regards the interests of religious liberty, the cause of university education, and the future of the College itself, the question has lost none of its importance. What we propose to do in the following paper is very briefly, and without any reference to the temporary acerbities of controversy, to review the reasons by which the rejection of Mr. Martineau has been defended. If, in so doing, we shall be compelled to pass over ground with which the newspaper debates of the last few weeks have made our readers unhappily familiar, our justification will be found in the desire to put upon permanent record the allegations and arguments in what must hereafter be quoted as a leading case in the litigations of religious liberty.

It is universally assumed, in the first place, that religious neutrality is the characteristic quality of University College. Up to the present time, no theological tests, expressed or implied, have been imposed upon managers, professors or students. Not only is theology, in all its branches, excluded from its curriculum, but the rigorous application of the same principle has led to a similar exclusion of moral philosophy. At the same time, it has not hitherto been considered necessary to make any perquisition into the theological opinions or the ecclesiastical status of the Professors themselves. Every variety of theological belief or no belief is, or has been, represented upon the Senate. Among the teachers of the Oriental tongues have been Mussulmans and Parsees. Dr. Marks, the Professor of Hebrew, is a well-known Rabbi. Dr. Hoppus, the late Professor of Mental Philosophy, and Dr. Vaughan, who once held the chair of History, are Independents. Canon Dale, of St. Pancras, has filled the Professorship of English Literature. Mr. F. W. Newman, formerly Professor of Latin, is the well-known author of Phases of Faith; Mr. Seeley, his successor, if uncontradicted report may be trusted, the long-hidden writer of Ecce Homo; and Mr. De Morgan, an ardent and able champion of Spiritualism. Into this happy family one Unitarian, if the Daily Telegraph be right, has already succeeded in penetrating. But even he, if we are able to identify him, is only a crypto-Unitarian, and has

done his best to purge himself of the taint by a peculiarly virulent opposition to the election of Mr. Martineau.

What, then, are the considerations which ought to guide the Council of University College in choosing a Professor of Mental Philosophy? They would have a right, first of all, to demand from a candidate proofs not only of knowledge of the subject (which may be presumed to be vouched for in all testimonials), but of a faculty of original investigation; for there is the widest possible interval between the merely receptive power which sends a diligent student to the top of his class, and the genius which, looking at abstract truth from its own point of view, cannot be content without pushing on into unknown regions of reflection. Logic and mental philosophy are, after all, studies which possess a natural attraction to but few young minds; the majority need to be warmed and quickened by contact with a bright and vigorous intellect in a teacher; and those who would be repelled in dull disgust from lectures which are but a dry catalogue of opinions, are allured "into fresh fields and pastures new" of speculation by one whom they recognize as not a follower, but a leader, of other men's thought. But, in the second place, as this originality of speculation is not necessarily combined with teaching power, and it is very possible to excite in young minds eager interest in a subject without giving them adequate guidance through its mazes, the Council would be justified in comparing the candidates in respect of *educational capability*, and in preferring proved success to promising inexperience. And, thirdly, as philosophy has its schools and controversies as well as theology, it would be their duty to require of a successful candidate a power of accurately conceiving and fairly stating opinions not in accordance with his own, and therefore to secure as far as possible an impartial presentation of contending theories to the minds of the students. To sum up, the ideal Professor of Mental Philosophy should be one whose intellectual gifts would enable him to awaken young men to individual thought upon a dry and abstract topic; whose power of teaching would sustain and direct their interest to a successful issue of study, and who would fairly lay before them the historical development and the actual divergences of philosophical thought. And it is only in case of the absolute

equality of two candidates in these cardinal requirements of the question, that the electors would be justified in allowing weight to any other consideration whatever. If the contest had lain between Mr. Martineau and Mr. Mansel, and they had been judged to be in every other respect equally qualified for the post, we are not prepared to say that the interests of the College might not have fairly induced a member of the Council to vote for the Churchman rather than the Unitarian. If Mr. Martineau and Mr. Bain had been placed in a similar position of equality, Idealists and Sensationalists might have backed their own opinions without reproach. But these absolute equalities are, after all, only hypothetical. The bundles of hay, between which stands the patient animal of the logician, perplexed with liberty of choice, are never quite equally inviting. And there is no greater danger to impartiality than to suffer lower considerations to intervene, that they may redress the unequal balance of higher motives.

Now as the Senate reported to the Council that Mr. Martineau's qualifications surpassed those of any other candidate (nor, although they have since sustained the decision of the Council *upon other grounds*, have they done anything to invalidate that report), we are fairly entitled to assume that Mr. Martineau is, in regard to the particulars we have enumerated, superior to Mr. Robertson. Notwithstanding some faint indications of dissent which have made themselves heard in the later stages of the controversy, it may be taken as universally admitted, that he is a profound and subtle thinker, and a very brilliant writer upon philosophical subjects, who has measured swords upon equal terms with the most famous metaphysicians of the day, and has been treated by them with that cautious deference which is the highest compliment which one thinker can pay to another. He has been singularly successful in awakening interest, especially among the young, in the subjects of his lectures and essays; so that the very force of the intellectual attraction which he exercises is alleged against him as a dangerous attribute. He is so far from being deficient in teaching power, as to have sent up to the examinations of the University of London an unusually large number (considering the size of his classes) of successful competitors for the highest philosophical distinctions. His opponents (not indeed upon the

Council of University College, but upon the lists of metaphysical tournay) acknowledge his remarkable power of clearly seeing and strongly stating the salient characteristics of the theories which he assails. Against all this, it is possible to allege on behalf of Mr. Robertson, only that he has been a diligent and successful student at the University of Aberdeen, and that, in the opinion of his teachers and friends, he possesses great capacities of philosophical thought. The Council of the College, then, stand before the public thus. They have rejected a candidate whom their own referees, the Senate, pronounced to be qualified. They have elected another whom the same authority pronounced to be qualified only in an inferior degree. What justification of this is alleged?

The Council are placed in the advantageous position of having given no reasons for a course of action which, upon the very face of it, needs explanation and defence. At the same time, we are not wholly thrown back upon the various and often conflicting pleas of their voluntary champions; for Mr. Grote's motion, though for the moment lost, evidently expresses the view of the ultimately triumphant majority. We repeat it, as the single authoritative utterance upon that side of the question: "That the Council consider it inconsistent with the complete religious neutrality proclaimed and adopted by University College, to appoint to the chair of the Philosophy of the Mind and Logic a candidate eminent as minister and preacher of any one among the various sects dividing the religious world." Now, be it noted, the limitations supposed to be involved in the "complete religious neutrality" of University College, are here stated to apply only to the single chair of Mental Philosophy and Logic. There is nothing in the resolution which would make it unadvisable to elect Dr. Vaughan, an eminent Independent minister and teacher, to the chair of History, which he actually held. There is nothing to restrain the aberrant religious faith of successive Professors of Latin. But is it not astonishing that so practised a logician as Mr. Grote should not see that, if the fundamental principle of the College applies to one Professorship in a different way from every other, the just conclusion is, that the chair itself is out of place in University College? If religious teachers, eminent or obscure, are ineligible for any single chair in a

neutral institution, the neutrality of that chair is *ipso facto* destroyed. The founders of the College sacrificed the chair of Moral Philosophy to the attempt to realize an impossible principle; the only consistent course open to their successors is to abolish that of Mental Philosophy also.

Mr. Martineau, then, has been deprived of a position to which his abilities and attainments justly entitle him, not because he is a Unitarian, but because he is an eminent Unitarian. We leave the Council to settle the application of this part of the argument with their late Professor; for either they are now seeking to introduce a new principle into the management of the College (which we presume they would deny), or Mr. Grote's resolution is equivalent to plainly telling Dr. Hoppus that he is not an eminent Independent. But the principle, however interpreted, shuts up the College to choosing its Professor of Philosophy either from the ranks of the laity or from that portion of the clerical body who have the good fortune to be obscure. An academical institution, then, which boasts that in consequence of its abolition of all tests it can go into the open market of talent and buy whatever best suits its purpose, begins by setting a mark of exclusion upon all ministers of religion, except such as are unable, from the poverty of their talents or the lukewarmness of their convictions, to rise to any height of religious influence; and therefore declares that, in a chair of Philosophy, the ardent mind which flows into eloquent speech, and the love of truth which shuns all evasion or concealment, are matters of no avail! But then all this applies only to ministers; no perquisition will be made into the opinions of lay candidates. Looking back to the history of Philosophy in England, how would it work? It happens (let Positivist thinkers make of it what they will) that there is a close connection between the study of theology and the study of philosophy; not only that thoughtful theologians attempt to find a philosophic basis for their system, but that philosophers cannot avoid encountering questions which lie at the very basis of theology; and that quite a large number of distinguished English metaphysicians and moralists have been ministers of religion. Whately would not have been suffered to teach Logic in University College, nor Whewell to expound the philosophy of Induction. Butler would be shewn to the door with contempt; but then the

balance would be redressed by the reluctant dismissal of Paley. For a thousand reasons the idealist Berkeley, with "every virtue under heaven," would be driven from the classic colonnades of Gower Street; and surely, in all fairness, the sensationalist Locke, albeit no minister, could hardly be allowed to taint that neutral air with dissertations on "The Reasonableness of Christianity." As the Roman once "made a solitude and called it peace," so University College insults all "eminent" ministers of religion with the imputation of unfairness and incapacity, and calls that "religious neutrality."

But in what way would the appointment of an eminent religious teacher to this chair affect the fundamental principles of University College? It can hardly be feared that such an one would use the opportunity of inculcating his peculiar theological views upon the minds of the students; for if this danger is necessarily involved in the subject of teaching itself, it ought not to form part of the course of instruction in the College; and if it is not, an obscure minister, whom Mr. Grote's resolution would not exclude, is quite as likely to commit the breach of trust as an eminent one. To answer the question, we must turn to another series of considerations. We are told that to appoint a brilliant Unitarian minister would disturb the theological equilibrium of the College. It is no longer a question as to turning the same face of neutrality to all sects, but of holding an even balance among them. It is even said, though with what pretence of meaning we cannot divine, that Mr. Martineau has been rejected in the express interest of sectarian equality; and that it has been a much more liberal thing to keep him out than to take him in. What a wonderful weight of counterpoise Unitarianism, especially as represented by Mr. Martineau, must have! The equilibrium of the College, which neither Phases of Faith nor Ecce Homo has disturbed,—which with a Jew teaching Hebrew, and an Independent, Philosophy, and a Comtist, History, is absolutely stable,—trembles to its destruction the moment it is proposed to add to the number a Unitarian! Is he then so brilliant, that all the College youth will be smitten with a passion for Psychology and Logic? Or is it feared that they will seek out on Sunday the too fascinating voice which they have heard throughout

the week? If Mr. Grote's and Lord Belper's eccentric adherence to the principles of religious liberty is really to be translated into the theological prejudices and fears of Paterfamilias, let us know it at once; this is an old difficulty, and we know how to face, if not to conquer it. But the fact is, that this absurd theory of the balance of sects, upon which no sensible man would act, and which is too plainly a last resort of controversial despair, would prove, if it could possibly possess any cogency of proof, the propriety of electing Mr. Martineau. For the number of Unitarian proprietors and Unitarian students in University College would justify the addition of more than one Unitarian Professor to the Senate.

But the unblushing appeal to religious prejudice, which it has been sought to cloak with these ingenious theories of sectarian equilibrium, has also made its way to the light in its own unadorned ugliness. Orthodox people do not like Unitarianism; and Mr. Martineau, and the students of his own way of thinking whom he would attract, would repel another class from University College, and make it a nest of heretics. Unitarians, for themselves and their ministers, are used to exclusion, and, if they think it for the interest of religious liberty, submit to it quite cheerfully; whereas other bodies are apt to protest loudly if their rights of equality are not acknowledged. No orthodox appointments will offend Unitarians; and by making no Unitarian appointments, you secure the College against orthodox offence. And it is maintained that if the Council are deliberately of opinion that the election of a Unitarian Professor, however capable, will offend the religious prejudices, however absurd and indefensible, of possible supporters, and so will act injuriously upon the interests of the College, they are quite justified in not electing him. So indeed they would be, if complete religious liberty were not the *raison d'être*, the very life-blood of University College. A private or public institution, with no distinctive principles and no motive of action but the desire of success, might well act thus. But a blow at freedom of education dealt from Gower Street, recoils upon the College itself with far more fatal force than can be measured by empty lecture-rooms and a failing exchequer. When it has once committed itself to theological exclusiveness, there is no longer any reason why it

but mischievous writer." Some of his doctrinal comments are amusing; e.g., he argues against the bodily presence in the Eucharist from Acts iii. 21; and he cannot pass Acts xxi. 5 ("we kneeled down on the shore and prayed") without stopping to assure us that "no inference can be fairly deduced from this passage in favour of extemporaneous prayers as part of the public service of the Church." Still, now and then, symptoms of a freer treatment are observable. He thinks* "it may perhaps be inferred that St. Luke gave out, as we should say, two editions of the Acts;" and, after dealing hard words to "incredulity" and "scepticism," he even admits† that "an angelic intelligence perceives no difference between the ordinary and the extraordinary works of Providence—both are alike miraculous and alike intelligible as demonstrations of omnipotence." His "practical" suggestions are but weak stuff for the most part.—Less pretending, but more solid, is Mr. Morrison's little book on the same subject.‡ This is marked by candour and scholarship, and may be recommended as a judicious and valuable aid to Bible classes and private students.

The anonymous volume entitled, "The Universal Church,"§ is one of the often-repeated evidences of the living interest in religion which exists in the hearts of many of those who are unable to hold communion with any of the actual organizations in which religious life seeks for expression and cultivation. No doubt this inability often arises from a want of full comprehension as to the real teaching of those organizations, and from a mistaken method of treating the ultimate truths on which religion rests; while not unfrequently the grounds advanced by such men are themselves sufficient evidence that they have not fully examined the claims of existing institutions, and are outside of the fold, not because they are excluded, but because they refuse to enter at the open door. Repelled by the commonly-received theories of salvation and the ordinary teaching of Christian

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* P. 297. † P. 323.

‡ The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul, arranged in the Form of a Continuous History, with Notes Critical and Explanatory, a Gazetteer of Places, and Questions for Examination. By Thomas Morrison, M.A., Rector, Free Church Normal School, Glasgow. T. Nelson and Sons. 1866.

§ The Universal Church: its Faith, Doctrine and Constitution. London: Trübner and Co. 1866.

churches, the author of "the Universal Church" makes the bold attempt to construct a new community which shall avoid the errors of existent organizations, while it shall offer all the attractions they possess, with the addition of a pure and all-embracing faith, to the acceptance of mankind. In the destructive part of his work he goes over familiar ground, and advances arguments and opinions in which no one acquainted with the literature of free theological inquiry will find much that is absolutely novel, though every now and then he will encounter critical remarks and observations which wider study and more accurate knowledge would have shewn the author to be untenable. For example, we certainly have no desire to defend any theory of literal inspiration, but yet we cannot avoid feeling repelled by any one who, however much he may subsequently qualify the description, speaks of the Bible as "a book full of wild fables, false genealogies, lying histories, absurd rituals, obscure prophecies, obsolete superstitions and foolish traditions: a book full of the vain-glorious boasting and bragging of a race distinguished by an utter want of good principle, a systematic disregard of truth, the most perverse tendency to idolatry and superstition; by alternate fraud, violence, and by meanness of every kind; all rendered the more sickening as purporting to be done under the immediate direction and constant supervision of the Deity himself." We regret such blemishes as these all the more, as there is so much in "the Universal Church" with which we are in perfect sympathy. The pure morality its author inculcates, the self-devotion and fervent love he teaches with such evident sincerity, compel us to acknowledge that, amid all his errors, he is inspired by high principle and benevolent purpose.

Mr. Miller has given us an interesting and in some respects valuable book in his volume, "Our Hymns and Hymn Writers,"* which consists of biographical sketches of all the authors whose hymns form a part of "The New Congregational Hymn-book." As these are nearly 200 in number, many of the biographical notices are very brief; while we may certainly regret that Mr. Miller permitted

* Our Hymns, their Authors and Origin, &c.: a Companion to the New Congregational Year-book. By Josiah Miller, M.A. London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder. 1866.

the plan of his work to be confined within the limits of any single Hymn-book, however comprehensive. We find here many bibliographical notes of the highest value to future writers on Hymnology; but the parts of the book most interesting to the general reader will be those in which Mr. Miller has preserved traditions of the circumstances under which well-known hymns or verses of hymns were written. For instance, the "land of pure delight," and the "sweet fields beyond the swelling flood" which "stand dressed in living green," are ascribed* to the influence upon Dr. Watts' mind of the scenery of Southampton Water "and the green glades of the New Forest upon the further bank." So, again, Charles Wesley's jubilant hymn,

> See how great a flame aspires,
> Kindled by a spark of grace,

was written, we are told,† in the time of the author's success among the Newcastle colliers, "and it is thought that the imagery of the first verse was suggested by the large fires burning there at night;" while he composed the lines,

> Strike with the hammer of Thy word,
> And break these hearts of stone,

while preaching to the quarrymen of Portland.

Two volumes of family prayers—one by the venerable Thomas Madge,‡ late minister of Essex-Street chapel, London; the other by Mr. Page Hopps,§ of Dukinfield—also ask our attention. The latter has already reached a second edition, and may be supposed therefore to have found a public of its own. The former is characterized by a charming simplicity of devotional feeling and a great directness of expression. We can very confidently recommend it as worthy of being taken into general use. Not the least of its merits is the absence of phrases which, from their studied or unstudied peculiarity, necessarily recall their author, and are felt to be perfectly natural upon no lips but his own. The highest language of prayer has lost the mint-mark of individual style.

We can do little more than mention in this place a learned

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* P. 96. † P. 144.

‡ Prayers for Morning and Evening, &c. Prepared by Thomas Madge, late Minister of Essex-Street Chapel. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1866.

§ Prayers for Private Meditation and the Home. By John Page Hopps. Second Edition. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1866.

pamphlet by Dr. Pinnock, entitled, "The Law of the Rubric,"* in which, though no Ritualist himself, he arrives, as the result of a strictly legal investigation and argument, at the conclusion, that the Ritualists are in the main technically justified in their interpretation of the law of the Church. "The alleged Conversion of the Irish Bishops,"† is a very trenchant and successful attempt on the part of an Irish clergyman, Dr. Maziere Brady, to shew that there is no justification for the statement commonly made by defenders of the Irish Establishment, that the present Bishops are apostolically descended from St. Patrick, in virtue of the alleged conformity of the Catholic Episcopate at the accession of Elizabeth. He proves, so far as we can judge, conclusively, that the Protestant Church at the time in question was confined within the limits of the Pale, and traces up the orders of the present holders of Irish sees to exclusively English and Scotch sources. We are glad to see that this able and honest pamphlet has already, in the course of a very few months, reached a fourth edition.—Dr. Davidson has published in a separate form the intended Preface to his translation of Fuerst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon,‡ in which he gives in some detail his own views of what such a Lexicon ought to be.—And we have also to acknowledge the receipt of a very thoughtful sermon, preached by Mr. Kennard, before the University of Oxford, entitled, "The Unity of the Material and Spiritual Worlds;"§ of an earnest discourse, "Religion in Worldly Business," by Mr. James Drummond;‖ and of a strong rebuke of Bribery, delivered by Mr. J. C. Lunn in the St. Nicholas Street Chapel, Lancaster.¶ E.

* The Law of the Rubric, and the Transition Period of the Church of England. By Rev. W. H. Pinnock, LL.D., Curate of Somersham. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1866.

† The alleged Conversion of the Irish Bishops to the Reformed Religion, at the Accession of Queen Elizabeth, &c., disproved. By W. Maziere Brady, D.D., &c. &c. Fourth Edition. London: Longmans.

‡ A Preface written for the English Edition of Fuerst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament. By Samuel Davidson, D.D., LL.D. London. 1867.

§ The Unity of the Material and Spiritual Worlds: a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. R. B. Kennard, M.A., Rector of Marnhull. London: Rivingtons. 1866.

‖ Religion in Worldly Business: a Sermon. By James Drummond, B.A. Manchester. 1867.

¶ A Sermon on Bribery, preached at Lancaster. By J. C. Lunn. Lancaster. 1866.

THE

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.—THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

1. *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti.* Opera et Studio J. C. Thilo. Tom. I. Lips. 1832.
2. *De Evangeliorum Apocryphorum Origine et Usu.* Scripsit C. Tischendorf. Hagæ Comitum. 1851.
3. *Evangelia Apocrypha*, etc. Edidit C. Tischendorf. Lips. 1853.
4. *Syriac Apocrypha of the New Testament.* Edited and translated by W. Wright, LL.D., Assistant in MSS. Department, British Museum. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

The excessive stress which the first Protestants laid on a verbally authoritative Scripture, had the effect of casting into undue neglect a large mass of early Christian writings, kindred in subject and aim with our Gospels, which lay outside the recognized canon, and of putting them all, without reference to their marked diversity of origin and character, under one sweeping and indiscriminate ban. Any one who has looked even superficially into the antiquities of the Christian religion, must have discovered traces in every direction of a voluminous evangelical literature, a large portion of which has either perished, or is only to be found in a few scattered fragments; while that part of it which still survives, not having been arrested and crystallized in its primitive form, like our canonical Gospels, has offered a tempting field to the gratuitous embellishments of successive transcribers, and come down in a strangely interpolated condition to our day. A just estimate of this fact, and of

all that it involves, will shew what a rich mine of curious research may be opened in the Apocrypha of the New Testament, to the cautious and unprejudiced inquirer—who wishes to disentangle the complication of influences under which Christianity attained to its vast social ascendancy, and to measure the whole depth and breadth of its action on our many-sided humanity. In spite of the narrow scripturalism which adhered so closely to the older type of Protestant learning—a narrowness, however, with which Luther and his contemporaries were less chargeable than their successors—collections were early made of apocryphal works. Michael Neander subjoined some of them to Luther's Smaller Catechism, published in Greek and Latin at Basle in 1563 and 1567; and in the course of the same century similar collections of New-Testament Apocrypha were published by Heroldus, Grynæus and De la Barre, at Basle and Paris.* But a larger and more complete work, containing all the apocryphal writings which had yet been brought to light, was published at Hamburgh in the early part of the last century by the very learned John Albert Fabricius. This long remained the standard work of reference on the subject; although Fabricius, apparently from contempt for his materials, and in order to take from them the bait of rarity, confined himself to a simple republication of texts already printed, without taking the trouble to subject them to any critical revision, or to enrich them by new and unedited matter still in MS., and without going into any investigation of their origin and character and historical significance. To this great storehouse of information respecting the Apocrypha, our countryman, the Rev. Jeremiah Jones, did not make any addition of importance in his once celebrated work, "A New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament." Jones, like most of the Protestant divines of his day, was a rigid scripturalist, and the main object of his book was to uphold the authority of our canonical text against the attacks of Toland and the heresies of Whiston. This limitation of view prevented his seeing the whole bearing of the question, which he had only touched at a single point. The Apocrypha had no worth or interest in his eyes, except as they helped to

* Thilo, Cod. Apocryph. Prolegom., pp. iv, v.

establish the absolute and exclusive value of the Canon.* The time had not yet arrived, when the subject would admit of a wider and more philosophical survey. Even the learned and candid Lardner does not seem to have got beyond the point of view ordinarily assumed by his contemporaries.

It was not till the first half of the present century, that any attempt was made to investigate the Apocrypha in a spirit at once critical and philosophical. This was commenced by Thilo, a professor at Halle. He saw the value of these writings as contributions to the history of popular belief in Christendom, especially in their influence on the formative arts. He intended his work to consist of three volumes: the first containing the Apocrypha of the Gospels; the second, those which correspond to the Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse; the third, general disquisitions and special criticisms. Should his life be spared, he promised a book which would have had peculiar interest, with the somewhat startling title of "Christian Mythology," in which he proposed to trace the origin and date, and bring out the meaning and connection, of the various legends which have been embodied in works of art.† Unfortunately, he lived only to complete the first volume of his "Codex Apocryphus," which was published at Leipsic in 1832. This fragment, however, will remain a monument of his great learning, his conscientious research, and that genial spirit of critical divination by which he knew how to collect and combine from an infinity of sources, the little scattered notices which throw an unsuspected light on the latent thought and dimmer tendencies of an age. Through his intimate familiarity with the legendary lore of Christendom, added to the lucid facility of his Latin style, he contrived to make a rather awful-looking volume, of nearly nine hundred pages, readable and almost attractive. The unfinished labours of

* "Commentationes suas et disquisitiones non ita instituit, ut, qualia nostra nunc solent esse in pervestigandis antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ monumentis studia, nobis satisfacere queant. Et omnino alienus operis suscepti finis effecit, ut non caperetur res, quam late patebat, neque ea, qua per se fieri debebat, ratione ageretur." Thilo, Prolegom. p. ix. Mr. Jones was one of the many learned men who adorned the English Presbyterian denomination in the early part of the last century. The work referred to was first published after his death in 1726. A new edition of it appeared from the Clarendon press at Oxford in 1798, without a preface or any notice of its author.

† Prolegom. p. cxvii, n. 116.

Thilo have not been superseded by the more recent work of Tischendorf, who has comprised in three moderate-sized volumes all the Apocrypha which Thilo had intended to publish. Tischendorf's services, valuable as they are, are almost purely critical. His chief object has been to reproduce, as far as possible, the genuine text; and he has occasionally exhibited in succession the different forms which the same original text in its passage through different channels has ultimately assumed. We constantly miss the rich illustrative commentary of his learned predecessor. But what Tischendorf has failed to do in his notes, he has to some extent supplied in his prolegomena and in his "Essay on the Origin and Use of the Apocryphal Gospels," which obtained the gold medal offered by the "Society of the Hague for the Defence of the Christian Religion." Availing ourselves of his amended text, we shall confine our remarks in the present paper to the volume which contains the Gospels.*

* The whole of this article was in type before we had an opportunity of seeing the "Etudes sur les Evangiles Apocryphes," recently published by M. Nicolas; and we regret that we have now only had time to give his interesting and suggestive essay a very cursory perusal. M. Nicolas has not confined his criticism to the yet extant Apocrypha of the New Testament, which have been critically edited in the collections of Thilo and Tischendorf, but has occupied half his volume in examining the fragments of the oldest Apocrypha, which must be carefully distinguished from the arbitrary legends of a later age, and in discussing their possible relation to the origin and sources of our canonical Gospels. These Apocrypha he distributes into two classes, the Judaic and the anti-Judaic; in the first of which the Gospel according to the Hebrews fills the most prominent place, and in the second, the so-called Gospel of Marcion. He investigates this delicate question with great freedom and remarkable breadth of view, and contends for a much closer connection between our Gospels and some others, which from being retained by heretics gradually fell into disrepute, than is usually admitted, or is reconcilable with the old orthodox view. We are unable, however, to agree with him, that Justin Martyr meant only one book, and not a collection of different records, in referring to the "Memoirs of the Apostles" (p. 60). The plural form which is used (I. Apol. 66), *ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια*, seems to prove distinctly the contrary; and still more decisively the statement in the Dialogue with Trypho (§ 103), that these "Memoirs" were put together by the Apostles and their followers, implies that they were due to several authors. What gospels Justin actually used appears to us a question *adhuc sub judice*. His citations constantly resemble, and sometimes literally express, the text of our present Matthew and Luke. There is more plausibility in the inference of M. Nicolas (p. 79), that the addition of the "spirit" to "water," in the well-known verse of John (iii. 5) about regeneration, and its omission in a corresponding passage of the Clementine Recognitions (vi. 9), is a proof that the gospel from which the latter took the quotation, must be anterior to the Gospel of John. Still this evidence alone is not quite conclusive, as such additions were not always the accumulation of

At the outset of this inquiry, we must define our object by explaining what we mean by *Apocrypha*. Without pursuing the history of the word through all the changes of meaning, which have been so clearly traced in an early essay of Gieseler's,* it may suffice to state, that we here include under that designation, all those writings which treat of the same subject as our Gospels, but have nevertheless been marked off from them by the general sense and judgment of the Catholic Church, as unauthoritative on questions of faith and practice. Such works have contracted in consequence of this separation, a certain heretical taint, as lying outside that list of recognized and certified works —γραφαὶ κανονιζόμεναι—which was first felt to be a kind of controversial necessity before the end of the second century, and gradually rose into undisputed acknowledgment towards

time, but were sometimes the result of local influence, or of the idiosyncrasy of the author. In the Clementine Homilies, which some critics regard as an earlier work than the Recognitions, the formula appears more amplified still.

Only in the latter part of his work, in treating of what he calls "orthodox Apocrypha," that is Apocrypha not disowned, if not directly encouraged, by the Catholic Church, does M. Nicolas enter on the subject which is handled in the present article. In sketching the outline of these later legends, he displays that happy lightness and vivacity of style which is the charm of French literature, and which puts the reader easily in possession of the results of learning without the oppression of its cumbrous adjuncts. He observes, that these later Apocrypha ought not to be considered of ecclesiastical origin, but are the direct product and expression of popular feeling; and that this gives them their real value and interest with all who look at them from the right point of view. He has enriched his account of the legends relative to the Assumption of the Virgin, with some new materials furnished by an Arabic work, of which the MS. exists in the library of Bonn, and which has been published within the last ten or twelve years by Max. Enger. Like most of the Apocrypha, it has many affinities with other forms of the same legend in Coptic and Greek (p. 233). Before concluding this note, we cannot refrain from the expression of our satisfaction at the development of a new type of Protestant learning on the Continent, which from the mingled reverence and courage with which it encounters the great critical problems of Christianity, is probably destined to exercise a powerful and, we will hope, a beneficial influence on the theological opinion of the day—combining the sharpness and precision of French intellect with the breadth and variety of German erudition.

* "Was heisst Apocryphisch?" in the "Theologische Studien und Kritiken" for 1829. To this essay Credner's learned and thorough investigation of the history of the ecclesiastical use of the word *κανών*, supplies a valuable complement from the other side of the question. The persecution of Diocletian, when the Christians were compelled to deliver up their sacred books, seems first to have impressed a specific meaning on the term *canonical*, which ever afterwards adhered to it. But the ultimate fixation of the canon was evidently not completed in the time of Eusebius. Hardly till the latter end of the fourth century can the process of gradual consolidation be said to have reached its limit. Credner, "Zur Geschichte des Kanons," pp. 1—68.

the close of the fourth. Under what influences the selection appears to have been chiefly made, we shall briefly indicate by and by. But it is obvious, that the books which it excluded, must have been of a very miscellaneous character, such as cannot be grouped together in one class; and that to do justice to the subject, we must discriminate them from each other according to the obvious diversity of their origin and purport. Tischendorf has remarked,* that there is a perceptible difference of character between the earliest apocryphal writings which preceded or were contemporary with the appearance of our canonical Gospels, and productions, coming under the same vague description, of a later date. To the former class we may refer the gospels according to the Hebrews and the Egyptians, and probably some other works of a similar character bearing the names of Peter and Basilides. These older writings have almost entirely perished. All that we know of them is derived from a very few fragments and some scattered notices in the early Fathers. Perhaps the gospel used by Marcion, could we be quite sure that it was not a mutilation of our canonical Luke, might be put into the same category.† If we could recover these most ancient Apocrypha in their primitive state, they would afford us great help in tracing the origin and formation of our present Gospels. We have no reason to believe that they originated in fraud or wanton fiction, any more than our own. They were, like them, in the first instance, the result probably of a simple conversion of oral tradition into writing, from the natural wish to preserve a more accurate record of the wonderful history that had

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* De Evangel. Apocr. Origine et Usu, P. i. § 3.

† Hahn, working out the indications of Tertullian and other ancient writers, has endeavoured to reduce Luke's Gospel to the shape and within the limits which he supposes to have characterized that of Marcion. In this conjectural form Thilo, on what seem to us insufficient grounds, has given it a place in his "Codex Apocryphus." Still less reason had he, we think, for introducing into his work the collation of the Ἰωάννου εὐαγγέλια, made by a Danish divine from the mysterious original preserved in the archives of the Templars at Paris:—though we can half forgive him this violation of rigid critical propriety, for the sake of the interesting disquisition to which it has given occasion, and the evidence which he has adduced from this strange document, with its appended ritual, of the existence of pantheistic belief in that religious society at the beginning probably of the last century. In the second volume of a new edition of the "Histoire des Sectes Religieuses" (Paris, 1828), the Abbé Grégoire has given an account of this Templar manuscript.

come down to them, and with not a thought beyond the immediate wants of the *rédacteur* himself and the small circle of his more intimate associates. In this state, passing from hand to hand, and frequently transcribed, they would inevitably go through the same process of gradual and almost imperceptible accretion, which there is good reason to believe that the materials at least of our three first Gospels must also have traversed, before they attained the form in which we now possess them; new matter being almost unconsciously attracted to them by the spiritual affinities predominant in the social atmosphere where they grew. Cherished by communities which either remained or were thrust outside the Catholic Church, they retained or developed tendencies of thought which became more and more divergent from the orthodox standard; and as they were not arrested in their growth by any authoritative canonization, they were of course more exposed to arbitrary interpolation and embellishment, when the mythic spirit after the age of martyrdom took such a bewildering hold of the mind of Christendom. This is perhaps the reason, why the few fragments of them which still subsist, appear to such disadvantage in comparison with the soberness and simplicity of the canonical narratives, and why they have been so generally considered writings of the same class with the later Apocrypha, remarkable chiefly for the wanton exaggerations of fable.

The general recognition of canonical books gave a new stimulus to apocryphal fiction, which the Catholics ultimately encouraged quite as much as the heretics. For our Gospels, concentrating their chief interest on the religious contents of the life of Christ, and only narrating at any length the transactions of his public ministry, have given few details respecting his parentage and childhood, and have been remarkably brief and fragmentary in their notices of the mysterious close of his earthly career; and these are the very points in his history on which the popular curiosity became most intensely excited. In the effort to gratify this craving for more information than the canonical writings could supply, the later Apocrypha, a considerable mass of which still exists, had their source. They consist chiefly of minute particulars respecting Mary and Joseph and the childhood of Jesus, as well as of amplified descriptions of his trial and crucifixion and descent into the invisible world. They em-

bellish, it will be observed, the opposite ends of his history, where, from the absence of positive fact, the freest play was opened to the imagination, and where they tower like two bright cloud-columns into the skies, embracing the more prosaic period of his earthly humiliation between them. It is from this same part of the evangelical story, where the marvellous is most conspicuously displayed, in the entrance of the divine into the human, and its subsequent return to heaven, that sacred art has ever drawn its favourite subjects—the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Kings and the Shepherds, the Flight into Egypt; and on the other side of the narration—the Crucifixion, the Deposition, the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Last Judgment. More placid and homely scenes from the interior of Christ's ministry were less frequently selected for the representation of the chisel or the brush. We can trace a large portion of the subjects of mediæval art to the descriptions of the apocryphal Gospels, to which we must add the Legends of the Saints as a kindred and equally fertile source.

One of the best known and most widely diffused of the apocryphal Gospels goes by the name of the *Protevangelium* (first Gospel), ascribed to James the Less, sometimes called the Lord's brother, and the first bishop of Jerusalem. Origen appears to have been acquainted with the substance of its contents, for he quotes the "Book of James" for the fact that Jesus had brothers, as a work of equal notoriety with the "Gospel of Peter."* This seems to justify us in carrying back the nucleus at least of the present narrative to the second century. To what class of believers it must be ascribed, has been much controverted among the learned.† As it lays so much stress on the virginity of Mary, Tischendorf, for this and some other reasons, is disposed to regard it as the production of an Ebionite affected by Gnostic tendencies. It commences, in decidedly Jewish style, with an account of the birth of Mary, after the union of her parents, Joachim and Anna, had been for a long time unfruitful. When she had completed her third year, Mary was committed to the temple, and there nurtured under the charge of the priesthood till she was twelve. At that age it was

* Comm. Matt. iii., cited by Tischendorf, Prolegom. p. xiii.

† Their various theories may be seen in Tischendorf, "De Evang. Orig. et Usu," i. § 9.

thought expedient to select a husband for her; and when a summons had been sent by the high-priest throughout Judæa inviting widowers to offer themselves, various suitors appeared, each bearing a rod in his hand—among them Joseph, then advanced in years. The high-priest Zacharias took their several rods, entered the sanctuary and prayed. On returning them to their several owners, no sign followed till he came last in order to Joseph, when a dove issued from the rod and alighted on Joseph's head. This was regarded as a sure sign of the decree of Heaven; and Joseph was ordered, under pain of divine displeasure, to take Mary to his house. There he left her for a time to pursue his trade at a distance. In the meanwhile Mary was selected out of seven virgins to work a rich veil for the temple. Before this task was finished, she was surprised one day at the fountain with a voice greeting her in the very words which we find in our Luke i. 28. On taking her work to the temple, she received the blessing of the high-priest; and soon after a similar benediction from her relative, Elizabeth, in the words of Luke i. 42—44. Mary was troubled, and did not understand what all this meant; but she had already conceived under the influence of the Holy Spirit. She was now sixteen; and in her sixth month, Joseph returned home. He was much distressed, and knew not what to do; but was re-assured and comforted by a communication from an angel in a dream that same night. The matter came before the Sanhedrim, and Joseph was charged with having been unfaithful to his trust; but he and Mary were subjected to the test enjoined by the law (τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἐλέγξεως, Numbers v. 18—28), and found guiltless. Then follows a narrative—in which the accounts of Matthew and Luke are strangely jumbled together, with much legendary interpolation—of the circumstances of the Nativity, of the adoration of the Magi, and of the slaughter of the children by command of Herod. Part of this narrative (c. xviii. xix.) is put into the mouth of Joseph. It is in execrable taste, and must be from a later hand. "Just before the birth," he is represented as saying, "I Joseph was walking and not walking; and I looked up into the air, and I saw the air amazed; and I looked up to the pole of heaven, and saw it standing, and the fowls of heaven quite still; and I looked on the earth, and saw a dish set out, and labourers placed

at it; and those who were chewing, did not chew; and those who lifted up their hands, did not lift them up; and those who put them to their mouth, did not put them; and the faces of all of them were looking upwards: and I saw sheep being driven, and the sheep stood still, and the shepherd raised his hand to smite them, and his hand remained aloft: and I looked on the stream of the river, and saw the mouths of the kids applied to it, and they did not drink; and all things were astonished and confounded in their course."

The principal apocryphal additions to the story are the following. The birth takes place in a cave. Joseph goes to seek a midwife. She is at first incredulous, but on entering the cave, bursts into a sudden exclamation of belief and wonder; for a cloud had overshadowed the cave, and then came a great light which their eyes could not bear, and as the light gradually receded, it exposed to view the infant sucking his mother's breast. A radiance encircling the new-born babe is a constant incident in pictures of the Nativity. On quitting the cave, the midwife meets Salome, who, like herself, will not at first believe that a virgin could bear a son, and, as a penalty, is visited with a burning in her hand; but on seeing, she has faith, and her hand is healed. The Magi, guided by a star, bring their gifts to the cave, and adore the child. This excites the suspicions of Herod, who orders the massacre. Mary conceals her child. Elizabeth with John fled into the mountains, but could find no place of refuge. Groaning, she exclaimed, "Mountain, mountain, receive the mother with her child," for she could go no further; when straightway the mountain opened and enclosed them within the cleft. Zacharias, left in the temple and unable to give any account of his son, was put to death by Herod at the partition (*περὶ τὸ διάφραγμα*),* with evident allusion to Matt. xxiii. 35. A great miracle followed his death. His body could not be found, only his blood, on the spot where he had been slain, congealed to a stone. Lots were cast for his successor; and the lot fell on Symeon, of whom it had been foretold, that he should not see death till he beheld Christ in the flesh.

* The reference to Matthew seems to render this, which is adopted by Thilo, a more probable reading than *διάφανμα*, which Tischendorf approves.

The whole narrative concludes with the following statement by the assumed author: "I, James, who wrote this history in Jerusalem, when there was a tumult on the death of Herod, withdrew into the desert till the tumult in Jerusalem had ceased, glorifying the Lord God who bestowed on me the gift and wisdom to write this history. And grace shall be with them that fear our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."*

We have exhibited this outline of the most widely circulated of the apocryphal Gospels, to give the reader some idea of the general character of these legendary narratives. Under different forms the same fundamental theme is repeated again and again with endless variations. Origen bears witness, as we have seen, to the diffusion of the substance of the "Protevangelium Jacobi" in the Greek Church as early as the first half of the third century; and Dr. Wright, of the British Museum, has recently published a Syriac fragment of it found among the Nitrian MSS., which he refers, from the character in which it is written, to the latter half of the sixth century.† Subsequently, the same story passed to the Latins, not in a simple version, but arbitrarily modified to meet new tastes and the growing appetite for the marvellous. Of this character are two works which Tischendorf has re-edited from better critical sources than Thilo had access to, viz., the "Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium" (the Gospel falsely called Matthew's) and the "Evangelium de Nativitate Mariæ" (Gospel of the Nativity of Mary).‡ The first of these is described in the Vatican Codex used by Tischendorf, as having been written in Hebrew by Matthew

* This epilogue, as given by Thilo, is very different and much shorter.

† Contributions to Apocryphal Literature, etc., from the Syriac, pp. 1—5.

‡ Of the first-mentioned of these works, the first twenty-four chapters had been already published by Thilo, continuing the narrative till the return out of Egypt, with a different title and prologue, announcing James as the author. This may be taken as a sign of the original connection of the history with the "Protevangelium." The seventeen following chapters, which Tischendorf has now for the first time edited from the MS., relate chiefly to the wonders wrought by the boy Jesus in his own country. The change of the author's name, in the titles of the different versions, from James to Matthew, shews how unscrupulously these legendary narratives were recommended to the reader by any great apostolic authority which happened to strike the fancy of those who from time to time transcribed and re-fashioned them. The second work alluded to, on the Nativity of Mary, which is much shorter and simpler than the preceding one, appears both in Thilo and in Tischendorf under the same title, and their texts closely agree.

and translated into Latin by Jerome. According to a preface found in Tischendorf's authorities, two bishops, Cromatius and Eliodorus, wrote to Jerome requesting him to translate this Hebrew Matthew, which they had heard he had lately found, into Latin. Jerome told them, in reply, that the work had been purposely kept secret, in accordance with the wish of the author, but had been brought to light by a certain Manichæan named Leucius (qui etiam apostolorum gesta falso sermone conscripsit), to serve the purposes of his own heresy. Jerome had now translated it, not as an addition to canonical scripture, but to confute the heresy which it was intended to promote. The Latin of this reply is sufficient to prove, that it could not have come from the pen of Jerome; and the extravagance of the fiction that ensues, furnishes, we think, conclusive evidence of a late origin. So far as we can trace the writer's meaning, he seems to have had a confused notion of some work in Hebrew by Matthew, a version of which had got into use among the heretics, and to have also known, in a dim, traditional way, that Jerome used his Hebrew learning (a rare accomplishment among the Latins) for the instruction of the West. The "Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium" consists of two parts. The first treats of the parentage of the Virgin, the Nativity, the presentation in the Temple, the adoration of the Magi after the completion of the second year, Herod's suspicions and massacre of the children—the same matter which is contained in the "Protevangelium," with the amplifications and variations that always accompany the propagation of a legend. It gives, in much detail and with a large embellishment of the marvellous, the particulars of the descent into Egypt,—a part of the history which, singularly enough, is altogether omitted by the "Protevangelium," either from its breaking off at that point, or more probably from its providing for the safety of Mary and her Son in another way (see c. xxii.).* According to the "Pseudo-Matthæus,"

* There is a remarkable contrast at this point between the two narratives. The "Protevangelium" enlarges on the slaughter, including in its consequences the miraculous preservation of Elizabeth and her son, and the massacre of Zacharias in the Temple. On the other hand, it does not even allude to the flight into Egypt, but adds simply, in words strangely adopted from Luke ii. 7, that, when Mary heard of the killing of the children, *φοβηθεῖσα ἔλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐσπαργάνωσεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν φάτνῃ βοῶν*—combining in

as the holy family were on their way to Egypt, dragons issued from a cave where they were resting, when the infant Jesus descended from his mother's bosom and compelled them to retire and adore. Then lions and leopards accompanied and preceded them through the desert, shewing them the way, and bowing their heads before them, and offering no injury to the oxen and other domestic animals which they had with them. When Mary one day was overpowered by the heat, and sought shelter under a palm-tree, it bent its branches over her that she might partake of its fruit, while a spring of pure water gushed forth at its foot. In acknowledgment of this kindness, Jesus commanded that a branch of this palm should be transplanted to paradise, and that the palm itself should henceforth be a symbol of victory: "and, when he had said this, lo, an angel of the Lord appeared, standing over the palm-tree, and carrying away one of its branches, as he flew through the midst of heaven with the branch in his hand. And when they saw this, they became as dead; and Jesus spake to them, saying, 'Wherefore has fear seized your hearts? Know ye not that this palm which I have caused to be transplanted into paradise, shall become a delight and refreshment to all saints, as it has been to us in this wilderness?' And they were filled with joy, and rose up strengthened."* On reaching Egypt, they sought shelter for the night in a temple, when three hundred and fifty-five idols fell down and brake in pieces before the face of Mary and her son. The poetical feeling which, with all their extravagance, still breathes through some of these wild legends, has evidently been suggested by passages in the old prophets, especially Isaiah, which were believed to have reference to the times of the Messiah. By a process not unusual, the writer has turned poetry into history, and so furnished himself abundantly with the miraculous.

The latter part of this apocryphal work forms a Gospel of the Infancy; and with not a few unmistakeable allu-

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this extraordinary manner the irreconcilable narratives of Matthew and Luke. The "Pseudo-Matthæus" notices in the briefest way the murder of the innocents, but gives full reins to his imagination in describing the flight.

* This whole narrative (as Thilo has remarked) is so graphic, that the author might seem to have had some picture before his eyes. It involves a strange anachronism, perverting the old heathen crown of victory to the purpose of a Christian legend.

sions to our four canonical Gospels, which render its divergency the more surprising, narrates a number of most repulsive miracles said to have been wrought by the boy Jesus on his return home with his parents. They are described in the most puerile way, and exhibit the character of Jesus in a very unamiable light—arrogant, stern, and even ferocious. It is not possible to imagine anything in greater contrast with the representation of our Gospels. The narrative must have originated at a time when the sweet and loving qualities which the primitive tradition so distinctly expresses, had completely faded away from the popular conception, and the evangelical Christ had been transformed into a "rex tremendæ majestatis," in whom power was more conspicuous than benignity. A few specimens will suffice; but they are necessary to a full illustration of our subject. When he had entered his fourth year, after his return into Galilee, Jesus was playing one day with some other children on the banks of the Jordan, and amusing himself with making seven receptacles in the mud for water brought into them by channels from the river, and opening a passage for it back again through others; when one of his companions ("filius diaboli"—notice the spirit of the narrative) maliciously closed up the access and destroyed the work on which Jesus had been engaged. Jesus, perceiving this, exclaimed, "Woe to thee, thou son of death, thou son of Satan! Dost thou thus destroy my work?" And forthwith the child died. Great indignation was naturally excited in the parents and others. But Joseph was afraid to expostulate with Jesus; and when Mary inquired why he had caused the death of the child, he answered, "He deserved to die, because he destroyed the works which I had made." His mother begged him to desist, for fear of consequences—"quia insurgunt in nos omnes;" when he, not willing to give pain to his mother, struck with his right foot the buttocks of the deceased, and said to him, "Arise, thou son of iniquity, for thou deservest not to enter into the rest of my Father, because thou destroyedst the works which I had made." Then he that was dead arose and went his way; and Jesus resumed undisturbed his employment of conducting water from and to the Jordan. There is a touch of offensive levity in this shocking legend, which calls to mind similar combinations of the horrible and the ludicrous, occasionally met with in mediæval paintings and bas-reliefs,

and indicates a state of mind, intermingling the deepest superstition with gross irreverence, which it is difficult in our day to realize. The same legend occurs again, somewhat varied in form, c. xxviii. Not one miracle is recorded that has any moral beauty in it. They are all displays of mere power, like that of a wizard or sorcerer. When accused of diverting himself with forming sparrows of clay on the sabbath, he claps his hands and says, "Fly!" and they instantly become living birds on the wing. He strikes with immediate death another boy who rudely rushes against him, but afterwards restores him to life. He confounds his teachers by his knowledge of minute literal subtleties—a marked contrast to the beautiful episode in Luke ii. 40—52. A child having fallen from the roof of a house, Jesus is charged with having thrown him down, and revives him from the dead to obtain from him a denial of the fact. His pitcher being broken at the fountain, he carries the water in his cloak. A grain of wheat that he sows returns an enormous increase. On the road from Jericho to Jerusalem he enters a lion's den, when the whelps fawn playfully at his feet, while the old ones stand at a distance and adore him, with bowed heads and wagging tails. Joseph, being perplexed one day with having to make a couch of two unequal planks of wood, which Jesus had brought from the forest, Jesus, by pulling the shorter towards himself, made it equal to the longer. When his brother James was once gathering herbs in the garden, a viper came suddenly out of its hole and struck his hand. Jesus, hearing a cry of pain, simply breathed on his brother's hand, and it was healed, and the viper fell dead. His relatives, we are told, never ventured to eat or drink till he had blessed the food, and would not sit down to table while he was absent; for they watched and followed him reverently, as if he had been a light set before their eyes. Of such strange stuff is this Gospel of the Infancy composed, wanting even the simple, childlike beauty of a nursery tale. It was not spontaneous fancy, but deliberate fiction. It is relieved by only one trait of poetical beauty. When the child slept, whether by night or by day, a halo of divine glory, we are told, encircled him.*

* "Quando Jesus dormiebat, sive in die sive in nocte, claritas Dei splendebat super eum," c. xxxii. In Codex B of this apocryphon, a notice occurs of the

Next in age and extent of diffusion to the "Protevangelium," and still more disfigured by tasteless extravagance, is the Gospel which bears the name of Thomas, "Evangelium Thomæ." Tischendorf exhibits three forms of this work, two in Greek and one in Latin. In one of the Greek forms, the author is called "Israelite" and "philosopher," by which last term, in accordance with ecclesiastical usage, was only meant a Christian ascetic; in the other, he is called "the apostle." The Latin version simply gives the name without any further specification. It appears that there were several Latin versions. That which Thilo has printed by the side of the Greek, is very different from that now first edited from a Vatican MS. by Tischendorf. It seems probable that in its oldest form this gospel was known to Irenæus, Origen, Hippolytus and Eusebius. Cyril of Jerusalem* denies its apostolic authorship, and ascribes it to a Thomas, who was one of the three disciples of Manes.† He knew that the book was used by the Manichæans, and therefore concluded, against all probability, that it originated with them. The question arises, whether the book which has come down to us under the name of Thomas, be the same as the one referred to by the early Fathers. In MSS. now extant the titles vary much from the ancient patristical citations. But every one acquainted with this branch of literary history, knows well the extreme licence which transcribers allowed themselves in modifying both the titles and the contents of these popular legends. There seems no reason to doubt the substantial identity of the two books,

family of Jesus (inserted by Tischendorf in his lower margin) which curiously illustrates the ignorance or misapprehension of the canonical narratives, in which popular traditions originated. On the death of Joseph, Mary went to live with her nephews and nieces, the children of her sisters. There were two sisters, Anna and Emerina. Emerina was the mother of Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist; Anna was the mother of the Virgin Mary; so that Elizabeth and Mary were first cousins. Anna, being very handsome, on the death of Joachim, married for her second husband Cleophas, by whom she had a daughter, also called Mary, who married Alphæus. On the death of Cleophas, Anna married, a third time, Salome (probably we must read Salomon), by whom she had a daughter, again called Mary, who married Zebedee, and was the mother of James and John. Another form of the same legend is prefixed to some copies of the "Pseudo-Matthæus." They must be anterior to the time when the Church began to insist on the virginity of Anna not less than on that of Mary.

* Cateches. iv. vi.

† The original passages are given by Tischendorf, Prolegom. pp. xxxix, xl.

and that what we possess is only an amplification of the primitive ground-work. The whole of this gospel has not been preserved. What remains is chiefly a gospel of the infancy. It is supposed to be the work of a Gnostic with Docetic tendencies, alleging the miracles of the childhood of Jesus, with a view to shew that he was wholly divine from the first. It seems to have passed more and more within the sphere of heretical influence. Its doctrines resemble those ascribed to the Marcosians, one of whom Beausobre supposed to have written the book. From the Marcosians it passed to the Docetæ, the Naasseni and the Manichæans; but it does not appear to have been ever entirely repudiated by the Catholics. We will not weary our readers by citations from the different versions of this gospel. They correspond in character with those already given from the "Protevangelium" and the "Pseudo-Matthæus." Their description of the infancy of Jesus is at once puerile and repulsive. They ascribe wonderful power to a child, exercised without a child's sweetness and simplicity. They do not exhibit a trace of moral and religious wisdom. In the third form, now first published by Tischendorf, the barbarism of the Latinity is in perfect harmony with the rude coarseness of the narration. In strange contrast with the matter amidst which it is embedded, we find the charmingly natural story told by Luke, ii. 41—52, introduced in ch. xix. of Græc. A.*

There is an Arabic version of the Gospel of the Infancy, of which Thilo has published a corrected text with a Latin translation attached. Tischendorf has given only the Latin translation, corrected, however, in several places by careful collation with the Arabic original. The Arabic was first published by Sikius at Utrecht in 1697, from a MS. in the library of Golius; and his Latin version was reprinted in the works of Fabricius and Jones. Tischendorf divides this gospel into three parts, distinguishable by their different contents. The first, preceded by an invocation to the Trinity, and embracing nine chapters, has drawn its materials from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke and the "Protevangelium" or "Pseudo-Jacobus." The third, from the thirty-first chap-

* It is a proof of the wide diffusion and great popularity of these apocryphal legends, that they were circulated in various languages. Dr. Wright has recently published a part of the Gospel of Thomas in Syriac, found among the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum.

ter to the end, is taken chiefly from the "Pseudo-Thomas." The second or middle part abounds in fables and legends of obviously Oriental character. Patches of the same Oriental stamp are also to be found scattered up and down the first and third parts of the book. It cannot be the work of one original author, but rather of some compiler who has derived his materials from various sources, and confusedly jumbled them together. Two things may be considered tolerably certain about this "Gospel of the Infancy"—that its matter has been drawn from older books, and that the compilation has been made by an Oriental. Tischendorf thinks, that it may have been rendered from an earlier Syriac or Coptic text; and tells us, that a copy of the Syriac text still exists. The present Arabic text is said to exhibit traces of Syriac origin. However this may be, it was much used by the Nestorians of Syria, Persia and Malabar, probably from its favouring their doctrinal views;* and was recommended to the inhabitants of Egypt, both Arab and Copt, by its constant allusion to places in Egypt, and its abounding in the sort of wonderful stories which have always been popular in that part of the world. As it greatly exalts the Virgin, some have supposed that it was originally drawn up for use in the public service on days devoted to her honour. Though many of its materials have been taken from "Pseudo-Thomas," it exhibits the youthful Jesus in a more amiable light than that apocryphal work. Its early date and wide diffusion may be reasonably inferred from the fact, that the traditions which it circulates about the childhood of Jesus have been accepted and approved by Mahometans as well as by Christians. It is true, they may have come to both through an oral channel. But the early date of this gospel is indicated by other and independent evidence. Its contents are said, in the first chapter, to have been found in a book written by Joseph, a high-priest in the time of Christ, whom some persons identified with Caiaphas. The following are specimens of the characteristic marvels with which it abounds. Jesus spoke in his cradle, and told his mother that he was ὁ λόγος. The water in which he had been washed, and the clouts in which he had been swathed, were supposed to

* See a citation in Thilo, Prolegom. xxxiv, xxxv, from Lacroze, who thinks it was written by a Nestorian.

carry with them a healing power. The story of the three sisters bewailing a brother who had been transformed into a mule, and of his restoration to his former shape by the Virgin's taking the child Jesus and setting him on the animal's back, reminds us of one of the semi-comical tales of the same kind that occur in Apuleius and the Arabian Nights, themselves of African origin. Many of those with whom Jesus came into collision when a boy, are here represented as afterwards standing in close personal relations with him; as, for instance, Bartholomew, Simon the Canaanite, Judas Iscariot, and the two thieves on the cross. Though less repulsive than some other narratives that we have noticed, this Gospel of the Infancy is still distinguished, like the rest, by an almost total absence of the moral and spiritual element. Jesus is described as an infant wizard and magician; and in the narrative at the end of the book, which is a simple enlargement of Luke ii. 46, 47, he is represented as instructing astronomers and puzzling physicians. Joseph, who is said to have been an unskilful artificer, was assisted in his work by the miraculous powers of Jesus. It is evidence of the Nestorian tendency which pervades this book, that great stress is laid on the fact, that those whom Jesus healed, were of the same nature, that is human nature, with himself. Up to his thirtieth year, we are told, he kept himself comparatively retired, and applied to the study of the law.

Keeping in mind the almost universal belief of Christendom respecting the relation of Joseph to Mary and her son, we naturally feel some surprise at the extreme reverence, amounting to a sort of religious homage, with which we find his memory associated in the apocryphon entitled the "History of Joseph the carpenter," which Thilo and Tischendorf have inserted in their collections. As this work opens in some respects a new vein of legendary lore, we must give a rather fuller account of its contents. These shew it to have been of Coptic origin; for Joseph was held in great veneration by the Coptic Christians. His festival originated with them, and thence passed subsequently into the Greek and Latin churches. To some such commemoration the present work, which reads more like a homily than a history, was probably adapted, being read, it may be, as a part of the public service of some monastery on the anni-

versary of his death. We learn from Isidore, a Dominican in the early part of the 16th century, that the festival of Joseph was celebrated by the Coptic Christians on the 20th of July, and that on this occasion it was customary to read a life of St. Joseph in their churches. Of this life Isidore says he possessed a copy, translated into Latin from the Hebrew. But there is no evidence that this legend ever existed in Hebrew. The assertion was made probably to give it weight and interest with the reader of the Latin translation.* According to the preface, Jesus Christ recited this history, after Joseph's death, to his assembled disciples on the Mount of Olives, when the apostles took it down in writing and deposited it in the library at Jerusalem. Tischendorf exhibits this legend in a Latin version made immediately from the Arabic. Thilo gives the Arabic along with it; and the Arabic text itself appears to have been a translation from the Coptic. Coptic MSS. are still extant of this history, partly in the Sahidic and partly in the Memphitic dialect. But the use of the Coptic gradually died out, even for ecclesiastical purposes, and was superseded by the Arabic. We are informed by Tischendorf,† that to this day the Copts possess many books with an Arabic version on the margin of the old Coptic text; and that some books, written wholly in Arabic, are now used in the service of the Coptic Church. The History of Joseph is decidedly tinctured with Chiliasm, and this may be considered an indication at once of its Egyptian origin and its early date. In the Arsinoite nome, it will be remembered, took place, about the middle of the third century, the celebrated conference about the Apocalypse, between Dionysius of Alexandria and Nepos an Egyptian bishop,—which shewed how deeply up to that time the Chiliastic belief had taken root in the valley of the Nile.‡ The general agree-

* Tischendorf, Prolegom. p. xxxvii. † Prolegom. p. xxxiv.

‡ Euseb. H. E., vii. 24. This coincidence of Chiliastic belief with reverence for the memory of Joseph, seems to us significant, as implying the probability at least of some connection between attachment to the oldest type of Christian doctrine, and that humanitarian conception of the nature of Christ, which recognized Joseph in the first instance as his father, and which always subsisted to some extent among the Ebionites. This conception, it is true, had disappeared and been superseded by the orthodox view, when the present history was written, as its opening chapters shew. In one of the Coptic fragments of this legend, Joseph is called "pater Christi *secundum carnem*"—(Tischendorf,

ment of the doctrines of this book with those of the early Christians, renders it not improbable, according to Tischendorf, that the Coptic original may go back as far as the fourth century. It speaks of the death of the Virgin; and the doctrine of her assumption began to prevail in the fifth. The Arabic text of this legend was first printed from a Paris MS., with a Latin version subjoined, by Wallin, a Swede, at Leipsic in 1722. Both the Arabic text and the Latin version were re-published by Thilo in a corrected edition, with a notice of some Coptic fragments of the History of Joseph, first brought to light by Zoega. These fragments have since been more carefully examined and accurately interpreted by Dulaurier, who finds in them convincing proof of the Coptic origin of the work.*

Joseph is here described as sprung from a Bethlehemite family, well learned, and a priest in the temple of the Lord, —exercising, nevertheless, the trade of a carpenter. He had four sons and two daughters by his first wife. Mary was placed by her parents in the Temple when she was three years old, and remained there till the age of puberty at twelve, when she was committed to the care of Joseph. In his house she comforted his son, James the Less, in his grief for the death of his mother, and educated him. Hence Mary was herself called the mother of James. The account of the nativity and of the flight into Egypt is only a variation of the theme of the other Apocrypha, marked by the same confounding together and misapprehension of the statements of the canonical Gospels. This is the account of Joseph's old age and death:

"At length, with the advance of years, he became an old man, yet he laboured under no infirmity of body. His sight failed not; nor did a tooth drop from his mouth. He preserved his mental faculties also to the last, carrying a youthful vigour into all his employments, possessing his limbs whole and entire without

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p. 115), a relic possibly of the most ancient mode of speaking of him. Neither the idea nor the expression is consistent with the later orthodox view, agreeably to which Jesus had only one parent according to the flesh, viz. his virgin mother.

* "Fragmens des revelations apocryphes, etc., traduits sur les textes copte-thébains," etc.; Paris, 1835. He thinks the Arabic text is an abridged translation of the Egyptian original. Cited by Tischendorf, Prolegom. p. xxxviii.

ache or pain. With a very prolonged old age, his whole life amounted to a hundred and eleven years"* (c. x.).

Of the sons of Joseph, Justus and Simeon married, and had families of their own. Jude and James the Less remained in their father's house with the Virgin Mary. His two daughters also married, and had homes of their own. Jesus grew up with the sons of Joseph, as if one of them, and called Joseph his father and Mary his mother, and was obedient to them in all things. On the felt approach of death, Joseph goes to Jerusalem, and in the Temple puts up the following prayer, which throws a curious and instructive light on the popular belief respecting the passage into the invisible world:

"O God, who art the Source of all consolation, God of all mercy, and the Lord of the whole human race, Thou God of my soul, and spirit and body, suppliant I adore Thee, O my Lord and my God. If my days are now fulfilled, and the time is at hand when I must depart out of this world, send me, I beseech Thee, the great Michael, the chief of Thy holy angels, that he may abide with me, and my miserable soul may quit this wretched body without pain and without terror and disquietude. For great fear and vehement sorrow seizes all bodies on the day of their death, whether male or female, whether cattle or wild creature, whatever either crawls on the ground or flies in the air. In fine, all creatures that are under heaven, and in which is the breath of life, are agitated with horror and great fear, and fall into profound lassitude, when their spirits are departing from their bodies. Now, therefore, O my Lord and my God, let Thy holy angel come with his help to my soul and body, till they are separated from each other! Nor let the face of the angel appointed to guard me from the day of my conception, be turned away from me,† but may he be the companion of my journey till he has brought me to Thee! May his countenance look bright and cheerful on me, and may he accompany me in peace! Permit not them of fearful aspect (the dæmons) to approach me on the way that I am about to go, till I come happily to Thee. Let not the door-keepers exclude my soul at the entrance (of Paradise). Do not by uncovering my sins expose me to shame before Thy terrible tribunal. Let not the lions rush on me. Let not the

* The same statement is made more in detail afterwards, c. xxix., with an evident reference to the old age of Moses (Deuteron. xxxiv. 7).

† Notice here the distinct assertion of the doctrine of guardian-angels. Comp. Matt. xviii. 10.

waves of the fiery sea, which every soul must cross, submerge my soul before I have beheld the glory of Thy divinity. O God, most righteous Judge, who wilt judge mortals in justice and equity, and give to every one according to his works, come to me, O Lord, my God, I implore Thee in Thy mercy, and illuminate my way that I may attain unto Thee; for Thou art the abundant Fountain of all blessing and glory for ever. Amen" (c. xiii.).

Amidst the superstitious adjuncts of this prayer, there is a touch of true devotional feeling. Expressions of considerable spiritual beauty occur in other passages. For instance, Jesus invokes his heavenly Father for the dying Joseph in the following terms: "O Father of all mercy, Thou eye that seest and ear that hearest, hearken to my prayer and supplication for the aged Joseph, and send Michael the chief of thy angels, and Gabriel the herald of light, and all the glory of thy angels, to go with the soul of my father Joseph and bring it to Thee" (c. xxii.).* What accompanies and follows this, is not all expressed in the same simple taste and with the same childlike feeling. Joseph's grief on the confession of his sins before death is exaggerated. The "woe to the day on which I was born, and to the womb that bare me," is evidently taken from Job, and has no suitability to the case of Joseph. Joseph is comforted by the voice of Jesus, whom he calls his Lord and Saviour and God. Jesus reminds the assembled family, that death is the universal law, from which none are exempt, not Mary herself, nor his own human nature; but the death of the pious is not death, but life enduring into eternity. Jesus seats himself at the feet and holds the hands of the dying Joseph, who silently implores him not to abandon him. According to the more graphic representation of Zoega's Coptic text, Jesus sate at his head and Mary at his feet. The children of Joseph were in deep sorrow at his death; and Jesus and Mary wept with them. Jesus, turning his eyes to the south, sees death and hell with their attendant host approaching, enveloped in fire, and by prayer to his heavenly Father drives them back. The soul and body of Joseph, when separated, are treated

* "O pater omnis clementiæ, *ocule qui vides, et auris quæ audis*," etc. This last form of words is to us original and beautiful, as expressing with singular brevity and comprehensiveness the idea of the heart-searching and prayer-hearing God. Dulaurier has eloquently paraphased this prayer of Jesus into French from the Coptic. Tischendorf, Evangel. Apocryph. p. 127.

with the same tokens of reverence. Michael and Gabriel take the departed spirit and wrap it in a bright envelopment (involucro lucido). When Jesus saw the body lying cold and lifeless, he closed the eyes and mouth; and when it had been embalmed with costly spices, ordered two angels to spread out a lucid vest (vestem lucidam) and enfold in it the body of Joseph—with the assurance that no taint of corruption should ever affect it, but that it should endure entire and perfect "till the banquet of a thousand years."* Those who came to prepare Joseph's body for interment, were unable to detach from it the "lucid vest" in which it had been enveloped. No ends could be found to take hold of. It was a miraculous preservation of it from corruption till the day of the resurrection. Blessings, it is said at the conclusion of the discourse of Jesus, shall descend on those who exercise beneficence and bring an oblation on the day of the commemoration of Joseph. Whosoever shall commit to writing the history of his life, shall be commended to the protection of the saint in this world; and "when he dies," says Jesus, "I will burn the record of his sins, nor will I torture him with any punishment on the day of judgment; but he shall pass safely through the sea of fire. If a man can shew his reverence in no other way, let him call the son that is born to him Joseph; so shall neither poverty nor sudden death ever enter his house." With a coincidence, whether designed or overlooked, with the narrative in Genesis, the body of Joseph is said to be deposited in the sepulchre beside his father Jacob. In chapter thirty the narrative is resumed of the apostles who had heard this history of Joseph from Jesus. They express their wonder to him, that when Enoch and Elijah were translated at once to heaven, Joseph should have passed through the change of death, and that they should be commissioned to proclaim it to the world, and enjoin its yearly commemoration. Jesus replies, that Enoch and Elijah were only exempted from death for a season—that they must still return to the world and die at the end of the times—in the day, that is, of commotion and terror and anguish and affliction (before the commencement of the Messianic reign of a thousand years); for Anti-christ will slay four bodies, and pour out their

* Observe the unmistakable Chiliasm of this passage.

blood like water, on account of the shame which they will bring on him; and these four bodies are those of Enoch, Elijah, Schila and Tabitha.*

There are occasional touches of natural beauty and pathos in this wild legend, which render it far less wearisome and repulsive than most of the Apocrypha, probably from its preserving in a remote corner of Christendom, even under this legendary form, more of the genuine religious feeling of the primitive gospel; though there is at times, possibly in the later accretions of the story, an incongruous mixture of the divine with the human in the account of the relations of Jesus with his nominal father.

Two separate histories are contained in what is called the "Gospel of Nicodemus"—one, entitled the "Acts of Pilate" (Gesta Pilati); the other, "Christ's Descent into Hades" (Descensus ad Inferos). They are connected, though in themselves perfectly distinct, by the conspicuous part which Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea play in each. Around these two principal legends shorter narratives of kindred matter have clustered—the "Anaphora Pilati," the "Paradosis Pilati," the "Mors Pilati," and others—offshoots of an ever-productive tradition. Tischendorf has bestowed much care on the textual criticism of this Gospel of Nicodemus, which he has exhibited in several different forms, Latin and Greek. It had a very early currency in Britain, where the names of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea were held in much honour. The oldest version of it is in Anglo-Saxon. It is not known when or by whom the two parts were joined in one, under the name of the "Gospel of Nicodemus." The "Acta Pilati" possess considerable interest from the reference to them in early Christian writers, and the possibility of their ultimately resting on some basis of fact. They are quoted as historical authority by Justin Martyr and Tertullian; and the same work seems to be referred to by a succession of Christian writers down to Orosius in the fifth, and Gregory of Tours in the sixth century. These references are sufficiently specific, and correspond to statements still found in the extant "Gesta;" which Tischendorf, therefore, concludes to be substantially the same with those

* Of the introduction of the names of Schila and Tabitha, neither Thilo nor Tischendorf give any explanation.

quoted by Justin, only much altered and interpolated. He supposes them to be the work of a Jewish Christian in the second century, and to have been written originally in Greek. To counteract the effect of these Christian Acts, the Emperor Maximin, in the first part of the third century, procured the issue of some other and supposititious Acts, with a very different bearing on the last scenes of the life of Jesus. The "Acta Pilati" appear to have undergone a general re-casting and interpolation in the early part of the fifth century, probably about the time when they were rendered into Latin. The preface to the Latin version says, in conformity with the usual assertion to give authority to these apocryphal writings, that they were originally written in Hebrew by Jews in the age of Jesus Christ. The second part of the Gospel of Nicodemus contains a report of the two sons of Simeon (raised among the saints from the dead, Matt. xxvii. 52, 53), of what Christ had done in Hades—evidently written to satisfy the popular Jewish expectations concerning their Messiah. Tischendorf thinks it may have come in its original form from a Jewish Christian, not ignorant of Gnostic ideas, in the second century.

The chronological data from which the "Gesta Pilati" set out, have been suggested by Luke iii. 2, filled up by additions from the Fasti Romani and other heathen sources; and the object of the writer evidently is, to fix the time of the crucifixion, though Luke meant to give only that of the baptism. This is a clear indication of the poverty of really historical materials. Most of the MSS. agree in these data, though discrepancies and variations occur in the later citations. Nicodemus appears as the author of the narrative. Hence no doubt the name of the gospel. It is an amplification, possibly enriched by some elements of genuine tradition, of the canonical accounts of the trial and crucifixion of Christ. Pilate throughout is represented as very friendly to him, and much influenced by his wife Procla, who was disposed to judaize. The Jews charge Jesus with being a goete. The Roman standards fall prostrate before him. Christ's exchange of words with Pilate, when the latter asks what is truth, is developed into a regular discussion. Thilo has remarked, that the cloth (λεντίον) which is here said to have been wrapped round the loins of Jesus as he hung on the cross, is not mentioned by the early Fathers,

though it makes its appearance in ancient paintings. Joseph of Arimathea incurred the displeasure of the Synedrium for his reverent care in interring the body of Jesus, and was locked up in a cell under a guard of soldiers, from which he was miraculously enabled to escape. Paulus, Bishop Münter and Thilo, think this account of the persecution to which Joseph was exposed for having performed the obsequies of his Master, not in itself improbable. To us it reads too much like a mere imitation of the story in Matthew, about the sealing and guarding of the sepulchre of Jesus. The malefactors crucified with Jesus are here called Dysmas and Gistas; and in one of the variants of the story, Dysmas, the penitent thief, is said to have met Jesus and his mother on their flight into Egypt, and to have prepared the way for the relenting of his last hour, by having assisted and worshiped them there. The account of the appearance of Jesus after his resurrection, and of his ascension, is taken substantially from that of Matthew and Mark, according to which he shewed himself to his disciples on a mountain in Galilee.*

The "Descensus Christi ad Inferos" is interesting from the light which it throws on the popular Jewish belief respecting the state of the dead; and this part of his work Thilo has illustrated with great and most copious learning. We have only time to notice a very few particulars. The sons of Simeon who bring the report from Hades, cross themselves on their faces—according to one version, on their tongues—before they proceed to write an account of what they had seen. Christ conveys Adam from Hades to Paradise, up to that time tenanted only by Enoch and Elijah. Thilo has a very instructive note on this passage. Paradise, from which Adam had been expelled, and to which he was finally restored by Christ, was placed above and beyond the limits of this earth. According to the prevalent language of ancient writers (based at first on Jewish ideas), three different states are to be distinguished: (1.) *Heaven*, Cœlum, οὐρανός, the dwelling-place of God himself, where alone the beatific vision can be enjoyed;

* Thilo has noticed in a note (Cod. Apocr. p. 620) the desperate attempt of some later writers to harmonize the account of the two first evangelists with that of Luke, by assuming that Galilee was a name for that part of Mount Olivet from which Christ ascended.

(2.) *Paradise*, παράδεισος, an intermediate state, to which only Enoch and Elijah had been admitted before the advent of Christ, and to which Christ, after his *descensus ad inferos*, carried back Adam, and admitted the patriarchs and prophets and the penitent thief, and good men under the old dispensation,—as a place of preparation for the final entrance into heaven; (3.) Ἅδης, Hades, *Inferi*, the invisible world, the intermediate state for all men between death and the resurrection, with a place set apart, called "Abraham's bosom," *locus refrigerii*, for the souls of the pious. The Christian writers are not always self-consistent in their use of these terms, and especially often mean by παράδεισος, in a loose and general sense, the happy state of the virtuous after death. The allegorical phraseology current in Origen's school, naturally encouraged this vague indefiniteness of use.

Some descriptions in this legend are very graphic; as, for example, the dialogue between Hades and Satan, the equivalents of Milton's Death and Sin, on the approaching overthrow of their power by Christ. But anachronisms and absurdities of all kinds abound. Pilate asks to see the Jewish archives—in other words, the Old Testament—preserved in a casket in the Temple, and finds that the birth and mission of Christ had been truly foretold in them, and that 5500 years had intervened between the creation and the advent. Hereupon Pilate framed his report, which he transmitted to the Emperor Claudius. According to one statement contained in the "Paradosis Pilati," Pilate was condemned by Cæsar to be beheaded; when he prayed to Christ, who assured him that, with his wife Procla, he should obtain salvation at the second coming. According to another account (the "Mors Pilati"), Tiberius, being ill, sent a messenger to obtain the medical aid of Jesus. The messenger, on arriving in Palestine, found that Jesus had been already put to death by Pilate. Returning home again, he met Veronica on the way, who told him of the miraculous portrait of Christ in her possession, impressed on a napkin. She accompanied him to Rome, where the picture effected wonderful cures. Pilate destroyed himself, and his body was thrown into the Tiber, where terrible signs accompanied it. It was then taken to Vienne, and cast into the Rhone, and was at last deposited at the bottom of a deep well, where signs of diabolical working were said to shew themselves.

The legend dilates much on the history of the penitent thief. He had been guilty of sacrilege and seduction early in life; but his repentance was so deep and effectual, that he was admitted direct into Paradise, and appeared to Joseph in company with Christ after the resurrection. In the last apocryphon edited by Tischendorf, entitled, "Vindicta Salvatoris," the substance of which is found in an old Anglo-Saxon legend,—there is a strange confusion of history and chronology, which well illustrates the character of the later of these writings. It makes Tiberius contemporary with Vespasian and Titus. The story of Veronica is interwoven with an account of the healing influence of her miraculous picture. Titus and Vespasian avenge the wrong inflicted on Jesus Christ by the Jews, so that many of them destroy themselves. Pilate is imprisoned and guarded by four quaternions of soldiers in Damascus. In another passage we are told, that Volusianus was sent by Tiberius into Judæa to carry out his purpose of avenging the memory of Christ. Tiberius was afterwards baptized in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, cured of all his infirmities, and fully instructed in all the articles of the Christian faith.* These specimens will suffice to shew into what outgrowths of absurdity the later forms of the popular tradition expanded. It is significant, that the Jews are here held up as the great enemies of Christ, while the heathen emperors and magistrates are represented as generally favourable to him.

When we reflect that the canonical and apocryphal Gospels grew ultimately out of the same traditional root, we cannot but feel astonishment at the very great dissimilitude between them; and the lower down we pursue the stream of apocryphal development, the more striking does the divergency become. Whatever there is of the marvellous interspersed through the canonical Gospels—if we except what are perhaps later accretions at the two extremities of the narrative—lies, as it were, quietly embedded in the history —in marked subordination to the moral and spiritual elements which form its substance and give it its predominant character; whereas the apocryphal Gospels seem to riot in a wanton extravagance of fiction, as if their sole object was

* "Tunc Tiberius imperator fuit instructus in omnibus articulis fidei plenarie et firma fide." Tischendorf, Evang. Apocr. p. 463.

to exhibit displays of capricious power and produce a senseless wonderment, while moral objects are lost sight of, and in some cases the moral feelings are outraged. They so constantly fly in the face of the clearest statements and still more obvious tendency of the canonical Gospels, that it is sometimes difficult to believe, that the apocryphal writers could have been acquainted with them, or at least could have held them in such reverence, as to feel themselves under any control in the indulgence of their wildest fancies. Had no Scripture such as the Church recognized as authoritative, been in existence, the licence could hardly have been more reckless and unrestrained. And yet, with all this freedom, nothing is more remarkable in these apocryphal Gospels than their singular poverty of invention. They constantly repeat the same theme with tasteless variations, increasing in extravagance the further they recede from the original tradition. All the varieties extant may be traced back through successive accretions to one or two primary types, belonging perhaps in their oldest form to that voluminous mass of evangelical narratives which Luke's preface attests, and out of which our canonical Gospels were finally selected. The Coptic legends,—probably as lying at a greater distance from the central action of Christendom,—are most strongly marked with a character of their own, and preserve most of the freshness and simplicity of the primitive story. In this constant use of the same materials with only slight changes of form, the Apocrypha of the New Testament resemble the romances of the middle ages. While canonicity and the scholasticism which worked on the materials that it recognized, were shut up within the Church and watched by a vigilant priesthood, outside its limits the freest play was allowed to the rude popular imagination, which the monks and clergy themselves did not always refuse to indulge. Allied to the apocryphal Gospels, and springing from a similar demand, were the Legends of the Saints. In such works the imaginative element of Christianity found its expression. Relics of the superseded heathenism were brought into requisition, and, mingling with the miraculous of the Christian story, formed a wild supernatural back-ground to the narrative, in which apostles and martyrs were strangely mingled with Teutonic witches and fairies. In the absence of the newspaper and the novel,

which supply such an unfailing source of mental excitement at the present day, we must remember what a dreary vacancy would have been left without some writings of this description, during the long winter evenings of the middle ages, in the refectory of the convent and the hall of the baronial castle. This was partially relieved from two sources —Christian legends and the romances of chivalry; and sometimes, oddly enough, the two sources were intermingled. This is clearly indicated by a strange story, that Archbishop Turpin, the supposed author of the famous "Achievements of Charlemagne," a fertile source of romantic fable,—translated the Gospel of Nicodemus from Latin into French. "From which," says Thilo, "we may infer that the Gospel of Nicodemus was in some way connected with the romances of chivalry."* This appears from other sources. In a French translation, this Gospel is blended in one and the same narrative with the celebrated romance of "King Perceforest." The holy Graal, which plays so conspicuous a part in the romantic literature of the middle ages, was the eucharistic chalice in which Joseph of Arimathea was believed to have received the blood that flowed from the wounded side of Jesus. All this wild growth of legendary fiction, both religious and heroic (for they were closely intermingled with each other), was the form in which the influence of Christianity on the popular imagination found vent, and in one sense purified itself, before it passed into those higher manifestations of its spirit, expressed on one hand in the sublime spiritual creations of Dante and Milton, of Raffaelle and Da Vinci, and on the other in the refined and graceful chivalry of Tasso and Spenser.

The whole subject is suggestive and interesting; and the history of Christianity as a most powerful agent in the general development of the human race, would be very in-

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* "Conjicias inde, quod continuo aliis documentis confirmabimus, evangelium Nicodemi aliquo modo cum fabulis mediæ ætatis Romanensibus, quas dicunt, conjunctum esse." Prolegom. p. cxlvi. How greatly this same Gospel of Nicodemus was reverenced in England down to the very eve of the Reformation, we learn from a fact mentioned in the same page by Thilo, that when Erasmus visited England in 1524, he found a copy of it fastened to a pillar in Canterbury Cathedral. Its high popularity is shewn also by the numerous translations of it into English. Among them there is said to be one in MS. by Wycliffe. Several were printed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, one in 1509 by Wynkin de Worde. Thilo in loc.

adequately understood without taking it into view. But the question yet remains to be answered: what lies at the bottom of that marked distinction of character which no reader can fail to observe on comparing the apocryphal with the canonical Gospels? We believe it to have been essentially this: that while the Apocrypha were left to the unimpeded development of their legendary and imaginative elements, with no limit but the demands of the popular appetite for the marvellous,—our Gospels were providentially arrested and consecrated in their present form by the discriminating judgment of the heads of the churches, while the earnest religious faith of the primitive movement still subsisted in unabated force, and furnished the determining principle of their selection. When the foundations of our canon were laid at the end of the second century, Christendom still lay under the solemn awe of a belief in approaching judgment; and it was the one object of the Christian leaders, following in the steps of their apostolic predecessors, to prepare man by repentance and faith and a holy life for meeting it in trust and hope. Distracted by the controversies which speculation or inordinate curiosity had excited, and which diverted men's minds from the great business of personal conversion and spiritual renovation,—they aimed at preserving the primitive tradition of the apostles pure and intact in the churches which had been founded by them. In selecting the books which were to guard and transmit it, and to be henceforth a final standard of belief and practice to the Church, they were clearly guided, not by the critical judgment which modern scholars would apply to a question of authorship, but by that finer religious sense, which enabled them instinctively to reject what did not carry with it the true apostolic flavour—all that was simply a product of the cold intellect or the wild fancy, and did not come direct from the believing soul. How fairly and justly the selection was finally made, and how fully it represents the many sides of Christian feeling and apprehension,—its diversified contents and the lasting hold that it has exercised on the veneration of Christians, abundantly prove. Contrasted in their broad general features, we might say, that the canonical Gospels are monuments of profound religious conviction, designed to satisfy above all things the spiritual wants of man; while the

apocryphal are the fruit of credulity and imaginative wilfulness, released from the control of any deep-felt religious responsibility, freely yielding to the varying impulse of popular sentiment, and intended to gratify restless curiosity, dogmatic prepossession, or a craving for excitement.

Through the past history of the Church two streams have been ever flowing side by side—one, shut in by the firm and solid dikes of canonical Scripture, carrying along with it a mass of technical learning, and stimulating within prescribed limits the exercise of a scholastic intellect; the other, overflowing into the free spaces of popular thought, calling into birth a luxuriant growth of the imagination, and filling the art and literature of Christendom with wild and fanciful creations. Both we trace back at last through different channels to a common fountain of life in Jesus Christ, whose providential mission and divine work are attested, not only by the intrinsic worth and self-evidencing truth of his pure and uncorrupted doctrine, but even by the vast extent to which it has blended itself with kindred errors and permeated the length and breadth of the common soul of humanity—by the multiplicity of effects to which it has given rise, and the endless variety of shapes in which it has clothed itself. Only perhaps through such an intervening change of gradual amalgamation and progressive purification, can a complete combination of the divine and the human be ever expected to take place—the length of the process bearing some proportion to the magnitude of the result. It is in this view that a study of the Apocrypha becomes instructive. In a future paper we may perhaps notice those which correspond to the Acts and the Epistles, and a still more interesting class of writings embraced within the title of Christian Apocalyptic.

J. J. TAYLER.

II.—RAMMOHUN ROY AND HINDOO THEISM.

The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy. Edited by Mary Carpenter, of Bristol. Trübner. 1866.

*The Brahmo Samaj.** By Frances Power Cobbe. (Fraser's Magazine, August, 1866.)

The Indian Mirror (Fortnightly Periodical). Vol. VI. Calcutta. 1866.

An Appeal to Young India. By a Missionary of the Brahmo Somaj.

The Destiny of Human Life: Lecture delivered at the Bhabanipur Brahmo Somaj Hall. Calcutta. 1862.

Man the Son of God: Lecture delivered in the Puttoldanga Brahmo Somaj Hall. By Hurro Lall Roy, B.A. Calcutta. 1863.

The Brahmo Somaj Vindicated: Substance of an Extempore Lecture at the Brahmo Somaj Hall. Calcutta. 1863.

The Religious Prospects of India: a Discourse read before the Society of Theistic Friends. Calcutta. 1864.

Lecture on the Unity and Variety in Religion. By Hurro Lall Roy, B.A. Calcutta. 1865.

Jesus Christ; Europe and Asia: Extempore Lecture in Medical College. Second Edition. Calcutta. 1866.

In reviewing the published works of William Johnson Fox, our attention was particularly arrested by his sermon on the death of Rammohun Roy. The personal character of this illustrious reformer, the impression which his visit to this country made on English society, and the influence his actions and writings have left upon the natives of India, have appeared worthy of a separate notice; especially at a moment when public education in India is becoming a popular topic, and the movement which agitates the whole ocean of religious thought, as well in the Eastern as the Western world, is awakening the interest of the inquiring and the thoughtful,—alarming the fears of the ignorant and

* Throughout Miss Cobbe's article, the word Somaj is printed Samaj. This may be warranted by the etymology (Samaja, an Assembly), but is not the spelling generally adopted in India.

the timid, and exciting the hopes of those who begin to see light-beams breaking through the darkness, and who know that free and fair discussion must ultimately serve the cause of right and truth.

The religious movement in India, which originated mainly in the efforts of Rammohun Roy to relieve his countrymen from the thraldom of idolatry, has been undergoing a new and remarkable phase. The great Brahmin did not contemplate an emancipation from the authority of the sacred writings called the Vedas, but sought in their more elevated and intellectual teachings to find evidence of the spirituality of God, sufficiently potent to counteract the grosser and more material notions with which heathenism had connected the attributes of the Deity. In the more advanced and perhaps more enlightened views of the now-existing Brahmo Somaj—the Brahminical Society—the difficulty of disentangling the meaner from the loftier elements of the ancient Sanscrit records has been sensibly felt, and the new religion which is making way in British India may be properly called a Philosophical Theism.

Thus it is that the orthodoxy of India, like the orthodoxy of Europe, is pervaded and undermined by a widely extended and still extending scepticism;—that scepticism undoubtedly representing the highest order of intelligence. The forms of oriental idolatry are unbearably gross and disgusting to our intellectual vision; but scarcely more so than to a cultivated Brahmin are the popular ideas of a God in whom a narrow favouritism on the one hand, and implacable vengeance on the other, are distinctive attributes,—who selects the few for everlasting bliss, and condemns the many to everlasting woe,—whose purposes are marred or thwarted by a malignant entity whom He is unable or unwilling to subdue,—and whose scheme of justice is the sacrifice of purity and innocence for the condonation of guilt and crime. But one distinction, one difference exists,—and it is a very sad one to the disadvantage of India, and a fearful additional difficulty in the way of reform,—namely, the separation of caste. In both regions, however, the convictions of the thoughtful and the philosophical are as remote from the creeds of the credulous and servile multitude as they can possibly be.

The missionaries in India, naturally enough, have endea-

voured to make popular education an instrument for the conversion of the Hindoos to orthodox Christianity. These missionaries look with no complacency on the movement of the Brahmo Somaj towards reformed Brahminism, and have frequently been known to declare that it is easier to deal with the heathen than with the Vedanters. The superstitious Hindoo would find no difficulty in accepting the mysterious and the miraculous in any of their varied forms—indeed his own creed and his own worship present them in the most monstrous shapes—but he can discover in Christian books and Christian teachers no authority greater, nor so great, as that he is accustomed to associate with his own idolatrous usages, as directed and explained by those to whom he has been accustomed to look up for spiritual guidance, and as practised from immemorial time among his family, friends, associates, and the people of his race. But when the chains of idolatry have been broken, and the unity and spirituality of the Godhead have become the foundations of a new form of worship, the doctrine of the Trinity, with those ramifications which have been often called "peculiar to Christianity," will assuredly not approve itself to the enlightened and inquiring Hindoo; while among the uncultivated, Catholicism—with its pomp and parade, its images and pictures, its music and its perfumes, its festivals and its processions—is far more likely to attract the ceremonial-loving and impulsive natives, than Protestantism in any of its shapes—all colder and less sensuous.

The strong hold of the past upon the present, which is concentrated in the word "authority," has always been, and will continue to be, a great barrier in the way of progress. There runs through all languages a form of expression—in itself erroneous, and leading to erroneous conclusions—associating, or rather confounding, the remotest past with the highest antiquity. The earliest generations were the youngest—our own is the oldest which the world has known. As our grandfathers seem older than our fathers, and our children and grandchildren younger than ourselves, we are in the habit of connecting bygone years with thoughts of age, and coming days with thoughts of youth. We attach reverence and authority to those who have preceded us, inasmuch as to them we owe all the foundations of our knowledge. This respect for former times

—which in some countries, as in China, has become in itself a religion, and is called the "worship of ancestors"—permeates all society, and gives to the words of wisdom which have been brought down from the ancient sages a marvellous weight and power. They become stereotyped on the mind of nations—indelibly stereotyped, especially when they are such as approve themselves to our own intellectual judgments. And assuredly no religion of antiquity has ever obtained a strong and lasting hold without possessing some elements of truth and beauty; and when inquiry comes with more light and more knowledge to clear away the mists and illumine the darkness of the past, it generally stretches out a timid and reverent hand, and is unwilling to root up as a worthless weed anything that was found in the old gardens of authority. Not long ago, it was almost profanity to speak lightly of any fragment of our sacred books. "The Bible! the Bible!—nothing but the Bible!"—was the cry of Christendom; just as "The Veds! the Veds! the sacred Veds!" was written on the banners of the early Hindoo reformers. They were hallowed with the sanction of more than thirty centuries. But as now in Christendom an almost universal concession is made that there may be something *not* divine, which it is the fashion to call "a human element," in our biblical records,—so the Veds and the other holy books are acknowledged to have their errors and their imperfections. All this is but the recognition of the fact, that we are—as we ought to be—wiser than our progenitors, inasmuch as we have added to their experience, experience of our own. The world has lived longer, and we who represent the world are older than they.

Rammohun Roy did not absolutely break away from the superstitious external forms of Brahminism—not that he valued them, but many domestic and social considerations led him to the conclusion that in the furtherance of his own work he should not subject himself to be excommunicated and anathematized. He never lost caste. Advancing opinion, growing out of free discussion, has encouraged the leading members of the Brahmo Somaj to pursue a bolder course. Pre-eminent among these is Kesheb Chunder Sen, a young man of whom, and his eloquent coadjutor Hurro Lall Roy, Miss Cobbe gives some account, with extracts from their writings, in the excellent article in Fraser's Maga-

zine. They shall speak for themselves in a few passages which we transfer to our pages.

Portions of five sermons, all preached by Unitarian ministers on occasion of Rammohun Roy's death, help to fill the pages of Miss Carpenter's volume. Of these Mr. Fox's is the most eloquent; but they all represent the impressions left by the Rajah on the circle where he was best known, and of the anticipations then formed of the religious condition and prospects of the Oriental world.

Some injustice was done by Mr. Fox to Indian society in general, in the desire to contrast the greatness of his hero with the littleness that surrounded him,—his elevation with the degradation of his race—his purity with adjacent corruption—his love of truth with the prevalent mendacity;—in a word, a concentrated excellence with a diffused worthlessness. For Rammohun Roy was only one—the one most distinguished—among many of his fellows who had long been engaged in the pursuit of knowledge, and in seeking the emancipation of mind; and though it may be very easy to draw dismal pictures from the darker side of Oriental humanity, let it not be forgotten that it has also its brightness and its virtues, which are more and more developed to those who have an opportunity of studying them. In the field of active benevolence, in their munificent contributions to public establishments for the promotion of education and for the relief of the many forms of human misery, the opulent natives of India offer examples well worthy of study, of admiration and imitation, from many who look down from what they deem a lofty pre-eminence—many who, zealous enough to enforce new creeds and forms of faith and worship, are not so ready or so willing to discover those proofs of practical and generous philanthropy which do not belong exclusively to Christian lands or to Christian peoples. "Impure" and "false," "licentious" and "debased," "greedy" and "servile," "selfish" and "abject,"—this is a hard verdict to pronounce on multitudinous millions of our fellow-men; nor as regards the Brahminical race itself is there any justification of the general condemnation to which they are delivered over in the sermon before us. Then, again, the quiet judgment of the writer is overwhelmed by the intensity of his sympathies—his zeal is greater than his knowledge; and he is seduced into injustice

by the wish to darken the shades in the back-ground, in order to give greater prominence to the light which he exhibits in the front.

It was not in the Shasters, as Mr. Fox supposes, but in the Vedas, that Rammohun Roy found the beams of the pure light whose brighter effulgence he traced in the Precepts of Jesus. He published a Synopsis of the Veda books in 1816, and translations of the most remarkable portions of the whole collection. These books furnish texts from which sermons are preached and hymns are sung in the religious assemblies of the Vedanters. In the temples which we have had an opportunity of visiting, the priests or teachers, clad in scarlet, sat in tribunes opposite one another, their readings being responded to from side to side, and the poetry accompanied by the music of ancient instruments. Like other investigators into the history of religions, our great Brahmin discovered that the earliest teachings of the founders of national and popular faiths have been generally free from the idolatrous corruptions and pollutions with which they have been adulterated in the progress of time.* It is perfectly true that "his adoption of Christianity," or rather his movement towards the Unitarian form of Christianity, "was not a change, but an enlargement and a modification of his religion." A tolerably intimate intercourse with this great Brahmin, and with his scarcely less illustrious son Persaud, has left some doubt on our minds whether any existing Christian sect

* The unphilosophical and superstitious passages which are found in the early Buddhist books are now repudiated by the most learned of the professors of Buddhism. The study of astronomy first led to doubt, and afterwards to the denial, of ancient opinions as to the world's cosmogony. Intellectual men no longer believed that the earth was flat or square, surrounded by four seas, carried on an elephant's back,—the sun and moon being merely tributary, the stars only ornamental. Geological eras among Orientals are better understood, for the work of creation is held to be the process—the progressive process—of infinite ages, and successive revelations embrace cycles of incalculable extent. The religious literature of the East is characterized by a mixture of the sublime with the ridiculous—of the grandest conceptions with the grossest ignorance—of theories the most poetical with superstitions the most degrading—of flashes of glory which irradiate the surrounding gloom. Yet the imagery with which Eastern fiction portrays what is infinite and eternal is often most attractively charming—drops of water, one falling in ten thousand years, making a well a million fathoms deep—grains of sand piled, one grain in a hundred centuries, yet creating Himalayan mountains—one leaf of the forest gathered in a cycle, till every leaf on every tree in every forest is stripped. They better than we are accustomed to realize what is meant by eternity.

could fairly claim him for its own. One element of orientalism, the fear of giving offence—it took the shape of a courteous deference to the opinions of others—was not wanting in the character of Rammohun Roy. He was never insincere, but he often failed to be demonstrative. His habits were not taciturn, and his affections were warm; but a certain amount of reserve, if it added to the dignity of his deportment, was sometimes an impediment to our obtaining a thorough acquaintance with what was passing in his mind.

Though veiled in every form of urbanity, the unwillingness of Rammohun Roy to be questioned as to what he deemed the minuter and less important dogmas of religion, was well known to all who had the privilege of any close acquaintance with him. Orthodoxy sought to obtain some recognition of his belief in the Trinity, in original sin, in the miraculous incarnation, and its own scheme of redemption; and we have heard him claimed as sympathizing with the Anglican Church. His replies to questionings, not unfrequently intrusive and impertinent, were given so as not to cause offence to curious inquirers, who were apt to construe these replies into concessions made to their own particular views or creeds. His was sometimes a silence which certainly was not intended to "give consent" to propositions laid before him; while at other times his cautious and even ambiguous responses should have led his questioners to seek their interpretation in the general tone of his words and works. His views stand out in grand and bold relief where the subject is the unity, spirituality, the perfect wisdom, power and goodness of God,—the beauty of the character, the sublimity and appropriateness of the teachings, of Jesus, —the brotherhood of man, with all its responsibilities and consequences,—the rights and claims and duties of private judgment,—the love of liberty,—the improvement of law; in a word, whatever tended to the removal of evil or the diffusion of good had his advocacy, and of all that helped to enlighten, refine and elevate the human character, his opinions were unmistakable. Little, indeed, does it matter what he thought of the fierce and uncharitable controversies respecting doctrines to which he would have attached no importance, had he not witnessed how they damaged, divided and embittered those social relations which he felt it should be the object of a genuine religion to strengthen,

consolidate and sanctify. Not to little "systems, which have their day and cease to be," did he lend his adhesion, or indeed much honour with his notice. If, as he truly said, "his heart was with the Unitarians," it was because he sympathized most with the general current of their opinions, and found among them his most attached and affectionate friends; but he would accept a stereotyped creed from none, nor allow any theological cage to confine "the freedom of his wing."

We doubt whether Mr. Fox correctly estimated the position Rammohun Roy held in public opinion during his residence in England. It is perfectly true that an ignorant bigot here and there, who came in contact with the "converted Brahmin," felt and expressed disappointment that his assumed conversion was not to Anglicanism or to orthodoxy in any shape. The "insults and vexations" of which Mr. Fox speaks, very little affected the serene and gentle nature of him who was their object, and certainly did not lower the position of the Brahmin in the intellectual circle where he moved. His early history remains to be written. The wonderful prudence with which he detached himself from observances not absolutely needful for the maintenance of his social status; the manner in which he accommodated himself to those European usages which were not absolutely interdicted by the Brahminical code; the sagacity with which he thwarted the attempts made to separate him from the immunities of high caste; are points of character not yet fully appreciated, because not fully known. It was his purpose to bring with him to Europe his eldest son, who afterwards became the Vakeel of the Government and an eloquent pleader in the Supreme Court at Calcutta; but the resistance of the Zenana, led by the mother of the heir, was too strong to be subjugated, and Rammohun Roy, as the next best arrangement, was accompanied by a youth—Rob Roy, the son of a friend—who on his return to India obtained an appointment in the Civil Service.

The influence of Rammohun Roy in India has not altogether taken the direction which many of his admirers had anticipated. The hostility with which the Vedanters have been pursued by Christian orthodox missionaries has little disposed them to look with a friendly eye upon the teachings of their calumniators, among whom it is a generally-

received opinion that the Christianity they offer to the acceptance of the natives is more likely to make progress among the "ignorant heathen" than among the "enlightened Theists," whose number is increasing, and among whom the peculiar doctrines circulated by the representatives of the great Missionary Societies neither have had, nor are likely to have, any considerable success. The consoling fact, however, is, that the number of temples from which idolatrous worship is excluded has greatly increased, and that many men of distinction have joined the reformers, who have their representatives in the native press, and whose power is exhibited in that progressive opinion which has come to the assistance of the authorities for the suppression of suttee and the discouragement of the grosser forms of heathenism. The great work of progress is advancing both in the Eastern and the Western world. Native inhabitants of India settled in England and her colonies are reckoned now, not by units, but by hundreds; and our own instruments of authority are availing themselves more and more of native aptitudes for the purposes of state, while publicity and an Indian free press are the omnipresent and ever-active auxiliaries of good government.

In elucidation of Rammohun Roy's character and of the position he held in his native country, we avail ourselves of the opportunity of reproducing some extracts from the letters by which he was introduced by his dearest friend in India to Jeremy Bentham.

"Calcutta, November 14, 1830.

"This letter will be presented to you, or transmitted waiting your leisure, by no less a person than the distinguished Rammohun Roy. You have heard of him often from me and from others, and know that he is one of the most extraordinary productions of the 'march of intellect.' A Brahmin of the highest order, and therefore an aristocrat by birth; one of the privileged class, and a man of easy fortune by inheritance; amply learned in Sanscrit, Arabic, and everything oriental; he has, nevertheless, unassisted and of himself, been able to shake off prejudice of almost every kind and to give his natural understanding fair play. . . . If I were beside you, and could explain matters fully, you would comprehend the greatness of the undertaking—his going on board ship to a foreign and distant land, a thing hitherto not to be named among Hindoos, and least of all among Brahmins. His grand object, besides the natural one of satisfying his own

laudable spirit of inquiry, has been to set a laudable example to his benighted countrymen; and every one of the slow and gradual *moves* that he has made preparatory to his actually quitting India, has been marked by the same discretion of judgment. He waited patiently until he had by perseverance and exertion acquired a little but respectable party of *disciples*. He *talked* of going to England from year to year, since 1823, to familiarize the minds of the orthodox by degrees to this step, and that his friends might in the mean time increase in numbers and in confidence, as it was of the utmost importance to the preservation of his rank and influence with the Hindoo community, who care less about *dogmatics* than *observances*, that he should continue one of 'the pure,' and should not be suspected of quitting Hindooism for any consideration of a personal nature. He has externally maintained so much, and no more, of Hindoo custom as his profound knowledge of their sacred books enabled him to justify; relaxing, however, little by little, yet never enough to justify his being put 'out of the pale.' I need not say that in private it is otherwise, and that prejudices of all sorts are duly contemned by our philosopher. But so important does he judge it to the efficacy of his example and the ultimate success of his honourable mission of experiment that he should maintain the essentials of his Brahminical sanctity, that even in making this voyage and sojourn he is contriving to preserve appearances to a certain point which he considers sufficient to *save his caste;* so that on returning he may resume his influential position against the abuse and calumnies which the whole tribe of bigots will not fail to raise against him while in England and when he comes back. He now judges that the time is come, and that the public mind is pretty well ripe for his exploit; and he embarks in two or three days for Liverpool, where he has friends and correspondents in Cropper, Benson, and Co., and others of liberal feeling.

"The good which this excellent and extraordinary man has already effected by his writings and example cannot be told. But for his exertions, Suttee would be in full vigour at the present day, and the influence of the priesthood in all its ancient force; —he has given the latter a shake from which, aided by education and the spirit of bold inquiry gone forth among the Hindoos, it never can recover. I need hardly tell you that the liberalism of such a mind is not confined to points of theology or ritual. In all matters involving the progress and happiness of mankind, his opinions are most independent; and he is withal one of the most modest men I have ever met with, though nearly fifty years of age, and though he is the most learned and enlightened of his countrymen and nation, and indeed has held that position for

the last fifteen or twenty years, and has received praises enough to have turned the head of any other man alive.

"It is no small compliment to such a man that even a Governor-General like the present, who, though a man of the most honest intentions, suspects every one and trusts nobody, and who knows that R. M. R. greatly disapproves of many of the acts of the Government, should have shewn him so much respect as to furnish him with introductions to friends of rank and political and *Indian* influence. Either they will find him intractable and throw him off, or they will succeed in what no one has hitherto succeeded, in beguiling or bending the stranger.

"A stranger, however, he is, and of such sort as has never before appeared among you; and he will stand in need, doubtless, of all the kindness and attention that his friends here can procure for him. *You* have weightier and other matters to occupy you, nor are your habits such as to enable you to be of service to R. M. R. in the ordinary way. Yet I felt assured you would like to see and converse with my Indian friend, and indeed I recollect you expressed such a wish. For the rest, you will probably make him over with his credentials to our friend Bowring, to 'the reprobates' (Bentham's secretaries), and to Leicester Stanhope."

It need scarcely be added that Rammohun Roy was a frequent guest at Bentham's table, so little accessible as it was, and that much confidence and intimacy existed between these illustrious men till the death of the great jurisconsult, which took place in the year after the Brahmin's arrival in England. In one of his letters, Bentham addresses him, "from the brink of the grave, just entering upon fourscore," as his "intensely admired and dearly beloved collaborateur in the service of mankind."

Any work bearing the honoured name of Mary Carpenter would be taken up with prepossessions in its favour. It is to be regretted that the publication of the volume which has just appeared was not delayed until she had enjoyed the advantage of that previous personal acquaintance with the real condition of India and the early history of Rammohun Roy which her visit will enable her to acquire. We reached the last pages of the volume under the same feelings of disappointed expectation with which we looked on the wretched and inexpressive portrait which faces—we cannot say adorns—the beginning, and the indistinct picture of Stapleton Grove, where the Rajah died, which is

met with half-way. The "Last Days" of the great reformer, which give the title to the book, occupy very few of its pages; but they are very interesting and instructive. The rest are filled with miscellaneous gatherings—many scarcely relevant, others of little value or authority; long dissertations in which the same thoughts are again and again repeated from different lips or pens; trifling notes on trifling matters; in a word, everything, whether or not worthy of preservation, which could be gathered in a diligent and affectionate exploration of the portion of the field which was accessible to the explorer. The materials, some of which are valuable, have not been weighed in the balance of a thoughtful appreciation; and the whole has a disjointed, fragmentary character, which well justified, and indeed required, that confession of imperfection and incompleteness which finds expression in the Preface. The great outlines of Rammohun Roy's character can hardly indeed be mistaken. But regrets have been expressed in India and elsewhere that so imperfect a sketch should have proceeded from Miss Carpenter's pen.

The Indian Mirror (the organ of the Brahmo Somaj) is very bitter in its denunciations of this "frontispiece." It complains that in Miss Carpenter's description of Rammohun Roy's life in England, "there is not much that is original, nor anything interesting;" and expresses an opinion that "a further and clearer exposition of the Rajah's mission, as well as his views of English society, would have been more useful and acceptable." We shall wait with anxious interest Miss Carpenter's reports on the influence of Rammohun Roy's character and writings on the religious life of India. Great changes have taken place in the third of a century which has passed since *he* passed away. The field, or rather small portions of the field, have been somewhat cleared of stones and briars; but the most persevering and laborious devotion is demanded for its successful cultivation. And assuredly the zeal, experience and disinterested exertions of Mary Carpenter will not be without their fruits. The special object of her mission—the education of females belonging to the higher classes of society, and the introduction into the Zenanas of systems of instruction recommended by Christian authority—is of all enterprizes the most difficult.

To the rising generation, no doubt, the future of India

is committed. Those who have been moulded in the types of the past, whose education and habits have received impressions almost indelible, will give but little aid to the introduction of any new elements of thought. But the advanced guard—not a forlorn hope—is marching against, and has already breached, the fortress of ancient superstition. Appeals, not only emphatic and eloquent, but passionate, have been made to Young India; and from that of "A Missionary of the Brahmo Somaj," we will make a few extracts. He denounces *idolatry* as "the curse of Hindustan —the deadly cancer that has eaten into the vitals of native society." Connected and dependent upon it is Hindoo *caste-ism*, "the frightful social scourge which has completely and hopelessly wrecked social unity, harmony and happiness, and has opposed all social progress; a scandal to conscience, an insult to humanity, an audacious and sacrilegious violation of God's law of human brotherhood." The *marriage customs* require a thorough reform, "repugnant as they are to morality and reason, and a powerful cause of degeneracy." The "horrors of polygamy," "the penalties of widowhood," the prostitution of young girls and profligacy of old men, are dwelt upon. Then, again, the miseries of the *Zenana*, or harem, where women are "ciphers," "menial slaves of ignorance and superstition." He calls upon "Young Bengal and Young Bombay, Young Madras and Young Punjaub," to combine, "till the circle shall gradually widen and bring the whole nation within its embrace!"

"During this period of transition it is, therefore, evidently the duty of all who are interested in India's welfare to labour conscientiously to remove her wants, alleviate her sufferings, guard her against imminent perils, and place her in the way of social, moral and religious advancement. Such an arduous and important task belongs especially to Young India—to the enlightened representatives of the rising generation. To you, your country looks up for protection and prosperity. Her future greatly depends upon you, and from you she expects at least the foundation of her future progress and well-being. You hold in your hands the key of her destiny, and before the tribunal of God and man you stand accountable for the solemn trust. . . . . Look at yourselves, enchained to customs, deprived of freedom, lorded over by an ignorant and crafty priesthood, your better sense and

better feelings all smothered under the crushing weight of custom; look at your homes, scenes of indescribable misery, your wives and sisters, your mothers and daughters, immured within the dungeon of the Zenana, ignorant of the outside world, little better than slaves whose charter of liberty of thought and action has been ignored; look at your social constitution and customs, the mass of enervating, demoralizing and degrading causes there working. Watch your daily life, how almost at every turn you meet with some demand for the sacrifice of your conscience, some temptation to hypocrisy, some obstacle to your improvement and true happiness. Say, from your own experience, whether you are not hemmed in on all sides by a system of things which you cannot but hate and abhor, denounce and curse; whether the spiritual government under which you live is not despotism of the most galling and revolting type, oppressive to the body, injurious to the mind, and deadly to the soul?"*

Vigorous action as regards others, pure personal example as regards themselves, persevering courage, are pointed out as the instruments for accomplishing the great reforming triumphs.

A less impassioned, but a more pathetic, tone pervades the lecture entitled "The Destiny of Human Life," from which, as an excellent specimen of the sort of sermons delivered at the meetings of the Brahmo Somaj, we select a passage:

"Virtue is natural. This opinion is evidently opposed to the theory of a certain class of theologians, who regard ungodliness as the natural condition of man. They uphold the notorious dogma of the universal depravity of human nature. They believe that man is naturally corrupt and wicked, and that righteousness is anything but natural to him. Hence, with them, the pursuit of destiny by man is not a *natural* process. Our view, as I have already said, is different. To live religiously is to live *naturally;* to live naturally is to act up to the dictates of conscience. To live to nature is to live to God. There can be no corruption in the nature of man as created by, and coming directly from, the hands of God. Our impurities are not God's creation, but the creation of our free will; and unreasonable is it to charge nature, and thereby 'nature's God,' with sins of our own doing. It is clear, then, I trust, that to act up to nature is to accomplish our destiny. Our duty and strenuous endeavour should therefore be to live conformably to our nature. As unnatural is it for matter to be devoid of its properties of inertia, compressibility,

* An Appeal to Young India, pp. 3, 4.

etc., as it is for the soul to become sinful and corrupt. Man is destined by Providence to pursue the path of virtue and truth; not to pursue it, is unnatural."*

And, as an example of the prayers employed in the religious services, we give that which concludes the lecture:

"God Almighty! ere we depart from this place, do Thou condescend to impress the great doctrine we have discussed on the minds of all here present, and so to convince them of its importance and value, that they may not only remember it, but live according to it. We are weak, O Lord; vouchsafe unto us strength, that we may be able to discharge the solemn duties for which we are accountable to Thee. Lord of our life! draw our hearts wholly unto Thy service, and enlist all our energies in the cause of truth, that we may do nothing in opposition to Thy will. Help us, O help us, Father of Mercies, for without Thy help all our attempts at progress will be vain. Be Thou our shield and buckler, our light and hope, in this world of trial. Unite us all in one family, and establish universal brotherhood among mankind, that the lives of all may be consecrated to Thee, and to Thee alone. From the inmost depths of our hearts may praise and thanksgiving rise unto Thy holy and dear name, now and for ever!"†

Hurro Lall Roy approaches very reverently his subject, "Man the Son of God." "It is too high for my poor intellect, and too holy for my sinful heart, to be displayed in its true and divine light." A spiritual tone—a sort of orientalizing of Channing—pervades the pages. Some of them are a prosaic elaboration of some of the finest passages of Wordsworth. Such as these are its lessons:

"Be right-hearted and divine-souled, and preach that which makes the heart right and the soul divine, and this with my whole heart I believe is the precept of true religion, the religion of Brahma. This understood gives salvation. This revelation is necessary, absolutely necessary, for every man, for every son of our Great Father. Be denominated a Brahma or a Christian; without it, the soul dwindles and pines away. Go wherever you will, it will move round selfishness in business and even in virtuous actions. In the morning, there is a vacancy, a gap in the mind; in the evening, there is a vacancy and gap in the mind. Read or hear prayers and sermons, preach the Brahma Dharma, the Vedas, the Gospel of Christ, but there is no satisfaction in

* The Destiny of Human Life, p. 3. † Ibid. p. 25.

the soul. This revelation you need, and your immortal soul needs to be filled. Be prepared to receive it in a meek, submissive and calm spirit. It will rise in your heart gloriously like the morning sun."*

"It is neither a denomination or a place that makes a Brahma; a Brahma is above time or place. Let not this view of Brahmoism be misrepresented. I wonder to hear great men rise and speak against Brahmoism, the religion of the world. To raise objections against Brahmoism, is to raise objections against the human soul. Brethren, be ye Brahmas, be ye of God; let Brahmoism spring like heaven in your soul. Brahmoism is not the religion of a Debendra Nath or a Parker, of a Somaj of Jorasonko, or a meeting in America. It is the religion of man as *man*, of man as the *Son of God*, of the whole somaj of mankind; yea, the soul sayeth more; it is the religion of the universe, of gods and angels, of all spiritual beings that do exist and that will exist. Let them, who will, distrust what Jesus said, what Parker preached, what Debendra Nath says; let him, if he will, never look into the sound precepts of books and of men, of the Vedas or the Bible; but let him not distrust the voice of his own spiritual soul; let him not overleap his own nature. O Son of God! be then the Son of God in your heart. My brother—O thou who art denominated a Christian or a Mahomedan, a Hindu or a Jew, an Indian or an European, an African or an Andaman, a king or a slave, a doctor or a peasant—be thou a Brahma—be thou a Son of God in your heart."†

The Brahmo Somaj Vindicated is the substance of an extempore lecture, which was received with great enthusiasm, delivered in reply to three charges—(1), that Brahmoism is a religion of fluctuating opinions, and therefore no religion at all; (2), that common sense will not give to man a saving knowledge of God; and (3), that the Brahmo theory of atonement is absurd and pernicious. The answer to the last charge will serve as a specimen as to the manner in which these accusations are dealt with. "Fluctuation is a word introduced to conceal or mystify the truth that progress, onward progress, is the needful condition of religious, as of all other knowledge; it is our business to replace what is decaying and decayed with what is new and healthful. We live to learn, and mean always to be learning. The Veds were deemed infallible; in them was found evidence of the unity and spirituality of God." Vedantism was the

* Man the Son of God, pp. 13, 14. † Ibid. pp. 27, 28.

name which the reforming Brahmins gave to their new religion. Another step was taken which is thus described:

"The particulars of the transition may be briefly related. Baboo Debendronath Tagore one day accidentally fell in with a stray leaf of a Sanscrit book (the *Ishopanishad*). He naturally felt anxious to know what it was; but, alas! the characters were unintelligible to him, as he was a stranger to Sanscrit literature. He therefore had recourse to a Pundit, and got the passage explained by him; he was so much impressed with its excellence, that he at once applied himself to the study of Sanscrit. How precious must that volume be, he said within himself, of which this passage is but a fragment! He was indefatigable in his studies and researches, and he made considerable progress; his heart anticipating the greatest joy, and his enthusiasm doubled up to the straining-point, for the time was approaching when he should be able to dip into that ocean of saving truth, a few drops of whose water had done him so much good. The more he read, the greater was his joy, the greater was the progress of his soul in truth and piety. With a view to spread a knowledge of the theology of the Veds among his countrymen, he sent four Pundits to Benares, of whom I have said before, to be initiated in the Veds, in order that they might disseminate far and wide that saving knowledge of the One True God which had given to him almost a new life. But, alas! little did he know of what was to come; little did he know what that portion of the Veds was which he had not yet explored! His anticipations were frustrated, and instead of joy and hope came bitterness and disappointment! The return of the Pundits, and his subsequent investigations with their aid, quite convinced him of the errors of the Vedic system. There was a terrible strife—the strife of conscience against associations of mind and place; duty against prepossessions; truth against cherished convictions. But conscience triumphed over all; the Veds were thrown overboard by Baboo Debendronath Tagore; and the Brahmo Somaj bade farewell to Vedantism."*

As it is the habit of the Brahmo lecturers to conclude their addresses with prayer, another specimen will not be unwelcome to our readers:

"O Lord, to Thee, and Thee alone, we look for aid, for Thou art the God of Salvation, our only hope in this world of temptation. We pray unto Thee, vouchsafe to enlighten our minds and purify our hearts with Thy love. We have assembled here

* The Brahmo Somaj Vindicated, pp. 7, 8.

this evening that we may learn the TRUTH which is in Thee. Teach us to love truth, and give us a strong will that we may live according to it. With all humility, we approach Thy divine presence, and we prostrate our souls beneath Thy feet: give us, O Lord, knowledge unto salvation. Good God, have mercy on us!"*

A melancholy tone is diffused through the discourse on the Religious Prospects of India. Only in the success of Brahmoism can the writer see any hope for his country. He complains of the levity, the worldliness, the immorality, the grossness of his countrymen, and finds the "slime of the serpent over all" the forms of faith and worship. With *atheism* he has nothing to do. Rapine and conquest, desolation and fierce fanaticism, the fury and tastes of the Bedouin built upon the biblical theology, associate *Mahomedanism* in the minds of the Hindoo with fearful recollections of its history in India.

"The spirit of political aggrandizement, religious propagandism and sensual joy, have ever been consistently associated in the Mahometan character. Bigotry, despotism and lustful depravity, are equally combined in it. The debasing consequences of the Mahometan rule, India has not been able to avert. Wherever this rule was firmly established, there the country bears indelible traces of degradation. What is the cause of that malice, vindictiveness and base sensuality, in the character of our North-western countrymen which recent circumstances have developed? To a great extent the Mahometan rule. What is the cause of the weak-spiritedness, effeminacy and irresolution, so manifest in the Bengalee character? To a great extent the Mahometan rule. What is cause of the present miserable condition of our females? It is Mahometanism and the Mahometan rule absolutely. What, in fine, is the cause of the comparative social and moral independence of the more central and southern provinces? It is because the Mahometan government and Mahometan religion never obtained a firm footing there. Thus, then, the religion and the government of the Mahometans have been combined in India; and thus destructive has Mahometanism been in its political and religious consequences to India's prosperity."†

Of *Hindooism* he says:

"Like a mighty monarch, for ages in absolute independence,

* The Brahmo Somaj Vindicated, p. 28.

† The Religious Prospects of India, pp. 7, 8.

Hindooism has wielded the spiritual destiny of India. Organized with eminent skill, it binds social with religious obligations in an indissoluble tie. Fencing religion with society, and society with religion, it effectually precludes the possibility of atheism, and guards its majesty with penalties which no one is hardy enough to challenge. Hallowed by time, confirmed by usage, and endeared by all the joyful associations of the world, it blends together the fondest hopes and interests of its followers, and is held in the heart of hearts. Deceive not yourselves with the idea that because English education has generated a disbelief in idol-worship, the axe is struck at the root of Hindooism. Idol-worship is not Hindooism absolutely."*

He anticipates the disappearance of idolatry as a necessary consequence of education.

"India needs education—fearless education, unprejudiced and comprehensive, based upon catholic principles of religion and morality—such as Government cannot bestow, nor can the missionaries. Idolatry is nothing peculiar; it has lived its day in every country. Have education—have a thorough, fearless education—and the nation will outgrow its prejudices; idolatry will be no more. Idolatry, universal as it is among Christians, Hindoos and Mahometans, is the baby's play of the baby-man and of the baby-nation; let that baby grow up, and it will forsake its toys. When the mind, with its expansive powers, has learned to measure the horizon of human knowledge, and the feelings to traverse the regions of the supersensible and the ideal,—when the will has grasped the sublime infinity of the moral law, the worship of idols will appear, as I have said, to be the baby's play."†

And of caste—

"Caste is the enemy of brotherhood in India, the curse of nationality, the mildew of Indian progress and enlightenment. The sooner it is destroyed the better. Hindooism is like an old Indian temple. Constructed out of the rude materials of ancient Hindoo minds, fashioned in the undisciplined architecture of *Puranic* ages, weather-beaten and deserted, it still occupies its solitary ground. The cultivated tastes and delicate propensities of the rising generation have outgrown its boundaries and restrictions, looking after something more extensive and elegant. But, dilapidated and old as that temple may appear, there it stands, surrounded by the mighty fortifications of caste, unbroken during ages past, and indestructible for years to come. But for caste,

* The Religious Prospects of India, p. 11. † Ibid. pp. 13, 14.

Hindoo idolatry will be gone; but for the Hindoo society to intrench it, the religion of the Hindoo will lose all help and surrender itself. They, therefore, who have a mind to break with idolatry, must break with caste without ceremony."*

And as to the spirit in which reformation is to be introduced—

"But convey me, if thou canst, to that heavenly faith which teaches man to love man and adore truth wherever it is found. Convey me to the protection of that heavenly religion which teaches me to understand the true welfare of my country; not to hate, but to examine all her institutions with impartiality; and to reform my countrymen, not according to fashion, but with fidelity to their own nature. It is neither possible, nor is it advisable, according to my humble opinion, to remove Hindooism in all its bearings. If all that is false and mischievous in it could be exorcised, the remainder will be of immense service to true religion."†

To Christianity all honour is rendered as the representative of the most advanced intellectual cultivation.

"With intelligence, honour and liberty, Christianity has formed an inviolable sisterhood, and her name represents all that is good and great. Genius has consented to be her handmaid, Poetry has adorned her brow with the evergreens of imagination, Science has tried to emblazon her name, and Power has threatened to defend her majesty with bloodshed and death. Nor is this all. The affecting precepts of purity and love, sublime in their simplicity, which the blessed Jesus has left to us with his heavenly eloquence, have softened many an obdurate heart and added to the merited triumph of Christianity."‡

"It has juster views of human nature and of God's nature than many other systems of faith. And, in spite of its numerous shortcomings, therefore it has been eminently more progressive than they."§

But the impression conveyed is, that something different from, and superior to, orthodox Christianity is necessary to *religionize* India. In Bengal, the converts made by the missionaries are not among the influential or the enlightened. "In Bombay, even those who sincerely wish for the spread of Christianity" fear "the people can *never* become

* The Religious Prospects of India, pp. 14, 15.
† Ibid. pp. 20, 21.
‡ Ibid. p. 22.
§ Ibid. p. 25.

Christians." In Madras, there may be more of hope; but conversion taken in general brings with it contempt and degradation.

"For the native converts little sympathy is expressed, of them little is said and little known, for so soon as they embrace Christianity they are disowned and forgotten. As if there is a vast sea, within which every native convert is thrown after his conversion and is heard of no more. Neglected by natives and by Europeans alike, they are, as the outcasts of society, suffered to remain for ever in insignificance and obscurity..... To enlightened and patriotic minds, they form the stumbling-stone of Christianity; the missionaries may not be aware of this, but we are."*

Here, again, is a fine testimony to the influences of Christianity:

"The most careless student of theology cannot but have perceived the remarkable influence of free thought in the history of the Christian religion. No other revealed religion has been so dynamical and progressive. Christianity is more eminently allied to human nature than all other established and recognized forms of revealed religion. It has therefore expanded with the development of that nature. The mind of Europe has moved from thraldom to liberty, from darkness and ignorance to civilization and scientific greatness. With the mind of Europe, Christianity has been co-ordinate and co-extensive."†

The demands of the Brahmo Somaj upon us are thus put forth:

"Standing on the table-land of experience, in one comprehensive survey, we behold the principle of modern Christianity, and with rational confidence ask the good-hearted Christians to let us alone. India wants no miracles, no romantic stories of salvation, paradise and 'man's first disobedience.' For faith, truth, love and peace, she craves; and by the merciful blessings of Providence may she find them ere long in pure theism—that theism which is the ultimate product of reason and revelation alike, simple and normal, unalloyed with supernatural arbitrary physical dispensations, which confound instead of enlightening, which trouble instead of giving peace."‡

To Brahmoism then, as represented in the passages we are about to quote, the Indians are taught to look for the

* The Religious Prospects of India, p. 28. † Ibid. p. 29.
‡ Ibid. p. 33.

emancipation from the fetters of ancient superstition and for the establishment of a future popular and general faith.

"The Brahmo Somaj is a national movement, a developed national embodiment, an organized national church to spread faith and salvation, such as the most enlightened of the world could desire. It is a desideratum of the age, a realized ideal of the religious wants of the civilized world, and, as such, commands universal attention, sympathy and respect. Such an association and alliance, such a church, is the first of its kind; it can never die, never yield itself to the united clamour of dogmatism and unenlightened bigotry. It is the natural development of the religious consciousness of the Bengalee nation, and, if nature be true, it will triumph and secure the permanent welfare of that nation;—nay, not of that nation alone, which is but a fragment of India's great population, but of all those who form her religious commonwealth from Dhawalagiri to Adam's Peak. When, after tedious years of ignorance and superstition, our countrymen have at last come to a position to comprehend and accept what is truth and freedom,—when by the favourable influences of education we have begun to make our way to national glory,—such a religion we require as will give the fullest flow to all our energies; as will enable us to soar to the highest flights of speculation without the hitch of jealousy and fear, to travel the regions of mind or the boundless expanse of space, transporting ourselves behind uncounted years to contemplate the architecture of the universe. Such a religion as will enable us not to view the goodness of God limited to a choice few, while the rest of mankind rot in hell without hope or help, but to view Him as the Father and Mother of the human race, merciful alike to all, and upon all working the agency of infinite love. This religion is Brahmoism! . . . .

"Nor is Brahmoism the religion of the educated alone. Its love is wide-spread as the world, broad as human nature itself; it is essentially the religion of love. Without removing God into an immeasurable distance, physical or moral, not to be approached at all, or to be approached with trepidation, like a thief, through the medium of intercessions and innocent blood, Brahmoism points to Him as the Father and Mother of humanity, ready to minister to humanity's wants whenever His aid is prayerfully asked. Uneducated and poor men find relief in Brahmoism. Not a single word was ever spoken by a good man, not a single brotherly advice ever given, which does not increase the Brahmo's piety, his trust in God, his love to man. Brahmoism is the em-

bodiment of the religious consciousness of man in all the phases of its development."*

And it will not be without interest to trace what enlightened Brahmins in the East think of religious progress in the West.

"That the orthodox faith of the Christian world is undergoing a grand modification, owing to the progress of science, philosophy and the true principles of faith, there can be no question. Not to speak of Germany and America, Italy, France and Scotland, —nay, and none more than bigoted England itself,—bear ample testimony to this. Where is Christendom drifting? Is it to scepticism and unbelief? God forbid. After a long series of struggles, doubts and controversies, Christendom is silently and unconsciously passing to a purer faith. That faith is to be free from the dross of tradition, the strained infallibility of a man, a church, or a book, else there is no meaning in the universal revolt against authority in the present career of Christianity. The existing state of theological uncertainty and philosophical excommunication cannot last. Christendom *shall* have nothing for its absolute guide but God and nature, be it as that nature was represented by Jesus Christ. Christendom *shall* have a natural Theism, such as Jesus had, unfettered by sanhedrim, synagogue, or the written authority of the law. Ask, again, this land of India, whither she is drifting? Not to Hindooism or Islamism of course; but to what then—to scepticism and unbelief? God forbid. In her heart she finds growing another religion, that very Theism which is Christendom's goal. We call it Brahmoism, but what's in a name? Thus Theism in Christendom, the harmony of philosophy and orthodox Christianity, the religion of nature, is Brahmoism in India. Upon the secure foundation of human nature, on the rock of consciousness, on the pedestal of true philosophy, Brahmoism rests. What heathenism was to Christianity, Christianity is to Brahmoism. At the self-consolatory arguments of those, therefore, who in the present condition of the Brahmo Somaj find its predisposition to Christianity, we can simply afford to smile with complaisance. They are bad philosophers and worse historians, as bad as those of ancient time who in the triumph of Christianity sagely augured the return of Heathenism."†

The theory which has become the leading principle among the reformed Brahmins is, that the great truths of religion, however distorted or narrowed by sectarian views, are

* The Religious Prospects of India, pp. 39—41. † Ibid. pp. 42—44.

implanted in the universal mind of man,—that they are represented, though sometimes obscurely, in all the various forms of faith and worship,—that truth is *in* the sacred books, though the sacred books are not wholly true,—and that it is our duty, as it ought to be our delight, to separate the rich and the divine ore from the dross with which it has been mingled by human infirmity.

Repudiating all belief in the supernatural, or rather ignoring the miracles, "Jesus Christ; Europe and Asia" is from beginning to end an outpouring of admiration for the character and teachings of Jesus Christ.

"The vast moral influence of his life and death still lives in human society, and animates its movements. It has moulded the civilization of modern Europe, and it underlies the many civilizing and philanthropic agencies of the present day. He has exercised such living and lasting influence on the world, not by the physical miracles which popular theology has ascribed to him, but by the greater miracle of the truth which he preached. . . . . Poor and illiterate, brought up in Nazareth—a village notorious for corruption—under demoralizing influences, his associates the lowest mechanics and fishermen, from whom he could receive not a single ray of enlightenment, he rose superior to all outward circumstances by the force of his innate greatness, and grew in wisdom, faith and piety by meditation and prayer, and with the inspiration of the Divine spirit working within him. Though all the external conditions of his life were against him, he rose above them with the strength of the Lord; and, with almost superhuman wisdom and energy, taught those sublime truths and performed those moral wonders for which succeeding generations have paid him the tribute of admiration and gratitude. Verily, he was above ordinary humanity. Sent by Providence to reform and regenerate mankind, he received from Providence wisdom and power for that great work; and throughout his career and ministration, and in the subsequent effects of his grand movement, we find positive evidence of that miraculous power with which inspired greatness vanquishes mighty potentates, hurls down dynasties and uproots kingdoms, and builds up, from chaos and corruption, the kingdom of truth and God, of freedom and harmony."*

Again:

"Christ spake not, as worldly men speak, in the accommodat-

* Jesus Christ; Europe and Asia, pp. 4, 5.

ing spirit of prudence; he preached absolute religion. He disdained everything local and contingent, sectarian and partial; and taught God's universal truth for the benefit of all mankind, Europeans and Asiatics alike. Let it not be supposed that I allude to any special form of Christian ethics, as it is understood and accepted by particular denominations of the Christian Church. No; I have not derived my conceptions of Christ or his ethics from the dogmatic theology or the actual life of any class of his followers. I do not identify him with any Christian sect. I have gone direct to the Bible to ascertain the genuine doctrines of morality inculcated by Christ; and it is my firm conviction that his teachings find a response in the universal consciousness of humanity, and are no more European than Asiatic, and that in his ethics 'there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free.' May we all learn to draw near to God by conforming to the spirit of these precepts!"*

The lecture concludes by an emphatic appeal to Christian professors in India that they should recommend their faith by their practice, and, instead of exhibiting what Christians *are*, shew by their own example what Christians *ought to be*.

We have been somewhat diffuse in our selections, believing that the very idiomatic phraseology employed by our Indian brethren would speak more intelligibly and emphatically than any words of our own. Varieties of opinion among them it would be easy to point out, not only as regards the extent and character of existing abuses, but as to the means of modifying and removing them. We have often heard the words *dilletantism* and irreverence applied to the manner in which the Brahmo controversy is conducted in India; but the more we have been enabled to study its progress, the higher has been our appreciation of the fine intellects, the friendly affections, the persistent courage, and the desire to discover what is truest and wisest and best, which it has served to develop. We are not exactly informed of the number of temples in communion with the Brahmo Somaj. They exceed fifty in Bengal, and there are several in the other Presidencies. With some of them men of high rank are associated, and to many schools are attached, from which all idolatrous teaching is excluded.

The Indian Mirror believes that the seemingly premature

* Jesus Christ; Europe and Asia, p. 20.

death of Rammohun Roy saved him from much grief and disappointment—from greater injustice and persecution than he had ever suffered; and that "perhaps the remnant of his waning influence would have sunk before his eye." Well, then, may "the sainted patriot and reformer sleep" in England till the time when the finger of regenerated India shall point to the place of his rest! In the path where his followers have to walk, they will incur, on the one side, the obloquy of the Hindoos for their abandonment of the national faith, and, on the other, the vituperations of the great body of Christians to whom their scepticism is intolerable.

The discourse on Jesus Christ was welcomed by the missionaries with "patronizing smiles." A later lecture on Great Men has been repudiated by "indignant frowns." As the influence of the Brahmo Somaj grows, so will they be met by a growing amount of resistance and opprobrium. But they seem prepared for the strife, and know that "to be evil spoken of" is the common fate of all who are in advance of their generation. "So long as the progressive party enjoys public favour, so long let them be assured they are not in their true position; only when they are reviled and hated for their convictions can they think they have entered upon the real trials of life."*

JOHN BOWRING.

III.—THE LAW OF BLASPHEMOUS LIBEL.

THEFT was unknown among the Carribees till Europeans came among them. When they missed anything, they used to say innocently, "A Christian has been here."

So when the jurist finds among the records of a nation enactments punishing inquiry, and memorials of inquirers who have suffered under them, he at once concludes that Christianity (or some modification of it) must have been part and parcel of her laws. It is proposed in the present article to trace the various restrictions which the law of

* Indian Mirror, October, 1866.

England places on the expression of theological opinions. In the early stages of its growth, arising as it did among pagans, those restrictions must have been wholly unknown to our common law; nor does it seem* at any time to have interfered with opinions silently held, or enforced the profession of any particular form of religious faith. Nevertheless, it has long exercised a jealous supervision over writings that it deemed hostile to the Christian religion, which it holds to be a part of itself. It may be difficult to understand how our faith became incorporated with a code which originated among the followers of the Druids, and did not disdain the aid of the Saxon idolater; but we conjecture that the novel addition was made somewhat in this wise. In 1458, in a case relating to the advowson of a living,† the question arose, how far the ecclesiastical law was recognized by the common law and held binding in the common-law courts. Chief Justice Prisot, in delivering judgment, said—"To such laws as they of holy Church have in ancient writing ['en ancien scripture'], it is proper for us to give credence; for that [or, such] is common law on which all manner of laws are founded. So we are obliged to recognize their law, and similarly they to recognize our law."

It would seem very plain that by *ancien scripture*, Prisot meant "old records," such as might testify to the recognition of the ecclesiastical (or canon) law in early precedents, and shew its customary observance. For (1) this is still the recognized test for determining whether that law is of authority in England on any question. As Lord Denman says,‡ "I repeat what has often been stated in former judgments, that the canon law forms no part of the common law of this realm, *unless practice can be shewn* to the contrary." And (2), it was of little moment, in the case before Prisot, whether the Bible was to be recognized or not; for he would hardly find there that of which he was in search, viz. an authority on questions of advowsons and *quare impedit*.

* Harrison *v.* Evans (Brown's Parliament Cases, III. 465); Kemp *v.* Wickes (Phillimore's Reports, III. 264); Evans *v.* The Chamberlain of London (Burn's Eccl. Law, II. 207). "The common law knows of no prosecution for mere opinion," said Lord Mansfield, in the last-named case.

† Year-book, 34 Henry VI. 38.

‡ Regina *v.* Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Hampden's Case), Law Journal Reports, XVII. Q.B. 268.

Nor (3) would he, in alluding to the Sacred Writings, have called them by the curious name of *Ancient*, but surely rather by that of *Holy* Scripture.* Subsequent jurists, in fact, felt this latter difficulty, and, in quoting the dictum, boldly changed the adjective to "holy." The sentence thus appears in Wingate's Maxims (3): "To such laws of the Church as have warrant in Holy Scripture our law giveth credence."

A late writer of very high authority (Serjeant Stephen) seems also to have misapprehended Prisot's meaning, and quotes him as saying, "Scripture is common law;"† but omits all mention of his preceding words.

(It was, by the bye, not very long after the delivery of this judgment, in the reign of Henry VII., that an unhappy individual was cast into prison for entertaining the damnable doctrine that tithes were *not* due from him to his parson: whereof Commissioner Whitlock, in Puritan days, remarked—"This at that time was a very great heresy, but now I believe some are more inclinable to think that to say 'tithes *are* due to the parson,' is a kind of heresy."‡ A similar case is that of Winne (A.D. 1668),§ in which an indictment was prosecuted by the Bishop of St. Asaph against the prisoner for saying, "It's a good world when beggarly priests are made lords.")

The dictum of Chief Justice Prisot, misrepresented in the way we have exposed, passed from hand to hand among legal writers in subsequent years, and probably was in the mind of Sir Matthew Hale when he decided the case which next comes under our notice—that of Rex *v.* Taylor.‖ Taylor was proceeded against, on an information filed by the Attorney-General, for having uttered "divers blasphemous and impious expressions horrible to hear." He had, for instance, asserted that Jesus Christ was a bastard, and that for himself he feared neither God nor the devil. On his trial he denied having called our Saviour a bastard; but admitted having used the other expressions charged against him, which, however, he said he had used in a sense differ-

* See President Jefferson's Correspondence, Vol. IV. *passim.*

† Commentaries, ed. 1858, IV. 273.

‡ Case of James Nayler (Hargreaves' State Trials, ed. 1776, II. 273).

§ Keble's Reports, II. 336.

‖ Ventris's Reports, I. 293; Keble's Reports, III. 607.

ing from that in which they were usually received. For example, an aspersion which he had cast on the Redeemer's chastity, he now explained as referring only to his mystical dominion over the apocalyptic harlot of Babylon (Rev. xvii.). These subterfuges, however, did not avail, and he was found guilty; Sir Matthew Hale observing, that "such kinds of wicked and blasphemous words are not only a crime against the laws and religion, but against the state and government of the kingdom, and therefore punishable in this court." "To say that religion is a cheat is to destroy the frame of society; and the Christian religion being a part of the constitution, to say that it is an imposture is to speak against the laws of the land." Yet even if so, *non sequitur* that such a remark must be punishable, for it has never been held that to speak (or even to write) against the English laws without provoking forcible opposition to them is criminal. He tells us that "contumelious reproaches of God or the religion establisht" are punishable; and adds, "An indictment lay for saying the Protestant religion was a fiction for taking away religion. The Christian religion is a part of the law itself, therefore injuries to God are as punishable as [injuries] to the king or any common person."

This case of Rex *v.* Taylor has ever since been the leading case on the law of blasphemy; and it is worth noting how eagerly subsequent prosecutors have endeavoured to lessen the prejudice which is always felt against them, by appeals to the popular respect still felt for Sir Matthew Hale.

"I am extremely glad to have it in my power to cite a case decided in his time; for a wiser man, a better lawyer, or one who had a greater respect for the rights and liberties of the subject, this country never produced."*

"The most learned man that ever adorned the bench—the most even man that ever blessed domestic life—the most eminent man that ever advanced the progress of science—and also one of the best and most purely religious men that ever lived."†

"The never-to-be-forgotten Sir Matthew Hale, whose faith in Christianity is an exalted commentary upon its truth and reasonableness, and whose life was a glorious example of its fruits, whose justice, drawn from the pure fountain of the Christian dispensa-

* Speech of the Attorney-General on Eaton's trial.

† Speech of the Attorney-General on Hone's first trial.

tion, will be in all ages a subject of the highest reverence and admiration."*

The ordinary meaning of the word libel is a written (or pictorial) slander upon some person, and it was at one time thought† that nothing could be a libel unless it reflected upon a particular individual. This doctrine, however, is quite exploded; and the word has long been held to include seditious and immoral writings,—in short, all publications condemned by the law—which are accordingly punishable by fine and imprisonment, and till lately by infamous corporal punishment. With these there could, after the decision of Rex *v.* Taylor, be no doubt that books attacking Christianity were to be classed. So wide a meaning, indeed, has been given to the term "libel," as almost to warrant Bentham's definition of it—"Anything which anybody at any time may be pleased to dislike for any reason."‡

In 1707, we find the Court of Queen's Bench, in a case of Regina *v.* Rudd,§ agreeing that "a crime that shakes religion, as profaneness on the stage, is indictable;" though they held, contrary to the now well-established doctrine,‖ that an obscene book is not indictable, but punishable only in the ecclesiastical courts.

In 1729, the law as laid down by Sir M. Hale was recognized and expounded in Rex *v.* Woolston. That writer,¶ who was probably insane, maintained that the miracles of Jesus were to be interpreted as allegories, and attacked with vehemence and coarseness the idea of their literal truth. He nevertheless claimed to be a sincere Christian

* Speech of the Attorney-General on Paine's trial.

† Hawkins' Pleas of the Crown, c. 73, § 9.

‡ So, too, Sir Francis Burdett, in his speech at Hone's meeting on Dec. 29, 1817, says—"So uncertain is the law of libel that a man can hardly be able to tell in nine instances out of ten when he has or has not written a libel. Nay, a man who sets out with an avowed intention of writing a libel may fail of his object, though he means to break the law. . . . The plainest understanding can comprehend the meaning of burglary and murder—offences known to the common law of England; but there is no knowing what a libel means. It is an offence which carries with it the marks of its accursed origin as the invention of the Star Chamber, founded upon musty remnants of the civil law, which is contrary to the genuine principles of the law of England."

§ Modern Reports, XI. 142.

‖ Rex *v.* Curll: Strange's Reports, II. 788.

¶ See Essays and Reviews: Essay VI. (3rd edit. p. 312); Trench on the Miracles (chapter on Assaults on the Miracles).

(and doubt seems still to hang over the truth of the claim), anxious only to relieve his religion from a burden which was likely to injure it. His position as a Fellow of Sidney College, Cambridge, attracted universal attention to his views, and it was thought necessary to prosecute him. He was convicted on four informations, and the Court of King's Bench refused to grant a rule for a new trial.* They would not even allow the question whether an infidel publication was criminal to be debated; but, whilst fully upholding the positions laid down in Taylor's case, declared that they did not intend that the law should extend to disputes between learned men on controverted points of religion. The value of this exception would, however, appear to be small: who is to decide, and how, on a writer's claims to "learning;" and with what consistency can a point be held to be otherwise than controverted, when the prisoner's offence has actually been the controverting it?

Mr. Chitty, in his work on Criminal Law, sums up the result of Woolston's case in the three following propositions:

1. It is illegal to write against Christianity in general.

2. It is illegal to write against any of its evidences or doctrines, so as to manifest a design to undermine it altogether.

3. It is not illegal to write on controverted points, even though some of the evidences may be affected by so doing.

In 1767, Sir M. Hale's principle of Christianity being a part of the law itself was recognized in Evans' case,† Lord Mansfield declaring that "the essential principles of revealed religion are part of the common law."

Peter Annett, a native of Liverpool, was convicted, in 1762, of a blasphemous libel in a weekly paper called "The Free Inquirer." In consideration of his pleading guilty, "of his poverty, of his having confessed his errors in an affidavit, of his being seventy years old, and of some symptoms of wildness that appeared on his inspection in court," we read‡ that the court—with almost criminal leniency—"declared they had mitigated their intended sentence to the following" trivial penalties: "To be imprisoned in Newgate for a month, to stand twice in the pillory with a paper

* Strange's Reports, II. 832; Fitzgibbon's Reports, p. 64.

† *Ubi supra.* ‡ W. Blackstone's Reports, I. 395.

on his forehead inscribed 'Blasphemy,' to be sent to the House of Correction to hard labour for a year, to pay a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.*, and to find security, himself in £100 and two sureties in £50 each, for his good behaviour during life." Verily, the tender mercies of the righteous are cruel! The sturdy septuagenarian lived through it all, and survived to 1778.

Paine's "Age of Reason" provoked more than one prosecution. The author himself for the publication of the second part of that work, Williams and Daniel Isaac Eaton for the publication of the third part, were proceeded against; the two former prosecutions being conducted by Lord Erskine and set on foot by the Society for the Suppression of Vice.* Lord Kenyon, in Williams' case, lays down, like Hale and Mansfield, that "the Christian religion is part of the law of the land."†

In 1820, a man of the name of Davidson was indicted for a blasphemous libel. On his trial he employed no counsel, but conducted his own defence, alleging as his reason for so doing that "no barrister will undertake and uphold an honest defence in a cause like mine." The Judge interposed with a threat; but the undaunted prisoner replied, "My Lord, if you have your dungeon ready, I will give you the key." His lordship at once fined him £20. At a subsequent stage of his defence, Davidson said—"The Deist is anathematized because he cannot believe that some traditions handed down among the Jews and Christians are a divine revelation, not only superior to the several revelations possessed by the Turks, the Brahmins, the Hindoos and many others, but the only genuine and authentic revelation in existence. Now it so happens that the Deist considers this collection of ancient tracts to contain sentiments, stories and representations, totally derogatory to the honour of God, destructive to pure principles of morality, and opposed to the best interests of society." For this speech he

* The visit of Lord Erskine to Williams' distressed family, his consequent appeal to the Society for the Suppression of Vice, their mercilessness and his consequent cancel of their retainer, are too well known to need narration here. The case reminds us of that of Holland, a bookseller in Oxford Street, whose wife's distress at his sufferings, when confined in Newgate for having in the course of his business sold Paine's "Letter to the Addressers," caused her death. See Gent. Mag. LXIII. 773.

† Howell's State Trials, XXVI. 669.

was fined £40. He afterwards remarked, "The bishops are generally sceptics." The Judge again fined him £40, justly deeming an insult to the episcopate to be at least as blasphemous as a mere attack on Christianity, and twice as heinous as contempt for the dignity of a court of justice. His right to inflict these fines was confirmed on appeal by the Court of King's Bench.*

It might be thought that the protection thus given to Christianity by the common law was sufficiently strong and sufficiently comprehensive; but the legislature thought otherwise. They had already had one shot—long previously fired and forgotten—at the demon of heterodoxy, in their law (passed May 2, 1648) to punish blasphemy and heresy. This enacted that "those that say that the bodies of men shall not rise again after they are dead, ... in case the indictment be found, and he shall not upon his trial abjure his said error, shall suffer the pains of death as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy;" and that persons maintaining "that all men may be saved, or that man by nature hath free will to turn to God," should be imprisoned until they found two securities that they would so maintain no more. The lapse of time had introduced bolder heresies, and they were now to aim at higher game. Accordingly, the Stat. 9 & 10 Wm. III. c. 32 was passed, which enacts that any person who has been educated in, or has made profession of, Christianity, who shall either (1) maintain that there are more gods than one, (2) deny any person of the Trinity to be God, (3) deny the Christian religion to be true, or (4) deny the Scriptures to be of divine authority, shall for the first offence be rendered incapable of holding any office; and for the second offence shall be rendered incapable of bringing any action, of being a guardian, an executor, a legatee, or a purchaser of land, and suffer three years' imprisonment. This Statute did not abolish, or even lessen, the punishments to which a blasphemer was liable at the common law, but added to them a cumulative one.† By Stat. 53 Geo. III. c. 160, this Act was repealed so far as it related to Unitarians, but otherwise it is still in force. Though useful as an argument *in terrorem*, it does not seem

* Barnewall and Alderson's Reports, III. 329.

† Rex *v.* Carlile. Barnewall and Alderson's Reports, III. 161.

to have been of much active value. It is said that about 1732, when the Dissenters were preparing their first application to Parliament for a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Mandeville and some other Antitrinitarians, wishing to profit by the momentary direction of the public mind to theological subjects, set on foot an edition of Servetus's *Christianismi Restitutio.* The Government of the day took the alarm, and threatened to enforce the Statute unless the edition, about half of which was by that time printed off, were suppressed. The offenders naturally yielded.*

It may be well to note that "blasphemy and offences against religion" are amongst the crimes removed, by 5 and 6 Vict. c. 38, sec. 1, out of the jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace and the Recorders of boroughs. For other legal details relating to these offences, which it is unnecessary to note here (among them, powers for destroying copies of the libel), reference may be made to Stats. 60 Geo. III. and 1 Geo. IV. c. 9, and 11 Geo. IV. and 1 Wm. IV. c. 73.

It would appear that England enjoys the honour of being (with the exception of such of the United States as have adopted her common law) the only country that has thus taken the gospel under her protection, and fancied it necessary to help the Omnipotent to support the revelation He has given. The law of Prussia punishes "gross blasphemies of God publicly uttered and giving general offence," with imprisonment for from two to six months; and revilings of any religious communities allowed by the State, or disturbances of divine service, are visited with a severer punishment. The Austrian code declares that "whosoever shall blaspheme God in speeches, writings or actions, or shall by the indecent abuse of vessels used for divine service, or otherwise by actions, speeches or writings, publicly manifest contempt for religion," shall be punished according to the "degree of scandal occasioned, and the degree of malice in the offender," with heavy imprisonment for any period between one year and ten years. The distinction is nevertheless obvious between enactments like these, giving a just protection to the religious feelings of the majority and to the general tranquillity, and the restraints upon discussion set by the English law in the manner we have traced. "In

* Protestant Dissenters' Mag., I. 119.

the laws of no country with which we are acquainted," with the exceptions above stated, "is it declared to be a crime simply to deny" in published writing "the doctrines of natural or revealed religion; offences of this class being invariably made to consist in the use of indecent railing or scurrilous language on such subjects."*

A somewhat recent example of the collateral effects of this doctrine of our law is to be found in the case of Briggs *v.* Hartley.† There a testator had given a legacy as a prize for the best essay "on the subject of Natural Theology, treating it as a science, and demonstrating the truth, harmony and infallibility of the evidence on which it is founded, and the perfect accordance of such evidence with reason; also demonstrating the adequacy and sufficiency of natural theology, when so treated and taught as a science, to constitute a true, perfect and philosophical system of universal religion (analogous to other universal systems of science, such as astronomy, &c.), founded on immutable facts and the works of creation, and beautifully adapted to man's reason and nature, and tending, as other sciences do, but in a higher degree, to improve and elevate his nature, and to render him a wise, happy and exalted being." The legality of this bequest was disputed; and the Vice-chancellor, on a suit being instituted (A.D. 1850), declared—doubtless remembering the irreligious tendency of the Bridgewater Treatises—that he "could not conceive that the bequest was at all consistent with Christianity, and therefore it must fail." So, too, in the case of the publication of a Deistical treatise, the liability to criminal prosecution is not the only effect of these rules of our law; they seriously affect many civil rights. The printer of such a book cannot recover for his labour;‡ the publisher of it cannot protect his copyright

* Sixth Report of the Criminal Law Commissioners, 1841. It is presumed that it was "in the use of indecent railing" that the criminality of Proudhon's *Gospel Annotated* lay. In January, 1866, the publishers of that work were sentenced at Paris, the one to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 300 francs, the other to a fine of 1800 francs. The printer was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and 300 francs' fine. Since the above article was written, the editor of the Berlin *Kladderadatsch* has been sentenced to eight days' imprisonment for ridiculing in his paper Roman Catholicism.

† Law Journal Reports, XIX. 416.

‡ Poplett *v.* Stockdale (Ryan and Moody's Reports, p. 337). See Clay *v.* Yates (Law Journal Reports, XXV. Exch. 237), shewing that a printer, who

against piratical infringement;* and the bookseller cannot enforce payment of the price from the purchaser of a copy.† When Dr. Priestley‡ brought an action against the hundred for the damages which he had sustained by the destruction of his house and library at Birmingham by an incendiary mob, part of the property destroyed was shewn to have consisted of unpublished manuscripts. It was said on behalf of the hundred, as diminishing the value of the damage done, that Priestley was in the habit of publishing works of a seditious tendency. Chief Justice Eyre said that if any evidence to that effect were offered, he should hold it to be admissible. The case of an author of (legally speaking) blasphemous works is precisely similar; in the event of his manuscripts being lost, injured or destroyed, he will have a legal remedy for the value of the paper only.

The expediency of such a legal check on discussion depends on two questions: (1) whether it is wise to restrain any opinions by law; and if so, (2) whether the opinions prohibited in the particular instance are such, and only such, as ought to be restrained. The former of these questions has received a complete and satisfactory answer in Mr. J. S. Mill's essay on Liberty, and it is useless to repeat the arguments of a work so well known to all those interested in politico-legal inquiries. It is here sufficient to say in brief, that if an opinion be true—and of none can fallible man declare with certainty that it is false—no good end can be attained by its suppression; whilst if it be false, to prohibit its free discussion is to prevent that satisfactory and final refutation of it, and that active conviction in the minds of its opponents of the truth of their own views, which would otherwise be obtained. Nor is the effect of a prosecution always injurious to the obnoxious opinions; it is not likely to incline the sufferer to look with favour on the creed of his prosecutors, and it is calculated to excite a popular sympathy with him which may easily develop into acceptance of his views. When Eaton, who was sentenced in 1812 to eighteen months' imprisonment and to the pillory, under-

on discovery of the nature of a libel stops the press, may recover for the work so far done.

* Stockdale *v.* Onwhyn (Barnewall and Cresswell's Reports, V. 173).

† Fores *v.* Johnes (Espinasse's Reports, IV. 97).

‡ See Stockdale *v.* Onwhyn, *ubi supra.*

went the latter part of his sentence, the populace, far from shewing the least incivility towards him, expressed the greatest indignation at his being condemned to appear there.* These prosecutions are generally condemned by prudent contemporaries, even amongst men strongly attached to the national religion. We find, for instance, the then Bishop of Chichester urging that Woolston "ought not to be punished for being an infidel, nor for writing at all against the Christian religion;" and Dr. Lardner saying in reply, "This appears to me a noble declaration. If the governors of the Church and civil magistrates had all along acted up to this principle, I think the Christian religion had been before now well-nigh universal." Prof. Hey, too, declares that "it would have reflected more honour upon our religion and upon our civil government to have committed him to the care of his relations and friends, than to let him support himself in prison by the sale of his writings, and end his days in confinement." This is a strong instance; for there is no case in which we should less expect to find protests against a prosecution than that of Woolston. His literary standing and the remarkably great attention which his effusions had excited, marked him out as being a far more than ordinarily fit subject for attack; and the bitterness of popular feeling against him† gave little hope of his finding protectors, especially amongst divines.

Nor even if we were to admit the wisdom of setting limits to theological discussion, and to concede that the object sought by the setting of those limits would probably be furthered by a prosecution, could we reply affirmatively to the question whether the bounds appointed by our law are fit ones. The doctrine of the Trinity cannot be considered to be (like the being of God, or the immortality of the soul) a belief likely to have an influence on public morality, and

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* Speech of Mr. M. A. Taylor in the House of Commons, April 6, 1815. Eaton died Aug. 22, 1814. He had been eight times prosecuted by the Attorney-General for his publications: his last imprisonment was the one above mentioned. He was subsequently prosecuted for issuing a work called "Ecce Homo," for which he suffered judgment to go by default; but was not brought up for judgment in consideration of his advanced years and his having given up the author. See Gent. Mag. LXXXIV. II. 295.

† He was requested to leave off coming to the Chapter Coffee-house, for if he continued to come there the customers had resolved to leave it. *Weekly News*, June 5, 1730.

therefore entitled in some measure to the support of the State. Yet to impugn that doctrine is to attack the Christianity which is part and parcel of our common law, and exposes the controversialist to the doom of a blasphemous libeller.

In 1702, the Rev. Thomas Emlyn;* a Presbyterian minister, was tried at Dublin for blasphemy in having published a work entitled, "A Humble Enquiry into the Scripture Account of Jesus Christ." In this book he maintained Arian opinions, but in a most calm and reverential tone. The most offensive passage seems from the indictment to have been: "He must do homage to God the Father in delivering up his kingdom to Him; and the very expression 'to God the Father' makes it plain that there is no God the Son in the same sense or in the same supreme essence with the Father. So then Jesus Christ in his highest capacity being inferior to the Father, how can he be the same God to whom he is subject, or of the same rank and dignity? So that I may safely say ..... that the blessed Jesus has declared himself not to be the Supreme God or equal to the Father." No argument was delivered on the question whether the positions maintained in the book amounted legally to blasphemy. Emlyn was sentenced to be imprisoned for a year, to pay a fine of £1000, and to remain in prison until it was paid. (On petition being made to the Lord Chancellor [Sir Richard Cox], he pronounced the fine excessive, and reduced it to £70.) The Judge, in delivering this sentence, enlarged on its mildness, and, regretting perhaps the mistaken lenity of our law, told Emlyn that in Spain or Portugal he would have been burned. Again, in 1711, Easter term, we find a case of Regina *v.* Clendon,† in

* See Biographia Britannica, art. Emlyn.

† Curll's Case (Hargreaves' State Trials, X. 93, app.) *arguendo.* The book I identify with "Tractatus Philosophico-Theologicus de Personâ. . . . By John Clendon, of the Inner Temple, Esq.: London, 1710." The writer is not very heterodox in his views; he holds Socinus's humanitarianism to have been "certainly false Doctrine in him, and he might as well have deny'd the Divine Authority of the Scriptures. That Socinus deny'd a Trinity of Persons was doubtless a great mistake" (p. 214). He seems to adopt a Sabellian or Indwelling hypothesis, and expatiates in praise of the Statute of Wm. and Mary, which he praises as legislating in favour of his views, adding—apparently not ironically—"this hath it done with a Lenity peculiar to Lay-Legislation. No direful Anathema denounced, nor Minatory Doom to Woes eternal; but the gentle Penalty of Personal Disabilities only as to some outward things, just enough to

which a libel about the Trinity was prosecuted, nor was any doubt of its criminality raised. In 1727, Hall, the author of a book called, "A Sober Reply to the Merry Arguments about the Trinity," was indicted for its publication.* Finally, in 1825, Lord Eldon, in a debate in the House of Lords on the Unitarian Marriage Bill, declared it as his firm opinion, without any of the characteristic doubts, that to impugn the doctrine of the Trinity was a crime punishable by the laws of this country; and pointed out the inconsistency of giving any legal recognition to Unitarianism whilst this continued to be the case.† The repeal, as previously mentioned in this article, of the statutory penalties against Antitrinitarianism did not in any way affect its criminality at common law. This point was unanimously decided by the Court of King's Bench in Rex *v.* Waddington,‡ in which case Mr. Justice Best (let us hope, with quiet humour) laid it down, that "the Legislature, in passing the Act (53 Geo. III. c. 160), only thought of easing the consciences of Dissenters, and

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advertize the Gainsayer of his Error and admonish his return to the Scripture Verity" (p. 223). The only passage in the book which seems to me likely to have been the subject of the prosecution is—"Let us see how these Personalities assign'd by our Theologists and Philosophick Men will acquit themselves. The Act of Spiration whereby both Father and Son eternally breathe forth the Holy Ghost. What insipid, precarious stuff is here to found our Faith upon! For the same One numerical Essence to beget and be begotten. For the Father to communicate the whole Divine Essence to the Son and yet entirely to retain the same Essence still. For the Father and the Son to communicate the same whole Divine Essence to the Holy Ghost, and yet the same . . . to remain and be the Essence both of the Father and of the Son. These are surely very Inphilosophick and strange Conceits, of which men can have no Notion, no Idea; nay, they seem to imply Contradiction in the Divine Nature itself" (p. 190). Poetical justice inspires the hope that the "gentle penalty," whatever it were, which Clendon underwent, proved "enough to advertize" him "of his error and admonish his return to the Scripture verity."

* Curll's Case (Hargreaves' State Trials, X. 93, app.); and Strange's Reports, I. 416. Of Hall and his book I have been unable to learn any further particulars.

† Emlyn's biographer asks if the net which caught him is fine enough to catch Bishops Pearson and Fowler; the former of whom, in his famed work on the Creed, says—"What the Father is, he is from none; what the Son is, he is from him. The first is a Father by reason of his Son, but he is not God by reason of him; whereas the Son is not so only in regard of the Father, but also God by reason of the same." And Bishop Fowler: "Since the Father alone is a Being of the most absolute perfection, he having those perfections which the other two persons are incapable of having, he alone is God in the absolute highest sense." Assuredly this is not the Athanasian doctrine of "none afore or after other, none greater or less than another."

‡ Barnewall and Cresswell's Reports, I. 26.

not of allowing them to attempt to weaken the faith of members of the Church."

Priestley was fully aware of the danger to which his advocacy of Unitarian views exposed him. In his well-known epistolary passage of arms with Gibbon,* he attacks that writer's simulation of Christian belief, and declares it to be useless "as a method of screening you from the notice of the law, *which is as hostile to me as it is to you.*"

One case indeed is reported, Rex *v.* Keach,† which confines the liberty of expression within limits far narrower than even these, the principle of the Judge's ruling having apparently been, that doctrines contrary to the Prayer-book are libellous. It is, however, at best the decision of a single Judge sitting at Nisi Prius, and is wholly unsupported by other cases; for the passages indicted hardly fall within Hale's "contumelious reproaches of the religion establisht." It is owing to this, its worthlessness as an authority, that we have not discussed it in its chronological order, preferring to quote only cases which might give the reader accurate conceptions of the law. The particulars are these: In October, 1664, Benjamin Keach was indicted at Aylesbury, "for that he, being a seditious, heretical and schismatical person, ... did maliciously and wickedly .... write, print and publish .... one seditious and venemous book, entitled, The Child's Instructor, or a New and Easy Primmer; wherein are contained .... these damnable positions contrary to the Book of Common Prayer: .... 'Q. Who are the right subjects of baptism? A. Believers, or godly men and women only, who can make confession of their faith and repentance. .... Q. What is the state of infants? A. Infants that die are members of the kingdom of glory, though they be not members of the visible church. Q. Do they then that bring in infants in a fleshly .... way err from the way of truth? A. Yea; .... for they make not God's holy word their rule, but do presume to open a door that Christ hath shut and none ought to open.' And in another place, concerning true gospel ministers: 'Christ hath not chosen the wise and prudent men after the flesh, not great doctors and rabbis; not many mighty and noble, saith Paul, are called, but

* Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, ed. 1796, I. 566.

† Hargreaves' State Trials, II. 549.

rather the poor and despised, even tradesmen and such like, as was Matthew..... And Christ's true ministers have not their learning and wisdom from men, or from universities or human schools for human learning. Arts and sciences are not essential to making of a true minister, but the gifts of God which cannot be bought with silver and gold; and also as they have freely received the gift, so they do freely administer; they do not preach for... filthy lucre; they are not like the false teachers who.... eat the fat and clothe themselves with the wool, and kill them that are fed;.... also they are not lords over God's heritage, they rule them not by force and cruelty, neither have they power to force and compel men to believe and obey their doctrines, but are only to persuade and intreat.'".

The Judge caused to be read to the jury, conjointly with the libellous sentences, passages from the Prayer-book of an opposite tendency. Among the quotations in the indictment was one teaching the personal millenarian reign of Christ; this assuredly was innocent, it being not opposed to, but only more explicit than, the statement from the Creed which the Judge linked with it. His comment on Keach's Anti-pædo-baptist views was—"He says that infants that die are members of the kingdom of glory; he speaks this of infants in general, *and so the child of a Turk or Heathen is made equal with the child of a Christian;** but the Church hath otherwise determined." Keach was found guilty, and sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment; to stand two hours in the pillory at Aylesbury, and two hours in that at Winslow where the book was then to be burned by the common hangman; to pay a fine of £20, and to remain in gaol until he found surety for his good behaviour and his appearance at the next assizes to recant his doctrine. The whole sentence was carried out, and on "giving sufficient surety for his good behaviour he was set at liberty, but"—the reporter with simplicity adds—"was never brought to make a recantation."

It is impossible for any theological writer to feel sure that the positions which he is attacking may not be among the "doctrines" legally held to be "essential" to the Christianity which is part and parcel of the common law. We

* The italics are our own.

have seen it laid down in Rex *v.* Woolston that there is an exception of points which are controverted amongst learned men; yet what doctrine (beyond mere questions of discipline) has been in all ages of Christianity the subject of more heresies—and therefore controversies—than that of the Trinity? Nor, again, is Lord Mansfield's canon of the "essential principles of revealed religion" to be relied on as a protection; Locke and Newton are adduced by every Christian apologist as the brightest instances of our faith, yet to neither of them did the Trinity appear an essential doctrine—or a doctrine at all—of revealed religion.* Emlyn evidently thought that this doctrine fell within the legal exemptions; for, using language very similar to that employed by the Judges in Woolston's case, in a letter† to the Chief Justice before sentence, he urges it necessary to "make a considerable difference between disputable errors which men of probity and learning are divided about, and scurrilous reflections on the blessed Jesus . . . which my soul shall ever abhor." When we remember that it is also illegal to write against any of the evidences of Christianity, "so as to manifest a design to undermine it altogether," a question equally difficult arises—Which evidences are judicially considered unimportant, which so essential that to confute them is to undermine the temple of our faith? To the well-read theologian it must be at once evident that, from the widely varying grounds on which different writers prefer to base the authority of Christianity, to expound one, and depreciate or abandon to the foe another, department of the evidences, must in the eyes of some school be an act of hostility to the only sure foundation of the faith.

The thinker whose belief in Christianity is based on a conviction of the identity of its doctrines with those to which the highest Reason leads us, may undervalue the arguments drawn from the events which attended its origin in Judæa. He will regard this internal testimony to its divinity as superior to one based on a balance of conflicting contingencies of error, on narratives whose evidential authority decays of necessity in proportion to their age—a seeming race between time and truth, with the odds against the

* It is obvious that Lord Mansfield did not mean by "essential," essential to salvation.

† Biog. Britann. *loco cit.*

latter. With Dr. Newman,* he will say, "The [external] evidence for revealed doctrine is so built up on probabilities, that I do not see what is to introduce it into a civilized community where reason has been cultivated to the utmost, and argument is the test of truth." Yet to men of the school of Whately and Paley, so to disregard the miracles would seem to be to undermine religion altogether. Such philosophical religion they consider but an irreligious philosophy, deeming that the things of faith are beyond the search of any powers of the human mind or soul, and must be taught us from without. Natural religion is but "one guess amongst many," worthless (say they) until it is proved, and in miracle lies the only possible proof. Hence such a thinker would appear to them to destroy the one basis of the faith, and to fall within the penalties of the law; which they might accordingly invoke against him.† On the other hand, they must in his eyes be planting Christianity on a foundation at best frail, and, to many minds, of little weight. Coleridge,‡ indeed, declared that the perusal of Paley's Evidences had converted one of his friends to Deism. By carrying the external-evidence theory to the furthest, we arrive at startling doctrines as to the irreligiousness of intellect and the intrinsic unreasonableness of Christianity. A writer who should say, "The Christian teachings must seem false to every logical mind, and every man of intellect and virtue will unhesitatingly reject them," would be looked on by all as an infidel clearly liable to punishment for his blasphemy. Yet, were he in his defence to quote the statements of Dr. Pusey—"So far from a highly intellectual age being a favourable atmosphere for the gospel, intellect, like every mere natural power, is, unless so far as Christ subdues it to himself, in necessary antagonism to the gospel, both as a whole and in its parts. . . . . Pure intellect, unpenetrated by faith, is in more special antagonism to God than even intellect imbruted in sensual sins"§—could we draw any real

* Loss and Gain, p. 341.

† All have not the confidence of Erskine, who in prosecuting Williams declared that he did not dread the reasonings of Deists against Christianity, for the novel reason (Acts v. 39) that "*as was said by its divine Author*, if it be of God, it will stand."

‡ Thom's Life of Blanco White, I. 419.

§ Christian Faith and the Atonement, pp. 18, 21.

distinction between the views of the divine and those of the blasphemer? Surely, then, not even this school of theologians can look upon the present state of the law of libel with perfect confidence in their safety.

To sum up in a few words the result of our inquiries. By precedent on precedent, it is now well established that the English law recognizes the doctrines of Christianity as in some sense a part of itself, and regards every attempt to injure their credit as an attempt to subvert its own authority, and will punish it as such. What dogmas it ranks amongst the protected doctrines, and what it leaves open as fairly points of controversy, is uncertain. High legal opinions, and a chain of Nisi-Prius decisions, warrant us in stating that the Deity of the three Persons of the Trinity must be placed in the former class; of no doctrine contradicted by the Liturgy for the time being established can we be *positively* sure that it ranks in the former class, though the legitimation and recognition of Nonconforming worship by the Toleration Act and by much successive legislation would always be a weighty argument in favour of the law's lenity. The evidences which form the foundations of Christianity are of course as much entitled to protection as its doctrines, and must not be subverted. What evidences are fundamental, and as such protected, is uncertain; Christian apologists answer with discordant voices, and seem each to the other as traitorous destroyers. This alone is settled, that miracles must be allowed as true and literal, whatever be thought of their evidentiary weight.

Surely it is not groundlessly that we fear lest, in the present era of theological unrest and inquiry, some occasion may arise when the spirit of persecution will, to the disgrace of our boasted liberty—to the disgrace of our Christianity—to the disgrace of our controversial divines, invoke to the aid of weak defenders of the faith the sword of these antique laws. During the last few years, the trials of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson, and the mock trial of Bishop Colenso, have shewn that, though the educated laity and the intellectual leaders of the clergy are on the side of liberty, the mass—alike amongst Conformists and Nonconformists—are not yet Protestant enough to recognize the right of private judgment. The inquisitor of old is not dead, but may still be met—a little less truthful and a little

less honest than of yore—in our religious newspapers and on our religious platforms.* The recent failures of every prosecution of heretics may damp, but will not quench, the zeal of the mob. They are prevented by the law from persecuting, but by nature from abandoning the attempt. They recall to us the memorable words of a great divine:†

"St. Paul . . . gives an account of his own conduct . . . in these words, 'Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men;' whereas . . . if some who profess to succeed him were to give an account of their own conduct, it must be in a quite contrary strain, 'Knowing the terrors of this world, and having them in our power, we do not persuade men, but force their outward profession against their inward persuasion.' . . . If the very essence of God's worship be spirit and truth; if religion be virtue and charity under the belief of a Supreme Governor and Judge; if true real faith cannot be the effect of force; and if there can be no reward where there is no willing choice; then in all or any of these cases to apply force or flattery, worldly pleasure or pain, is to act contrary to the interests of true religion, as it is plainly opposite to the maxims upon which Christ founded his kingdom—to choose the motives which are not of this world to support a kingdom which is not of this world."

COURTNEY KENNY.

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* "I could draw a picture—the generic picture, I may say—of a writer of almost this class. I could exhibit the peculiar countenance which a diseased state of feeling, tending to persecution, presents under a variety of modifications. I could sketch the writer when he is 'much pained,' when he is 'filled with amazement and sorrow,' and when he begins to look wildly for detached texts to right and left. In the high paroxysms which I have seen, under circumstances more favourable to the development of this disease, I have observed the pain and amazement dissolve the zealous person into tears, then lead him to fasting and flagellation, and ultimately strengthen the weakness of his human compassion, so as to enable him to attend the execution of the unfortunate being who caused the 'pain and amazement.'"—Blanco White: *Law of Anti-religious Libel Reconsidered*, p. 41. Dublin, 1834.

† Bishop Hoadley: Sermon on *The Nature of Christ's Kingdom.*

IV.—OUR POSITION.

By a Unitarian Layman.

[It is but due to the Editor to thank him for the liberality which allows the insertion of an article, expressing views often very different from his own, though held by many in our Church. H. A. B.]

It is a sad moment in the history of any sect or party, when a misgiving has for the first time crossed it, that its members can no longer act together as a united body. They may have fought side by side on many a contested field—they may have shared the same dangers, and triumphed in the same success. But times and circumstances have changed; they are no longer bound together by a pressure from without, and any want of real unity within becomes fatally apparent.

In the world of politics, this disruption and severance of parties brings with it much individual bitterness and pain; but in politics there is a constant change and shifting and reforming, so that there is always the probability, or at least the hope, of rejoining old colleagues and knitting again old ties. But in the religious world this can hardly be the case. If once a sect falls asunder, each portion of it takes, as it were, an orbit of its own, and can expect no re-union with what it leaves. The original cause of separation may indeed, as time goes on, seem small or trivial; but new associations have arisen, a new history is unrolling, and the honoured forms of the departed, to whom the movement owed its life, ever keep stern guard against concession or compromise.

How vain we feel it to hope for a re-union of the Churches of the East and West, of any of the Protestant Churches with the Church of Rome, of any of the Dissenting Churches with the Church of England, of any one of the Dissenting Churches with another! Which will give up its traditions, or remould its formulas, or modify its system, for the sake of unity? Men may come and men may go, but churches remain, true to their colours, till they die down from inanition or are crushed out by tyranny.

Hence it is that there is something unspeakably sad in

the prospect of a Church divided against itself, and presently to be torn apart. If only the external pressure had continued, there would have been no time, no need, to think about first principles. But there, nevertheless, have lain those principles germinating, and now they force away and split up all, that rests above them. The Catholic theory and the Protestant theory in the Church of England,—they have co-existed for some three hundred years, but can they co-exist much longer? or would they have co-existed so long, had not questions of Church property and of State influence complicated the problem?

And how is it to be with us, and that little group of churches, wherein for nearly a hundred years Unitarian doctrines have been preached? Is it the case that, while in times of civil disability we could act together heartily, we now, in these more peaceful days, spend our force in wrangling among ourselves, and preparing for a future of disunion?

Well, perhaps it is inevitable. With us two distinct tendencies have always been at work. Each in some wise checking and restraining the excesses of the other, these divergences of aim have hitherto led to no serious discord, to no insuperable difficulty. But this is so no longer. Controversy has blazed too hotly. Angry and bitter words have excited replies as angry and as bitter. A policy of conciliation is indeed still possible, but can we hope for it? And should that fail, there will be for the minority the choice of being compelled to assume what appears to them an essentially false position, or of withdrawing from all connection with those who would coerce them.

Let us trace as briefly as possible the causes, from which our present difficulty has sprung.

All through the eighteenth century, the English Presbyterian churches, bound as they were by no stringent creed, and rarely meeting in Presbytery, Council or Synod, began to drift further and further from the orthodox doctrines of Christendom. There was no strictly enforced standard of faith within the church itself, nor any effective public opinion outside its walls. And so, through the various shades of Arianism, they passed on to a Unitarianism of a very decided colour.

Here the drifting ceased. The more orthodox members

of their congregations had already left them to join the Independents, and Unitarianism was the doctrine in nearly every existing Presbyterian chapel. Such was the result of their practical freedom from external or internal control.

Meanwhile another movement had set in, and its strong current hastened on the slow Presbyterian drifting. It was a definitely Unitarian movement, concerning itself distinctly with points of doctrine and of controversy. Its origin seems rather in the Church of England than among the Presbyterians, and may perhaps be said to date from the time, when Lindsey, leaving his vicarage at Catterick, built the first avowedly Unitarian chapel in England. Priestley, himself originally an Independent, and some others, were also taking up the cause with vigour, and for a short time the spread of Unitarian opinions was so rapid as to alarm the Evangelicals.*

But the first force of the movement was soon spent. Its leaders had entangled it with much that was unpopular in both politics and philosophy. It was supposed to have a Deistic leaning. It was said to be in relationship with the Jacobins at Paris. The Evangelical revival carried away the sympathies of the timid and devout. And later on, the secession of Coleridge and the influence of his teaching gave another blow to Unitarianism.

Meanwhile Unitarians and Presbyterians worked harmoniously together, recognizing no difference, and called by either name. No doubt some old Presbyterians cared but little for the Unitarian controversy; and many new Unitarians, who had joined from other churches, cared as little for the past history of the quaint old meeting-house. But, on the one hand, the converts who joined were Unitarians; and, on the other hand, most of the chapels in which they met were Presbyterian. So each section had added something to the well-being and stability of the whole. Each section, moreover, had insensibly gained in some other respects from the very fact of union. Scarcely any Unitarian, however dogmatic might be his own creed, but would shrink from imposing it on another, or from

* John Newton, of Olney, writes in 1775: "I fear Socinianism spreads rapidly amongst us, and bids fair to be the prevailing scheme in this land, especially with those who profess to be the thinking part."—Newton's Works, Vol. I. p. 275.

fettering, by new and stricter trust-deeds, that property which he enjoyed because it had been so loosely fettered in the past. He had learned from Presbyterian tradition a generous trust towards others. And from him, in turn, the Presbyterian might learn the vast importance of religious conviction, and of steady anchorage to a theological faith. No longer now a mere decayed and lifeless sect of English Puritanism, the Presbyterians, as a branch of the Unitarian Church, could claim alliance with great thinkers and divines of former ages, and with the existing Unitarian churches in America and Transylvania.

Thus united, these two influences (for the distinction, ceasing to be personal, soon became one of tendency of thought,) were now brought to bear on practical and political reforms. The abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, the Dissenters' Marriage Act, the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, the University Reform Bills, and other similar measures, in which Unitarians took an active part, employed their energy and filled up their interests. If they were no longer, on account of their faith, to form one of the Three Denominations, still from their own ground they could fight in the Nonconformist battle, or, if need be, hold their own against Nonconformist bigotry. But whenever practical work grew slack, the old rival tendencies in the denomination (call it as you will) became evident. Each political success seemed rather to depress and demoralize the victors. Our old families began to drop off and disappear. Some disliked the odium attaching to the name of Unitarian. Some considered that, if the cause of religious liberty was won, they might fairly retire from a disagreeable post. Some were impatient of Dissent, and many were peculiarly sensible to the claims of society and the Church of England.

Nor did new converts now come in, as once they did. Unitarian missions to the poor were feebly started and feebly carried on. There was a want of vitality somewhere, and the various members of the body, as in the old fable, threw each the blame upon the other. One was too theological—and what the poor wanted was religion, and not theology. One was too undogmatic—and what the rich wanted as a preservative from Conformity was a definite dogmatic training. One was too advanced in his views, and frightened quiet people away. One was too little ad-

vanced in his views, and repelled every man of enlightenment and spirit.

At intervals these opposing opinions met in combat. Generally at some small provincial gathering of ministers, the grave question would be mooted, whether the mission or tract society, or whatever it might be, should henceforth be called "Unitarian Christian" or "Christian" only. Probably the whole time of the meeting would be taken up in acrimonious discussion; and whatever might be the result, it was pretty certain that the prosperity of the society or mission itself would not be materially enhanced.

During the past year, however, the contest has been transferred to a wider field, and involves a serious issue. A well-known and influential minister, taking alarm at some rather sceptical views which had here and there been promulgated, announced his intention of bringing forward a resolution at the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, to define the meaning which the word Unitarian should henceforth bear. This resolution was generally unpopular, and received no large support.* But the discussion to which the proposal gave rise bore a quite unexpected fruit. A small meeting of ministers and laymen was previously held at Nottingham, and while protesting against the forthcoming resolution, it protested no less against the British and Foreign Unitarian Association as representing the English Presbyterian body. It was argued that we had no doctrinal bond of union, that our churches were free churches, and that no free church ought to subscribe to a doctrinal Association. Some six churches, it was discovered, had committed this indiscretion, and it was resolved to deprive them of the opportunity of again compromising themselves. If the British and Foreign Unitarian Association would consent to alter its Rules, so as to prevent any congregational representation for the future, a new Association might be formed on a purely undogmatic basis, which might unite and represent the various liberal congregations.

* So long as any one calls himself a Christian and a Unitarian, professing the worship of God the Father in the name of Christ, he surely is a member of the Unitarian Church. Within that Church we may rightfully combat low humanitarian views of Christ, but we cannot consistently exclude any who would belong to it, or establish any creed beyond the two names, which testify that we have a common ground of worship.

Of course to this plan there was some considerable opposition on the part of many active members of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. They neither wished to curtail their own influence, or the free choice of those congregations, who were disposed to join them. On the other hand, to give up the right of congregational representation was to give up a right, which had been but little used. The undogmatic party promised, as individuals, a large support to the Unitarian Association, which hitherto they had not deemed it consistent to afford. And, finally, they threw out the not obscure hint, that if the Association did not modify their constitution, the new Association would at once place itself in a position of rivalry, which would practically divide the denomination.

Was it, then, to be peace or war? The mixed Committee appointed at the last meeting of the Unitarian Association have decided for peace, and have, it is understood, recommended that the Rule, allowing the representation of congregations, should be rescinded.

Such, shortly, but not perhaps unfairly, stated, is the position in which to-day we find ourselves. Now the question at issue is really this—What is and should be our basis of union? Granting that the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, which is really a Missionary Association, could not be made a good Representative Assembly, is such an Assembly either possible or desirable when taking as its charter of three points (as explained by Mr. Martineau in No. XIII. of this Review),

1. A basis of union as broad as Christianity;
2. An unconditional refusal of special doctrinal names;
3. An openness to progressive change?

One chief plea for such a bond of union is founded on the matter of property. It is said that our Church property came to us Unitarians, because the Presbyterian Trusts were altogether open, and that we have no right to call our churches by any doctrinal name, or let them join any doctrinal Association. In other words, our first duty is as trustees of property. If this were so, it might well be questioned whether it would not be better to give up such property altogether, and not make our position, as a living Church, rest on our ownership of a certain number of red-brick Presbyterian chapels.

But the fact is otherwise. Our property has been confirmed to us by law, without any limitations whatever; and it has even been doubted, though perhaps not on absolutely conclusive ground, whether, after five-and-twenty years of Unitarian tenure, a Unitarian minority *could* be deprived of any chapel.

But if it be argued, that the duty of the Trustee to carry out the original trust-deed is at least a moral one, the case becomes more awkward still. The proposed assembly is at least to be nominally Christian, and some of the old trust-deeds are so wide that a congregation of Deists might worship there. Others, again, are so narrow, that an orthodox catechism is required to be taught; and one or two others have a distinctively Unitarian trust.

This plea, then, of respect for trust property will not fairly hold, for it cannot be consistently maintained. But, again, this plea may be swept entirely away in the most summary manner. A number of Unitarians meeting for Unitarian worship form a Unitarian congregation or church, even though (what we by no means admit) they had but a life interest in their chapel property. Their bond of union is with similar Unitarian churches on the ground of a common faith, not with similar occupiers of property on the ground of a common tenure. A church is built up of the affections and faiths of men, not of the handiwork of carpenters and bricklayers.

But, no doubt, if an undogmatic basis of union be not a matter of absolute law and justice, it may yet be a matter of religious sentiment, or of sectarian expediency.

How deep and generous the religious sentiment may be, is shewn in the following passage from a note to a sermon of the Rev. J. Hamilton Thom:

"A doctrinal Association, declared by its name and by its constitution to have its work in the field of controversial theology, cannot undertake to represent the spiritual unity of all Christian hearts. All its members would admit that multitudes belong to the Church of Christ who cannot belong to their Association. A Unitarian Association may come in time to be coextensive with the Church of Christ; but if it claimed now to represent the Church of Christ, it could only be on the principle that Christianity was an Orthodoxy and that Unitarianism was the Orthodoxy, a principle that would not be maintained by a

single member of the present British and Foreign Unitarian Association. It is only natural, therefore, that a number of persons who are members of that Association, and as individuals would remain so, should desire a Church, and if possible a Name, which would indicate to the rest of the Christian world that they do not identify theological opinions, which at present could only constitute a sect, with the essence of Christian fellowship. This could be effected, fully and peaceably, by simply establishing a Church professing to be Christian, which did not identify itself with any orthodoxy whatever, and might consist of constituent Churches not agreeing in their views of doctrine, but agreeing in this, that Jesus Christ was to them the Revealer of God in a sense so high and peculiar as to justify them in calling themselves by his name. The form or shadow of such a Church existed for nearly two hundred years, until it was recently obscured by a hybrid name, in the Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire."*

Nothing can apparently be clearer or more beautiful; but is it, when we breathe upon it, more substantial than the fair frost-work of a winter morning?

How can *any* Association represent "the spiritual unity of all Christian hearts"? That there is such a unity is indeed most true, but it eludes all outward associations, all external forms. They,

> Whose one bond is, that all have been
> Unspotted by the world,

are of all climes and every faith. Nay, though some have never heard the name of Christ, the spirit of God may have breathed upon them, and the unacknowledged Christ may yet dwell in their inner hearts. But this unity of spirit is known of God alone. You cannot by any token of creed, or sacrament, or ritual, tell off those, whose Christian fellowship is a reality, from those, with whom it is a name or a pretence.

If, then, "the spiritual unity of all Christian hearts" cannot be the practical bond of external organization, can the mere name of Christian prove more efficacious? Can you form a worshipping church on the ground of Christianity alone? or can you form an Association of churches or Church union on that simple basis?

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* The Church of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus: One Fold and One Shepherd. A Discourse. Whitfield. 1866.

Mr. Martineau apparently believes that you can have a worshipping church, or a congregation of worshippers, all holding different views of Christianity. At least he says:

"Nor is there anything to prevent such a church, as it lives on, becoming in its own history an epitome of Christian thought in its entire development; instead of taking the custody of detached truth, and forming, or deforming, itself by partial contemplations. And though it is chiefly *in succession* that it becomes the home of differing theologies, and enriches its life by sympathies beyond the present, yet, as the links of change are continuous, the varieties of belief must also learn to co-exist: and however logically impossible it may be for Trinitarian and Unitarian to worship together, it is certain that they practically did so in the mixed congregations of the transition period. In such mutual adjustments of piety and charity, as well as in pledges given to the past and the future for largeness of thought and sympathy, there is a moral discipline infinitely preferable to any neatness and rigour of intellectual consistency."

Now, as a matter of fact, the Trinitarian Presbyterians went off to the Independents as soon as the Unitarianism of the chapels became too obvious; and no less certain is it that, on either side, there would be a gain in religious earnestness by the necessary separation. But conceive it otherwise. Is the minister to ignore all disputed points of doctrine, as is generally the case in the Genevan churches of to-day, and give only the residuum of a Christian ethical instruction? It is clear that all vitality will disappear, and that outside the Church zealous and godly men will found new Methodist chapels, and cold and doubting men will pass away to a more congenial Theism. Besides, there is, so to speak, a certain unfairness in such a service. The Trinitarian must give up everything, and a "barren Unitarian negation," unsupported by earnest and living Unitarian faith, would be alone left to minister and flock.*

But possibly Mr. Martineau would prefer the French system, and then Sunday after Sunday different ministers,

* A writer in the *Patriot* newspaper, speaking of the broad distinction between a Unitarian and Trinitarian worship, says: "It is not necessarily intolerance that keeps men who so differ apart from each other; *but practical incompatibility,—they have no common platform of worship.* Whatever may be the case with love and work, there is, and must be, fundamental difference between those who worship Christ as God, and those who regard him as only man."

holding opposite views, would preach at and against each other's doctrines, and the worship of God would become the discussion of the lecture-hall, envenomed by the odium of the theologian.

Mr. Thom, however, appears to take another, and certainly a more practical view. If we understand him aright, he thinks that separate churches should have their own definite opinions at any given moment, though they may be free to change them; and thus, though he would not speak of a Unitarian congregation or church, he would not wish for a congregation of mixed Unitarians and Trinitarians, nor would he desire the minister to preach other than an uncompromising Unitarianism.

But then he believes that an Association may be formed of "constituent churches not agreeing in their views of doctrine, but agreeing in this, that Jesus Christ was to them a Revealer of God in a sense so high and peculiar as to justify them in calling themselves by his name." That is, that although the bond of a nominal Christianity is not sufficient to make a congregation cohere, it may be sufficient to unite an Association formed of many churches.

And here the question meets us—Are we discussing a theory, or a tangible substantial reality? It is no doubt a noble idea,—Christian sects laying aside their rivalries and jealousies, and meeting together in one great Christian congress; but is it possible? And if clearly impossible, of what avail the idea? As Joubert truly says, "L'utilité ou l'inutilité essentielle de nos pensées est le seul principe constant de leur glorie ou de leur oubli."

Indeed, the question is rather—Is there no likelihood that in grasping at a shadow, we shall lose what we have that is valuable and good?

What are the bare facts? There are in England some 200 to 300 small congregations, who are asked to forego the claims they have to association and union, as fellow-believers professing a common faith and a common worship, in order that they may form a wider association with all unshackled Christian churches. Now either there are or there are not such churches, and with creed-bound churches they would not and they could not have anything to say. They must have churches which unconditionally refuse all special doctrinal names, and evince an openness to progres-

sive change. Now these requirements in themselves form a tolerably stringent creed. Even liberty, as we all know, has sometimes looked strangely like despotism.

Hence all existing Orthodox churches are at once excluded, and all positively Unitarian churches too. But even the dropped doctrinal name is not enough. The anonymous church must, Mr. Martineau tells us, also evince an openness to progressive change. By what test this openness is to be determined, it is somewhat hard to say. And what is progressive change? If an anonymous church took an Irvingite or a Swedenborgian turn, would that be a progressive change?—and whither the progress? Or is it progress to disbelieve in Christian supernaturalism altogether? One thing alone is clear, that a distinctive doctrinal name is forbidden, even if the votary of progress thought it right and becoming to assume one.

But suppose the Association formed, what could be its scope and object? It could take no part in missionary enterprize, for you cannot preach Christian faith without some form of Christian belief expressed or understood. It could hardly act as a Presbytery, restraining, controlling and admonishing the churches, of which it was composed. It might, to be sure, (as Mr. Thom indicates,) be like the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire, before its Unitarianism gave some little life and purpose to its meetings. It might listen to a sermon, sign a petition or two to Parliament, and glorify itself at a public dinner. And that would be all. Is it to this that "the spiritual unity of all Christian hearts" would come?

And, lastly, how stands the case when looked at from the point of view of sectarian expediency? What increase of numbers should we gain by making our association of churches entirely independent of doctrinal opinion? Mr. Martineau, in an able letter which he addressed to the "Inquirer" newspaper in May last, asks—"Is it not notorious that we have already lost, or are daily losing, a large class of singularly thoughtful and earnest Christians, who, though one with us through the greater part of our faith, and vigorously applying it against the narrowness of the Church and the evils of the world, hold some doctrine about the Person of Christ which the Unitarian name excludes? And do we not see Free Christian Churches spring-

ing up around us, living on the principle which we have dropped, and keeping aloof from us because they will not be doctrinally pledged?" And Mr. Thom fears, that the outside world does not know all we mean when we call ourselves Unitarians. Hence has arisen the belief that if we merely profess our Unitarianism as individuals, but take up the position of unfettered Christianity as a denomination, the result will be a denominational advantage.

First, then, what will be gained by the suppression of the word Unitarian as indicative of the faith of our English churches? It is certainly, in some circles, an unpopular name, and carries with it a something of fear and of dislike. But it is an honest name, and there is a certain respect that it commands. It tells its own tale, and endures its own reproach, and bears its own cross. How would it be if known Unitarians began to call themselves members of a Presbyterian, or a Free Christian, or a Liberal Catholic, or any other unknown Church? The change of a flag will not make the better soldier or the more loyal army. It will be but the excuse for desertion from the ranks. It will give the feeling of a hopelessness of struggle against the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and instil a scepticism of truth itself.

Priestley and Channing were members of Unitarian churches, and the name is consecrated by the virtue and the learning of noble and pious men for more than two centuries; while the idea, which the name represents, winds its golden thread along all history, from the earliest moment of Christianity itself.

In Transylvania there is a Unitarian Church, with its 50,000 members and its established organization. In America there is a Unitarian Church, which is growing more and more powerful, just in the degree in which it asserts itself, and relies upon its own determined faith.

And in England are we to desert our natural alliance with these Unitarian Churches, in order to try the experiment of a Church left shifting and unchartered? Are we to substitute for a sect based upon (what we esteem) the greatest and most neglected truth of Christianity, a sect based upon the negation of any special Christian truths at all? For it comes to this. And unfortunately the outside world will not be deceived. We shall either remain Uni-

tarian, or we shall gradually become Trinitarian. If we remain Unitarian, the mere suppression of a name will not induce members of other churches to join us.* If we become Trinitarian, our separate existence as a sect ceases to find a justification, and we are mere schismatics, separating from those with whom and among whom we live.

And again, as a mere matter of fact, it is not really so much the name of Unitarian, as the fact of Dissent, which renders people averse from joining us. The Dissenters of England have belonged chiefly to the less cultivated middle classes, and the more cultivated classes, with whom we Unitarians have most social relationship, shrink uncomfortably from any sectarian connection with Dissenters. A Secularist, so long as he is not a Dissenter, is more than tolerated. An American, though he be a Unitarian, may have an honorary degree at Oxford, and visit at half the great houses in the country.

Hence no change of name or of position will serve us. We should certainly lose in one direction, and beyond some very few individuals (whose very names we guess), would gain nothing in the other. The vagueness of an unchartered churchmanship, which has a charm for a few, has for others a positive repulsion. And just now the temper of the times is to an increasing distinctness. The lines are being drawn more clearly,—the dogmas more firmly stated. The followers of Comte and the disciples of Pusey are in this alike consistent. Indeed, the idea of a Church, resting on other than definite truths, is quite alien from the universal mind of Christendom. Some few among ourselves may dream of it, scarcely as a memory of what has been, but rather as a vision of what might be. But the vision has no reality or substance; for, here at least, we cannot prevent intellectual differences, nor suggest a worship, which can embrace and satisfy every mind. There appears something of presumption in the very vision, noble as it is.

What, then, can we attain to? We can claim our position as a sect or section of the Christian Church, keeping our own distinctively Unitarian name, but gladly feeling

* In the late University College controversy it was impossible to convince the outside world that a College, like Manchester New College, with a Unitarian staff, Unitarian students, and a Unitarian proprietary, was not a Unitarian College. *De jure*, they said, it may not be—*de facto* it certainly is.

how the great circumference of the Christian Church encircles all, and binds every Christian sect together. We can claim for our own Unitarian faith that it has the "note" of antiquity, and yet does not fear the strictest scrutiny of the most modern science; that it is clear in its own views, but knows that another's "broken light" comes equally from the Source of every light; and that if the true communion of churches is in a common worship, the true communion of individuals is in a common sympathy.

Our little Church may remain a small one. Its differing tendencies, Unitarian and Presbyterian, may for a time serve to check its development and stint its growth. But, if no further hasty action be taken, it is possible all may yet be well. Only let no movement in the direction of a comprehension, which will comprehend nothing and lose much, veil itself under the semblance of liberality. It is not true liberality—it is but false romance. It is the sacrifice of present facts to a past tradition. It is a return from at least some form and order into mere chaos and confusion. A man deeply impressed by early association, by family ties, or by the beauty of holiness, may often rightly worship, where he feels most strongly the spirit of worship, even though he hears at times a theology in which he can have no part. But how is this possible with entire churches? How can they join in worship when the terms of their worship are different? How can they form a common Association when they wish for different ends, and are actuated by different hopes?—or how call themselves members of the same Church, when they discard the very purpose of a Church,—united prayer to the same Almighty God?

Surely the scheme breaks down as we put it to the test of argument. Would it stand more successfully against the test of actual experience?

H. A. B.

V.—THE NEW CREED AND THE OLD, IN THEIR SECULAR RESULTS.—II.

In the earlier part of this paper we discussed some current changes in the popular religion, whose results may be contemplated with almost unmixed hopefulness and confidence. There are other transitions, however, either impending or within the scope of easy probability, which suggest more anxious speculations. The most important of these is the apparently imminent change in the *method* of Theology. We shall endeavour to discuss it fairly in the present paper, and in a future and concluding one treat of the changes in the ideas of Sin and of Prayer, and their probable consequences.

The theory regarding the origin of religious knowledge which the civilized world has hitherto universally accepted, is that of an Authoritative Supernatural Revelation. The gods of Rome and Greece were believed to have appeared to men, and to communicate their decrees through oracles and auguries. India, Persia and Arabia, have each possessed Sacred Books, believed to be the infallible dictates of the Deity. Judaism and Christianity were understood to have had every kind of supernatural sanction,—divine apparitions, voices from the sky, inspired prophets and apostles, inspired books, and finally a divinely-commissioned order of priesthood. No nation has yet sustained its religious life except with some such authority as the acknowledged source of its popular creed. The number of thinkers who at any period hitherto have rejected such authority and based religion on other grounds, has been too insignificant to afford any index to the results of a change in the basis of popular theology.

It can be little doubted, however, that some modification of the old view is inevitable. Nothing is more clear than that even orthodox divines have so far receded from their earlier position as to follow Locke's principle, and "support miracles by doctrine rather than doctrine by miracles,"—a principle which at once moves the whole matter from the ground of external authority to that of inward moral sense. More advanced teachers, of course, go a great deal further; and (not to pursue a familiar topic) it will be no doubt con-

ceded by most of the readers of this Review, that all the tendency of modern thought lies in the direction of a secession from the yoke of Authority, and a constant approximation to the doctrine so nobly set forth of late by the Bishop of Argyle, that in man's heart and soul must lie the ultimate test of all religious truth. In a word, of the two supposed sources of knowledge of God, the Traditional and the Original Revelation, the first continually loses, and the second as continually gains, in public estimation.

Let us make our meaning quite clear. We are not contending that the traditional element will *drop out* of future religion, but that it will not hereafter supply, as now, the dogmatic *ground* and authority thereof. We cannot even imagine that the time will ever come in this world when that traditional element will be outgrown by mankind and wholly dispensed with. The records of the experience of saints and seers must always be needful to corroborate the feebler insight of common men. Religion in this respect cannot differ from nearly all other human sentiments which are developed, cultured and brought to full growth, only through the instrumentality of specially powerful natures acting on the less powerful. Love itself, the commonest of all, would never (it has been often said) be felt by hundreds of men, had they never heard or read of it, and interpreted their own dim feelings by the language of Love's Prophets,—the poets. Art, in a special way, thus depends upon widespread sympathies, and grounds itself on a tradition of the Beautiful; nay, in a singular way runs parallel through all its course with Religion. The art of Athens in the days of Pericles shewed (as Renan somewhere remarks) as wonderful and unique an elevation of man's *æsthetic* nature, as the lessons of the Hebrew prophets and apostles shewed a similarly unmatched elevation of his *religious* nature. Both equally transcended all prior or subsequent experience, and as compared with other art and other religious lessons, deserved to be called perfect. The Parthenon is one kind of miracle, the Book of Isaiah another. As Goodness is higher than Beauty, so the Book is greater than the Temple: but only because it belongs to the higher plane of things, not because it reveals Goodness more perfectly than the Temple reveals Beauty. We cannot conceive how or why the Athenians possessed such exceptional genius, how or

why Ictinus and Phidias created forms of Beauty none before them and none after them have equalled. Neither can we tell why Isaiah and Paul were given religious genius above all men save Christ. We are accustomed to call the revelation of Religion, "inspiration," and we use the word only metaphorically when we speak of the revelation of Beauty (albeit the Jews spoke equally of the Spirit of the Lord coming on the artists of the Tabernacle and on the highest of the Prophets). But speak of them as we may, the cases are alike unparalleled in the world's history.

And when the giant race of Phidias and his compeers had passed away, what result had they accomplished as regarded all future Art? Surely in a great measure their supreme insight has guided and enlightened all artists (in as far as they have been enlightened at all) to discern the Beautiful ever since? What the world would have been without them as regards Art, it is difficult to conceive, even although in a certain faint degree another miraculous cycle of creative artistic power came round in the cinque-cento age in Italy. But is not this history of Art the exact counterpart of the history of Religion? Rowland Williams speaks* of the Bible writers as "*those spiritual giants whose experience generated the religious atmosphere we breathe.*" And such in truth has been their share in the religious life of mankind ever since, nor can we conceive what would be now our condition had they never felt so deeply what we have felt dimly, and spoken so loudly what we have whispered in our hearts.

Thus we hold it certain that the value of the lessons of the prophets of old will not cease while the world lasts. The change which we anticipate will not diminish men's sense of it—nay, will enhance it; for they will then recognize them rightly as the grand support and corroboration of that "original Revelation" which will be the only faith. But this is a very different thing from considering them as the infallible oracles of God, guaranteed by physical prodigies. Against their ever again holding this position in the estimation of free and intelligent minds, the whole current of science and philosophy is setting.

The change no doubt will be gradual. For a long time

* In Essays and Reviews, p. 61.

the two principles may co-exist, as in truth they do now among many of the best minds of the age, by whom Authority is not wholly relinquished, even while the rights of Conscience are sought to be maintained. There are some intellects to whom such a compromise is impossible—rapid, intuitive minds, perchance of a somewhat feminine cast, which involuntarily pull down the whole arch of religion the moment they discover one stone is loose, and build it (if ever) up from the very foundation. But there are other minds, slow, careful, masculine, which proceed step by step, letting go only one article of faith after another as it is absolutely wrenched from them by argument, and passing through twenty years of "Phases of Faith" before they give up the last remnant of their reliance on Authority. Among men of this conservative order, the old idea of traditional Authority will survive for many a day, and form with reason and conscience a joint support to faith. Religion to them will be a Colossus holding its lamp aloft, one foot planted on the pier of Authority, and one on the rock of Consciousness.

Let it be noted that in the foregoing observations we have not mooted the question whether a large share of the old *creed* may not be preserved, even while its old *method* falls thus into disuse. Already we hear of able men struggling to cut the knot of critical difficulties which they are too honest to deny, by affirming that they have gained their knowledge of Christ and his office by super-historical means; not by the channels of books and traditions, but by their own inward consciousness. Such a statement applied to an historical personage is obviously at variance with every principle of mental science; but, taken as an index of the possible tendencies of future thought, it is well worthy of note. The probability is great, that certain spiritual forms of the chief Christian doctrines—what we may call their beatified ghosts,—will walk the earth and haunt men's hearts long after their carnal and literal part has been buried and forgotten.

The point we contend for is this: The *doctrines* of the future Church we do not now attempt to forestall; though naturally, like the disciples of every other creed, we suppose they must eventually approach our own. But let the *doctrines* be what they may, the *grounds* on which they

rest (as we have shewn) must in all probability be altered. Our question is, What will be the secular results of such a change?

We have abundance of prophets of evil who tell us that no benefit, but only infinite disorder, can come from leading men to abandon reliance on dogmatic authority in matters of religion. Like the priests of Thor and Odin whom the Christian king of Norway left on the rocks to be drowned by the rising tide, the clergy of the old creed to-day wail and cry aloud at sight of the approaching flood —Jerusalem Chamber their "*Skerry of Shrieks.*"* "No dogmas this year, no commandments next," is the epigram they have put into the mouth of an agricultural labourer, but which savours strongly of the episcopal bench. "Break the wine-bottle," said an eminent Swiss divine recently to a friend of the writer, "Break the wine-bottle, and how will you preserve the wine? Grant even that the bottle be valueless, still the wine without it will be spilled and lost." Let us calmly examine what truth there may be in these fears.

The transition from a creed resting on Authority to one resting on Consciousness, must be, both for individuals and churches, a very different *sort* of change from any imaginable alteration in the creeds themselves. We are perhaps rather prone to think of the history of religious progress as a series of loosenings of fetters, a kind of gradual emancipation from absolute sacerdotal despotism to democratic self-government, analogous to the processes so often suggested for the gradual elevation of negroes from slaves to freemen. The last step is not supposed to be beset with as many dangers as the first. But, in truth, there is very little similarity in the case. The first going forth of a youth from the parental roof into the world—nay, we might almost say the birth of a child and commencement of independent physical life—would afford more just analogies. Between leaning on external support and leaning on internal support, there lies a whole new world of moral phenomena. Did it take place in any of us sharply and suddenly; did we

* The name given to the rocks where this peculiar form of "baptism of the heathen" was celebrated. "Skerries" signify rocks uncovered at low water only. See the Heimskringla of Snorro Sturleson.

not commonly pass through a period of prostration without support at all, or (if we may use such a metaphor) pass often again and yet again, like the young marsupial creatures, back into our first shelter ere we quit it at last for ever —were we to change in a day from a firm reliance on the supernatural authority of Book or Church to an equally clear faith resting on reason and on conscience alone—then would such a transition be absolutely overwhelming in its magnitude. The slowness and oscillation of the process is that which has hitherto aided its safety.

Let us face the truth candidly. The religious consciousness of man is a thing sometimes so vague, sometimes so weak, sometimes apparently so defective altogether, that it may well alarm the most faithful souls to think of such a faculty being made to bear unaided the whole weight of that earthward gravitation which for ever pulls us down to material things, and of the sudden strain of doubt in hours of agony. Bossuet thought he overthrew Protestantism by exhibiting all the variations and contradictions of its sects. A still easier victory is ready at hand for him who will shew how confused and how feeble are the workings of those powers which we scarcely know even how to classify among the departments of man's mental nature, and speak of as Reason and Conscience and the Religious Sentiment.

It would seem at first sight as if the result of any rapid and extensive revolution of opinion, throwing the minds of masses of men and women suddenly upon such a support, might be a period of great disorder. The contingency, for example, of a few of the more prominent intellects of the hour avowing Positivist or Pantheistic views might cause the tide of public opinion to set in an anti-religious direction, while the moral snares which ever beset the feet of those who wander from the beaten track of old-established Law might entangle multitudes. Were these things to happen, the consequent cessation of religious worship and education, and the lowering of public morality, would again re-act by pushing to still greater distance all religious feeling. A period of national Atheism would supervene; darkness would cover the land, and thick darkness the people.

Such are the dangers which, at a superficial view, seem among the possibilities of the future; and in the face of them there are thousands who cry in their hearts, with a far more

bitter cry than ever heretofore, "The Church is in Danger" —not the Church only of Rome or of England, but the whole Church of believers in God or Duty or Immortality. But there are reflections which should calm all such alarms for those who believe in God and care only that men should know Him, whether in the old way or in some newer one, as to Him seems best. Men in early times believed the sun to be the chariot of Apollo, then a lump of molten metal "as large as Peloponnesus." Now they know it to be a stupendous globe a hundred million miles away. Has the sun all the time altered its influence, while the ideas of men concerning it are changed, and it has seemed to recede in immeasurable grandeur? Have our harvests been less golden under its rays, our vineyards less rich in purple fruit? Is it less a joy to us than to the Greek or Hebrew of old to bask in its warmth, or a less pleasant thing for our eyes to behold the sun? Not so—not so! What we think about God is one thing; what He will for ever do for us is another. There can be no "change of policy" in the counsels of Heaven. The long story of the ages is the development of man's religious nature from stage to stage, from Fetichism to Polytheism and Monotheism. To say, with the Positivists, that this will end in the negation of all that *personal* reverence, allegiance, love, which have constituted the heart of religion, and that nothing will be left but an abstraction of "Humanity," to whom will be offered the mere smoke and ashes of a fire of worship long gone out,—this is not, as they assert, to carry on the series of progressive steps, but to step *off* "the great world's altar-stairs" into the abyss. To believe in *no* God is no development of old forms of belief in many Gods or in one God; it is simply the stultifying of all the noblest part of the past, of all the labours, prayers and martyrdoms of the men who have been the glory of our race.

Our faith in God forbids us to think He will desert us: and our knowledge of human nature places the collapse of religion among the most incredible of miracles. The love and allegiance to a Person all-holy and all-good, which we have believed and *felt* to be the very crown and blossom of our being, the bud which is to expand into eternal beauty in heaven, and for whose sake we have been transplanted to this soil of earth, that religious sentiment is

not a thing which can drop out of human life and become a thing of the past. Till parents cease to love their offspring, and the infant seeks no more its mother's breast, that instinct which is deep and strong as the parental and the filial, cannot die out. The religion which will be built on it hereafter will have a basis—weak, indeed, and oscillating in a sense—but no more to be displaced than those hoary rocks which a child's hand may shake, but which a giant cannot overthrow.

But, safe as we may feel in the durability of religion under all possible changes, the speculation is one of profound interest: How will a religion with no foundation of Authority act upon men? Will it, in the first place, sustain its position at all as the *common faith* of the multitude? Can the masses of men find spiritual sustenance in such a faith?

We venture to think that the practical consequences of renouncing dogmatic authority as affecting the readiness and firmness of belief, will shew themselves less among the crowd when the change has become general, than they often do now when it takes place in an individual and isolated mind. Men are really more accustomed than they imagine to lean on one another, and much less accustomed than they imagine to lean on the ostensible props of their faith. Like wheat in a field, a thousand stand together, or wave under the pressure of the breeze; while a single solitary stalk by the road-side is beaten down into the mire. No strain the human soul can endure is much harder than his who would fain worship at the shrine of his race, but who finds the image—so sacred once, so venerable always—fallen down and shattered, like Dagon of old, and himself standing alone and awe-struck in the temple of the world, with nought save the Urim and Thummim on his own breast whereon to read the oracles of God. There is no path of duty which, if once well beaten by human feet, does not become easy; neither is there any rope of faith which does not give enough support to help us in our shipwreck, provided it be held by a few friendly hands. The strain and agony are for the solitary ones now; nay, even for them it is almost over. Hereafter, when numbers of wise and able men have avowedly placed Religion on the new basis, it will be a comparatively easy task for the multitude to

accept their act. Let us reflect a moment. Why do nine men out of ten, and nineteen women out of twenty, *now* believe in God and Duty and Immortality? Is it because they have formed a careful estimate of the claims to Authority of Bible or Church, from which again they derive those ideas? We all know that nothing of the kind has taken place. Such is the Method of Religion only in theory. Practically, it is a very different matter. They believe because their parents, neighbours, the cleverest men they know, the best books and papers they read, all tell them such Authority of Bible or Church is divine; and then that Authority tells them there is a God and a righteous Law and a Future Life, and their own Consciousness corroborates the same. What will be changed in this process hereafter? Simply that the second step will be omitted, and parents, teachers, educated neighbours, books of all sorts, will tell them *directly* that there is a God and a Moral Law and a Life to come. Will it be harder to accept these truths at first-hand from their teachers, than to accept the Authority from them first and the truths from the Authority? Rather must we surmise that it will be easier to learn *that* lesson which a man's own heart immediately corroborates, than that other prior lesson which has no such sanction. Which is easiest, to teach a heathen that a priest comes to him with power from heaven, and that the Bible was written by God? or, straightforwardly, that God is good and holy, that injustice and perfidy are wrong, and that the soul of a man never dies?

Perhaps to this it will be replied, that if the great majority of men be in truth in so puerile a state, they will still always prefer to rely on the authority of the saints and prophets of old, rather than on their teachers and preachers of to-day. If, practically, they are found to rely on the confessedly fallible parson of their parish, why should they not rely on the incomparably grander teaching of Paul or Isaiah?

Forcible as this remark appears to be, the writer conceives that on experiment the case must prove as before stated. The living teacher will directly teach the living truth. The dead teacher (albeit a thousand-fold a greater man) will cease to be the *channel*, and become rather the *reservoir*, of that water of life. The reason is obvious. Hitherto the

living teacher has pointed to the dead one, and said—"Behold the Guide whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose!" and the docile disciple has followed the Great Master, instead of his herald. But hereafter, when the time arrives when no honest living man can say this without adding, "That Guide, however great and good, was fallible, as you and I; he erred in science, in ethics, in religion;"—when that time comes, it must also become impossible for the disciple to transfer to the great departed Teacher that childlike reliance he has yielded to him hitherto, and is still ready to yield to the living one. The mental act of admiration will be simultaneously a mental act of criticism. He may feel inclined to say to himself, "I am content to rest on what has been taught by beings so far above me as Christ and Paul, for whom my puny soul affords no measure." But in learning about Christ and Paul, he will have learned that the words recorded of the former can by no means be trusted to be his alone, and that the whole story of Old and New Testament is hampered and beset with "buts" and "ifs" at every page. It can hardly happen but that the teaching to look within and find God's law and God's promise of immortality upon the fleshly tablets of the heart, will be an easier and more acceptable lesson than to disentangle the true and false from the traditional records of Christendom. Our apprehension would be that, among wholly uneducated persons, the danger would lie in the direction of a too complete ignoring of the sacred Past, once that Past ceases to be presented to them as absolutely and infallibly good and perfect, and they were required, before availing themselves of its lessons, to exercise that process of discriminating judgment which, to such minds, is little short of agony.

Of course by degrees the number of persons whose lives are spent in such mental pupilage as all this implies will diminish considerably. It is doubtless far less now than it was fifty years ago, and at the beginning of our century than a hundred years earlier. Yet the date is out of sight when the religious opinions of the majority can be, properly speaking, self-formed. To suppose that the men "whose talk is of oxen," in the upper ranks or the lower, or the women who match them whose talk is of their dress or their servants,—the poor, the stupid, the frivolous,—will or

can lucidly argue out for themselves the problem, "Why should they believe what they profess to believe concerning religion?" this is hardly to be expected. Much less can be looked for such an examination of the conflicting claims of the Bible and the Churches (to speak only of those of their own land) as should justify them in arriving at any conclusion on the subject whatsoever. It is perhaps deplorable to think that so it should be; but the plain fact, which it is useless to overlook in our theories, is, that the few choose their religion; the many must take that which is offered to them. And we are persuaded they *will* take that simpler, natural creed which will approve itself to more thoughtful minds; and be happy in it inasmuch as it is far more calculated than the Old Creed to fill human souls with trust and peace. Any attempt by the masses to raise again the standard of Traditionalism on the grounds of the intuitive sense of the excellence of Christ and the Prophets, after that standard had been relinquished by those who now support it on the ground of miraculous authority, would be an unprecedented phenomenon in religious history.

The evil and danger, we believe, will not be with the masses of men, if the nobler and more cultivated minds are but steadfast in faith. The danger lies with them. Even a mistaken rumour of what a great man of science has said about the "Unknown and Unknowable," passes over hundreds of hearts like a blight. By and by, when thousands more read and think of such problems, the influence of leading minds will be even greater than it is. The results of natural science, laid open as they must be to all competent intellects, will of course exert enormous power, at one stage perhaps making materialist theories apparently triumphant; at another, casting some grand new discovery into the opposite scale. But even then facts of science, revealed to us one by one, can hardly colour the general thought as it will be undoubtedly coloured by the personal influence of great men. The way they deal with the facts, the side from which they approach them, the conclusions towards which their announcements of them point—these will direct numbers for a time either to the paths of peaceful faith or the wild jungle of scepticism.

On the best view, however, it cannot be reasonably hoped

but that the century which sees the downfall of the principle of Authority in Religion will also see anarchy of a kind yet unknown. The writer has already stated that it is on the *à-priori* grounds of trust in God, and on the unchangeableness of human nature, that confidence in the stability of religion seems justly founded. The obvious features of the case at present would go a very little way in justifying such security. Of those who have already escaped from the fold of Authority, how many are there who find their way straight into any phase of either Christianity or Theism? Hardly so many, perhaps, as those who, wearied with the effort, stop evermore in indifference—or those who find the problem utterly insoluble, and "worship at the altar of the Unknown and the Unknowable"—or those who follow Comte for their shepherd, and give the name of Religion to a sentiment having an abstraction for a Deity, and the privilege of being buried with a dead friend for the hope of the grave. Were we to look only thus around us, and not above us and within us, and back through the long millenniums of man's religious progress, we should indeed find much reason for care. But God is over all. His world is safe with Him.

Supposing that after the basis of religion has been generally changed, the belief in the essentials of religion should remain as vivid and as common as now, the third question arises—How will such differently-based religion act on *secular* life? It is obvious that it will have a somewhat different power. The old rough-and-ready mode of treating the ignorant, the vicious and the criminal—"The Bible says *this*. The Bible forbids *that*. If you do *this* you will go to heaven. If you do *that* you will go to hell." This "short and easy method" with sinners of all classes, must be abandoned by spiritual pastors and masters, and by philanthropists of every degree. We shall hereafter speak more of the different ideas concerning the nature of Sin which may arise; we are now concerned only with the treatment of it without aid from Authority; and undoubtedly the prospect is formidable. Every one who has had any work in jails, reformatories, penitentiaries, or even among the more lawless of the poor outside, knows the almost unconquerable temptation which presents itself to bear down on vice

with some condemnation from which there shall be no appeal, and to use the lures and threats of the future world, when this one has no promises to offer and its worst threats have been braved.

Yet, if the temptation to employ weapons he has no right to handle has been resisted by the philanthropist, if he has made his appeal to Conscience only, to remorse, awe, and such love, human or divine, as the poor sinner's heart yet may hold—what is the result? Those who have had wider experience must say if it be true; but we believe that the same "reasoning of righteousness" (probably much more Socratic than Rabbinical reasoning) which made Felix tremble, is what will make other offenders tremble to the end of time.

On the other hand, for the sorrowful and suffering, for those whose bodies are but painful clogs upon the soul, making its heavenward flights fail and falter, and whose best loved ones have gone out of their sight—for these, will not the loss of the supposed assurance of Immortality be terrible? If Christ be not risen, are they not doubly miserable?

Grievous it is, indeed, to think how, for a time at all events, the sorrows of these mourners may lack the comfort of an unhesitating faith. We cannot hope that it will be otherwise, or that many will not feel the pangs of doubt precisely when the suffering frame and bereaved heart most anxiously crave for certainty of heaven. It has been said that it is not so, that Scepticism is a plant which grows in well-furnished libraries, and dies down in the chamber of sickness and death to make room for the fresh shoot of spontaneous faith which there springs up in vigour. Alas! it must be owned that the history of souls (so far as the writer has ever known) fails to corroborate this assertion. Rather has it seemed to happen that whatever basis, traditional or intuitive, a man's faith may have, it is a part of the order of things that, for a moment at least, God should shake it when He sends a great affliction, even as a strong man rocks and tries the pedestal whereon he means to lift some beautiful statue. In every true Calvary there is an hour when there is "darkness over all the land." Doubtless it must be so in God's great scheme of human education. Doubtless, were the strengthening angels of

Faith and Hope always on our right hand and on our left, the trials we are meant to feel so keenly would cease to be trials at all. Supported by their wings, we should be carried over the thorns and stones of our earthly way, borne onward, as in dreams, to Paradise in one sustained flight of adoration. But the Faith and Hope which once accompanied us, seem to vanish at the entrance of the Valley of the Shadow of Death; and ere we emerge at last from the gloom, the lesson of the prophet of old has been learned —the trust which survives the immediate consciousness of the Divine Love—"Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

We believe that *this* failure, or rather trial, of Faith in time of sorrow, will be experienced hereafter when the old Authoritative Creed is rejected, even as it is experienced now by those who most firmly adhere to it. It is a *spiritual* rather than an *intellectual* phenomenon. But it would be vain to deny that there will further arise specific doubts of a different kind from the old when such a transition has taken place, and that many who have heretofore taken Immortality for granted on the word of priest or book, may seek with pain and difficulty elsewhere for an assurance of it sufficient for the sore need of bereaved affection. Throughout human history, nothing has been more variable than the vigour of that sense of Immortality whereby the nations have sometimes (like the Egyptians) made the future life the most prominent, and sometimes (like the Hebrews) the most obscure and doubtful object. In our own day, among those who are quitting the Old Creed and building up the New, wide differences may be found regarding the degree of certainty they attach to the evidences for the reality of such a future existence, albeit he who has most candidly confessed his difficulties has been also he who has added one of the most profound and touching of all the arguments in favour of the doctrine.* It is of course among the contingencies of the future that the common current of opinion, whereon ordinary minds will be carried, may set more or less in the direction of a definite dogma on the matter. In all *probability*, the progress of religious

* Newman's Theism, p. 74.

thought will tend to clear from the subject many accessory difficulties, and the evidences in favour of the doctrine will be more readily apprehended by minds seeking for satisfaction. As we have heard a great man of science say from his own experience: "Every step I have advanced in knowledge has lightened the physical difficulties of the doctrine of immortal life by revealing to me more and more the infinite *possibilities* of Nature."

Another reflection may console us still more for the assumed approaching end of the old reliance on the authoritative revelation of immortality. When orthodox persons boast of the great comfort and support their creed has been to the suffering and bereaved, we are bound to remember the misery, agony, madness, which that same creed has brought to thousands more. The Christian *Hell* is to be taken into account, as well as the Christian Heaven. If the clergy can shew us meek sufferers, and angelic children, and penitent murderers, all going out of the world "in sure and certain hope of a blessed resurrection;" we have also to point to cells of madmen driven wild by terrors of the Pit, to mothers mourning in double agony over the child lost, not only in this world, but in the next, to pious women dying of painful diseases, but counting their tortures nothing compared to the punishments that some "unforgiven sin" of sickly fancy has incurred. As we write these pages, story after story of such misery, borne by friend, relative, acquaintance, by some of the best and purest of the souls we have known—crowd on our memory. Few of our readers cannot parallel the list. What shall we say? Supposing the belief of a future existence to lose something in strength and clearness, while it for ever discarded this hideous chimera of eternal hell, would the change be on the whole a loss to human happiness?

In conclusion: One fact can be very little doubted. Either the religion which is to rest on consciousness must be a more deep and real personal relation to God than most persons now enjoy, or it will be even less than theirs, and fade away into a distant and perhaps evanescent sentiment. If the faculty on which we are left dependent be not exercised at its highest; or, in truer phrase, if we do not seek God's face more earnestly and lay ourselves open to His

spirit more faithfully, the failure of an authoritative creed will be irremediable. Men in general must be distinctly much more, or much less, religious on the new ground than on the old; and this in a way more striking than even that which holds as to past changes from a more to a less authoritative creed, from Romanism to Protestantism, and from Calvinism to the earlier Unitarianism. Nor will it suffice, as might appear, to turn for support to certain large ideas of the general relations of Humanity as a whole, or of the Church as a whole, with the Divine Father. Here is one of the most remarkable of the features of modern religion, a feature which it behoves us in this connection to pause and examine.

Two very different theological schools in our day are marked by a similar effort to place in the foreground the Social rather than the Individual aspects of religion. To the one, the "Church," to the other, "Humanity," forms a sort of Mediator between the Creator and the individual creature. The relation of man to God is represented by both as *primarily* a relation of mankind to Him, and only secondarily of each man as an unit in the race or a member of the Church. Whatever spiritual advantages a man may possess, are thus attributed rather to what we may term his corporate privileges than to his personal claims. The doctrine, in its broader form, teaches not so much that each finite spirit is derived from the One Infinite Spirit in direct filial relation, as that "Man" in the abstract is the son of God, and that individual men partake of such sonship in as far as by nature and brotherly love they more or less perfectly fulfil their destiny as units of mankind. In the narrowest view, it is not mankind as a race, but the Church, which inherits all spiritual privileges, and each man can share in such inheritance in as far as by outward sacrament and inward feeling he is united to the Church, and so becomes "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."

There is always something attractive in these large thoughts of Humanity, or even of Churches and bodies of men, as opposed to mere individual interests. Even the worldly interests contemplated by Socialism become ennobled by being sought for and shared by many men as bro-

thers, and not by each alone for himself. Spiritual good even yet more distinctly rises in our thoughts when we think of it as the common aim of thousands of souls united in the aspirations of prayer, and in those highest charities which regard the eternal welfare of the undying soul. Till, in truth, religion *does* thus embrace in its wide arms the souls of our brothers, and strive to bear them onward with ourselves to the heavenly goal, it scarcely deserves to be called by such holy name, but rather to be deemed the climax of all selfishness. The solitary ascetic struggling to ascend alone from his hermitage into the presence of God, is further from the true kingdom of heaven than the child who loves and serves and intercedes for his brother.

But is there indeed the supposed connection between the true religion which must include the feeling of human brotherhood, and that theology to which we have referred, which makes the Brotherhood of Man the preliminary stage, the antecedent relation, and the Fatherhood of God, the subsequent and deducible one? Must we think of God first as the Father of our Race; then arrive by steps at the conclusion that He is consequently also the Father of our Nation or our Church; and lastly, of our own poor unitary souls?

Surely this is to reverse the whole true order of natural religious life? We must *begin* with the thought that God is *our* Father, the Father of our own spirits such as He has made them, with all their weakness and imperfections; and when this is done, when we have entered into real personal relations with Him in the secret places of the soul, then each of us may look round with filial trust and joy: "These all are my brothers—Thy children, even as I."

The matter is of importance, we conceive, because it starts with an idea of no little plausibility and attraction, and then launches us from a false position to the danger of our future course. It is no wonder that the desolating doctrine, that God regards mankind as a man regards a flock of sheep, should daily spread in men's minds, when even the most religious persons will seek to establish all our relations to Him on a basis which practically involves such a theory, remote as it may be from their real faith. If we can only come to God as members of the Church or of the human

race, there is an end of that personal reliance which is the very life of the soul,—the consciousness that God loves us individually, has sought us out through all our sins, and will bless us with His love for ever. If we may not *start* with this faith, we shall certainly never arrive at it by the consideration of our corporate privileges as members of a Church, or as units among the thousand millions of mankind.

Thus,—to return to our question of the Results of the impending change in the grounds of religious faith,—if, instead of each man personally and individually drawing closer to God, and so strengthening his own religious consciousness, he rest content with ideas of the general relations of mankind towards Him, then the consequences can hardly fail to be an universal slackening of religious life. The common sentiment is but the sum of the sentiment of individuals, and can by no means be sustained if not constantly supplied with fresh fuel of personal warm affections. The pyre is but a mass of brands, each one burning and causing others to burn. The idea of God which ceases to be the idea of a Father of each spirit, very shortly becomes the idea of a mere general overruling Providence, caring for man only as man cares for his herd of cattle,—a God concerning whom the inquirer asks that most tremendous of all the questions which torture the souls of living men—"Is it HE, or is it IT?"

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

VI.—THE SUPERNATURAL.

On Miracles: The Bampton Lectures for 1865. By J. B. Mozley, B.D. Rivingtons, London and Oxford. 1865.

THE question whether miracles are or are not credible occupies the centre of that great battle-field whereon scientific and religious thought are waging a contest injurious to both, and which we believe that both sides will ultimately recognize to be, like the contest as to the gold and silver

shield in knightly story, a battle about a difference due to the same object being looked at from opposite sides. The object thus regarded is the power and action of God, at which religion and science gaze—the first, as from within, in its sustaining and sympathizing operation; the second, as from without, in the relations produced by it among the beings whom it sustains. Now, in its internal action, the Divine power is, we conceive, essentially free and supernatural. In its external action it appears to us equally certain that it is essentially natural and necessary. And the ground of the struggle between Science and Religion is, that each side endeavours to apply the conclusions appropriate from its own point of view to that of the other; the religious man contending that God adapts the external course of events from time to time, by special interventions, to meet the wishes or provide for the necessities of mankind; the scientific man often inclining to exclude conscious sympathy from the Divine action, not only in the sphere of the phenomenal, but also in that inner sphere of will, the home of freedom and sanctuary of love, whence the spirit of man can gain access to the eternal Spirit which would draw him to itself.

In this contest, in which, since Hume's celebrated argument against the credibility of miracles, so many names renowned in theology or metaphysics have taken part, no inconspicuous place must be assigned to the Bampton Lecturer for 1865, who has undertaken to prove, that the argument against the belief in miraculous action drawn from the immutability of the so-called laws of nature, rests upon a *petitio principii* incapable of proof; and that, since thus the supposed presumption against miracles is deprived of all force at the bar of reason, there is nothing to counterbalance the weight due to testimony, in shewing that phenomena have happened at various periods of human history, not only unexplained by any known scientific principle, but inexplicable on any other hypothesis but that of their direct production by the will of God, to which all action, spiritual or sensible, is directly or indirectly attributable.

We shall return shortly to the examination of this argument. But first we may observe, that the task of proving the credibility of miracles is far from accomplished, even if Mr. Mozley's proposition could be established as intrinsi-

cally reasonable. The case suffers from an *embarras de richesses.* The belief in the miraculous is endangered by a circumstance analogous to that which, according to Sir Walter Scott, prevented his belief in ghosts—that he had seen too many. Stories of miracles are confined to no particular race of men or form of creed; they are peculiar to no age or country; they are no strangers to Greek or Roman mythology; they abound in Mahometan legends; they crowd on us in the mediæval age of the Latin Church; they are scarcely less plentiful in the Greek Church, which the Latins regard as schismatic. They are not even confined to the believers in a conscious personal Deity; Buddhism has its miracles no less than Catholicism; and, if the common belief in tales of miraculous action could prove their truth, prayers addressed to an unconscious Cause of the universe are as effectual to change the course of nature, as prayers addressed to Allah or Jehovah or Christ or the Virgin Mary. Mr. Mozley is quite alive to these facts; the eighth of his sermons addresses itself to meet the difficulty caused by them, and closes the arguments directed to prove that miracles are perfectly credible in themselves by a criticism directed to shew that not one in a thousand of the tales of miraculous action ought to be believed, for want of any sufficient evidence of their truth.

There is something strangely impotent about this conclusion. Mr. Mozley contends strongly that the performance of miracles is a legitimate exercise of the Divine power. To deny this proposition is, according to him, to deny a conscious intelligent will to God. The history of human beliefs seems to respond to this assumption. Everywhere we find records of an action in nature such as Mr. Mozley's theory demands, and that in accounts quite independent of each other, and which, therefore, cannot be explained into the results of simple imitation; when, lo! the author of the theory turns round on his own work, and, mercilessly consigning the great body of instances of miracles to the limbo of nursery tales, calmly claims for the scanty remainder the belief which he refuses to the vast majority. The necessity for such a mode of treatment cannot but affect all accounts of miracles alike with suspicion. Some general cause there must obviously be for a faith so universal as is the faith in miracle. It must come either from something

really observable in nature, or from some tendency in the mind of man to create stories of the miraculous, though there is no such external foundation for them. If the vast majority of the accounts of miracles are attributable to the second cause, there arises a presumption, strengthening with the number of cases thus explained, that the same principle will suffice to explain all the rest;—a presumption to be removed only by an impartial sifting of the evidence adduced in favour of any miracle admitted, as compared with that adduced in favour of the miracles rejected. We scarcely need say that this operation is not attempted by Mr. Mozley; as, indeed, it would demand for its thorough execution, not a volume of sermons, but an encyclopædia. Yet, until this task is performed, all accounts of miracle must be affected by an inherent improbability, from the fact that those who accept any one set are compelled by this very acceptance to reject many other sets; an improbability quite independent of that presumption against miracles from the assumed invariableness of natural order, which Mr. Mozley sets himself to refute.

The refutation is exceedingly ingenious. It would be very powerful were it not that the argument by which Mr. Mozley seeks to destroy the objection to miracle, destroys at the same time the faith which gives to miracles any importance.

"Miracles," says Mr. Mozley, "are objected to, first, because they are against *law:* but we know nothing in nature of law in the sense in which it prevents miracles. Law can only prevent miracles by compelling and making necessary the succession of nature; but Science has herself proclaimed the *truth** that we see no cause in nature, *that the whole course of physical succession is* to the eye of reason *a rope of sand,** consisting of antecedents and consequents, but without a rational link or trace of necessary connection between them. The next objection against miracles is, that they are contrary to experience, because we expect facts like to those of our own observation."

But if we ask for the reason of this expectation—

"Philosophy has replied by the summary confession that we have no reason."† "The reasons assigned for the belief that the future will be like the past, . . . all come at last to be mere

* The italics are ours.

† Lect. II. p. 52.

statements of the belief itself, and not reasons to account for it."* "That a fact of nature has gone on repeating itself a certain number of times . . . shews a cause at work to the extent of these effects and these particular instances of repetition, but not at all further."† "We cannot know the future from experience. . . . For that would be to say that a future fact is a past fact. We can only mean that from our past experience of the facts of nature we form our *expectation* of the future; which is the same as saying that we believe the future will be like the past; but to say this is not to give a reason for this belief, but only to state it."‡ "It is true that what *is* future becomes at every step of our existence what *was* future. . . . But that every man has had experience of what *was* future, is no reason for his confidence in what *is* future, except upon the assumption that the future will be like the past. But such being the professed reason for the belief in question does not account for it, but . . . state it."§ "There is a premiss and there is a conclusion, but there is a total want of connection between the two. The inference from the one of them to the other rests upon no ground of the understanding. By no search or analysis can we extract from any corner of the human mind, however remote, the very faintest reason for it."‖ "Yet this unintellectual, unreasoning character does not belong to it in common with all the original perceptions of our nature, which cannot, as being original, rest upon any argumentative foundation. For those perceptions cannot be contradicted without an absolute absurdity: e.g. a mathematical axiom is self-evident, and a contradiction to it is evidently false. But there is no violence to reason in the supposition that the world will one day come to an end, and the sun will one day not rise, notwithstanding the increasing presumption from repetition up to that day that it will rise."¶ "The belief must be referred to the spontaneous, irresistible and, so to speak, automatous processes of our nature; such as the impression which time makes upon us, by which it relieves our sorrows and moderates our joys."** "The brute animals are possessed with it apparently quite as much as man is. All animals shew by their actions that from the past they infer the future, and that they calculate, just in the same way in which we do, upon the constancy of that part of the course of nature with which they are conversant."†† "This argument . . . applies equally to a reported past event as to an expected future one. In either case [the belief in the order

* Lect. II. p. 35. † Ibid. p. 36. ‡ Ibid. p. 37.
§ Ibid. p. 38. ‖ Ibid. p. 40. ¶ Ibid. p. 43.
** Ibid. p. 46. †† Ibid. p. 44.

of nature] comes into collision with the expectation of likeness, which takes within its scope alike the future and the past."* Nor does "the belief in the uniformity of nature, taken in connection with what is called the inductive principle . . . become luminous and intellectual."† "The process called inductive reasoning consists of two parts: the first is the discovery of a fact which must always precede some other fact when the latter takes place, and always omit this precedence when it does not take place."‡ "The sagacity of the man of science consists in singling out the fact which fulfils these conditions from the promiscuous crowd of facts which surrounds the phenomenon before him." "But in this process we have only ascertained a fact, that is, a particular past occurrence which has been often repeated. The inference which converts it into a *law*, which we call the inductive principle, is exactly the same instinct which converts ordinary experience into law." "Science leads up to the fact, but there it stops; and for converting the fact into a law, a totally unscientific principle comes in, . . . a simple impression, of which we can give no rational account, which likens the future to the past." "The naturalist obtains the fact by his own sagacity; but the generalization of it is done for him, and this spontaneous addition is the same in the discovery of a philosopher and the observation of a savage."§ "Language has been used as if science generated a perception of mathematical or necessary sequence in the order of nature. But Science has herself proclaimed the *truth*,‖ that there is no necessary connection in nature; *nor has science to do with generalization at all*,‖ but only with discovery. And though Science depends for all her vitality on this inductive principle, to ascertain the nature of this principle is not the province of physical, but of mental science."¶ "While, in this department, philosophy could not have overthrown more completely than it has done the order of nature as a necessary consequence of things, or cleared the ground more effectually for the principle of miracle."** "The inductive principle [then] is simply the mechanical expectation of the likeness of the known to the unknown." "When there is nothing on the side of reason opposed to it, as is commonly the case, we follow it absolutely. But if there is testimony, which is an appeal to our proper reason, that an event has taken place which is opposed to this impression . . . . our reason must prevail in the encounter."†† "The proper function of the argument from experience to the belief in

* Lect. II. p. 59. † Ibid. p. 50. ‡ Ibid. p. 51.
§ Ibid. p. 53. ‖ The italics are ours. ¶ Ibid. p. 54.
** Ibid. p. 49. †† Ibid. p. 57.

the order of nature is to operate as a practical basis for the affairs of life and carrying on of human society, which, without this expectation of continuance, would be impossible. It is not its function to control religious belief, or to determine that certain acts of God for the revelation of his will to man, reported to have taken place, have not taken place." "In the speculations of some philosophers there has existed, virtually, an identification of the universal as a law with the universal as a proposition; by which summary expedient they enclosed the world in adamantine fetters, for *such* a law forestalls all exception. An apparently counter process has indeed accompanied this elevation of induction to mathematics, viz. the lowering of mathematics to induction. But either form of identification has the same result, and is an alchemical process for transmuting the blind inference from experience into demonstration."*

Take, for instance, the account of the ascension of Christ:

"The universal statement that no man has ascended into heaven absolutely falsifies the fact that one man has. But, thus transmuted, the inductive principle issues out of the metamorphosis a fiction, not a truth." "The battle against the supernatural has been going on long, and strong men have conducted and are conducting it; but what they want is a weapon. The logic of unbelief wants a universal. But no real universal is forthcoming, and it only wastes its strength in wielding a fictitious one."†

Such is Mr. Mozley's argument, which we think must be admitted to be a very clever *tu quoque*. If, as many illustrious thinkers—such as Hume, A. Comte, J. S. Mill and Herbert Spencer—have contended, man cannot attain to any knowledge of causes in nature, but is confined to the perception of phenomena, and their subordination under one another by the principle of antecedence and consequence, without being able to refer the expectation of this succession to any other ground than an instinctive faith, produced by often-repeated association, then clearly the improbability of any so-called miraculous phenomenon having happened must be estimated solely by the weight due to this instinct. But the philosophers whose arguments Mr. Mozley borrows are entitled to reply to him—Let this weight be as little as you please; assume that the phenomena for which you contend are as credible as you say—what then? We can understand that those who assert for man an insight into the

* Lect. II. p. 59. † Ibid. p. 60.

cause of the phenomenal may ascribe to unusual phenomena some especial significance. But *you*, who accept the modest claims of science as the truth, and are content with us to reduce the notion of causation to the perception of succession, on what ground do *you* ascribe to the occasional phenomena which you choose to call supernatural, an importance not belonging to those ever-recurring phenomena which you choose to call natural? You speak of these phenomena as "specially addressing themselves to our reason," and revealing to us the *will* of God. But how is such a revelation possible? What is this *will* but that very principle of causality which you admit that no phenomenon *can* reveal? Assume that certain sights were followed in any case by certain sounds, e.g. the apparent rising of a man into the clouds, by words which those who heard them interpreted to mean, "he will so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven;"—why should this sequence of sight and sound prove more than any of those many other sequences of sights and sounds, which you admit to prove only that the particular sequences have taken place? What evidence can it possibly furnish of a Divine Will more than the sequences of which you allow that they can furnish no such evidence? What can be thus proved, upon the principles which you and we admit, beyond the fact that there have been in the universe, intermixed with those phenomena among which an orderly connection may be perceived, certain other phenomena disconnected from this order?

The truth is, Mr. Mozley does not believe in his own arguments. He brandishes a sword borrowed from Hume about the ghost of the late Professor Baden Powell, forgetful of the danger of playing with edged tools. In the midst of his argument against the reasonableness of expecting constancy in nature, we are startled by the assertion that we may justifiably ascribe to natural phenomena "harmony and relation, arrangement and adjustment;"* though how this ascription is to be justified, if we are not justified in applying to these phenomena either the idea of causality or that belief of permanent succession which Comte and J. S. Mill substitute for this idea, is very hard to discover. And when we turn from the negative to the positive

* Lect. II. p. 55.

side of Mr. Mozley's argument, we find no trace of that doctrine, that causation means only succession, by which he endeavours to hamstring his theological opponents. On the contrary, he quietly takes his stand upon the popular religious belief in an all-ordering Divine Will, the cause of all natural phenomena,* as if he had not cut away the whole ground for that belief by his own arguments.

On this popular belief, though not under its popular aspect, we too take our stand, and propose to discuss the question of Miracles from it, inquiring, first, whether our faith in the constancy of nature has not a more rational foundation than Mr. Mozley ascribes to it. Has the astronomer, who can predict the exact moment of sunrise and sunset at any place on the earth through the whole year, no better ground for anticipating that the sun will thus rise and set, than the bird, or dog, or savage, who from remembering that light and darkness have succeeded each other before, may expect that they will so succeed again? Common sense will not easily put up with any other reply to such a question than the reply, The astronomer *has* a better ground. But what is that ground? The answer is not hard to find. This better ground is supplied by his *reason*, which has transformed the phenomena offered by his senses into conceptions formed by itself, capable of accounting satisfactorily for these phenomena. In the succession of day and night, sensation directly testifies only to alternations of light and darkness. Reflective observation first taught men to connect these alternations with the presence or absence of a bright body which, from time to time, seems to move across what we call the sky. But was this body, now lost to sight now visible, really the same body? Did it exist when it was not seen; and, if so, whither did it then go, and how came its return to be possible? Hard questions, long the subject of profound meditation to the great race of Greek thinkers, the fathers of scientific discovery,—questions gradually answered, as observations became

* Thus, in a note on p. 49, he says—"Taking cause in the *popular* sense of secondary causes, which may be suspended by a higher cause, the idea of real causation in nature is not opposed to the miraculous; and the *general* belief has united the two." The italics are ours. The same assumption occurs everywhere, but without any attempt beyond a bare assertion to reconcile it with the proposition borrowed from Hume, that causation is only a name for observed succession.

more numerous and accurate, till the labours of successive generations of astronomers perfected their interpretation by the bold imagination which, reversing the apparent testimony of the senses, makes the earth revolve round the sun while rotating on its own axis, and enables us to predict with unfailing accuracy, from the combined effect of these two motions and the position assigned to the earth's axis, those varying phenomena which at first could be ascertained only as experimental facts.

But this power of prediction, Mr. Mozley urges, rests on the assumption that the constitution and mutual relations of earth and sun will continue unchanged. It affords no guarantee that they will not change, and therefore leaves the belief in the unchangeableness of natural forces, and the laws by which we express our knowledge of their relations, destitute of any other foundation than the primitive instinct of unreasoning faith. Is this the case? We apprehend it is not. Whence does the possibility of interpreting nature by thought arise,—whence *can* it arise, but from the fact that natural phenomena are the manifestation of an action essentially reasonable, for which accordingly the reason of man can find within itself corresponding forms of conception? Every step gained in the interpretation of natural phenomena is an additional evidence of this accordance between the power which produces the sensations interpreted, and the interpreting intelligence. Man has, indeed, no innate faculty of divining the phenomenal; and, if he deserts the path of induction, is always prone to fall into error in his imagination of what is. But the progress of science does not the less consist in *inducing*, upon the phenomena observed, ideas through which the individual acquires universality, and these ideas, though they must appeal to the testimony of sense for their affirmation as natural truths, are all formed and elaborated in the inner work-shop of reason.* Now the universe of phenomena,

* Mr. Mozley discusses the theory of induction, in a long note to his second lecture, with much ability, on the hypotheses of Mr. J. S. Mill. But as he does not accept Mr. Mill's assumption, that the reasoning from particulars to particulars is a primitive instinct, on which complete reliance must be placed, the inductive principle comes out as that miserable nullity which it appears to be in the extracts above given from this lecture. We have not space here to do more than state what we believe to be the true theory. Induction is an act by which we constitute sensible phenomena into objects of thought, by means

in proportion as it is thus brought under the dominion of reason, necessarily loses the arbitrariness originally appearing to belong to it, and puts on the aspect of that which is reducible to rule, and capable of being accounted for. For this is the essence of the reasonable. It is always definite, harmonious, referable to fixed principles, whence the effects observable may be intelligibly deduced. That principle, whence the belief in the stability of nature can be derived, which Mr. Mozley finds so difficult "to extract from any corner of the human mind and intelligence, however remote," is the intelligence itself. According to the German proverb, "he cannot see the wood for the trees." The faith of unreasoning instinct in the permanence of the natural, is justified to reason by this train of argument. The universe is orderly; but that which is orderly is reasonable; and that which is reasonable is constant: therefore the future of the universe is deducible from its present and its past, with a certainty limited only by the knowledge attained of the forces at any one moment at work within it.

But this future is no mere repetition of the past. On the contrary, physical science shews us that endless variety is as much characteristic of the Divine action as profound unity. The astronomer is certain that no planet known to us ever twice traverses the same path. The geologist has ascertained that the present condition of the earth and its inhabitants is the result of slow changes, continued through a time as enormous in its totality as the changes are small in their individual amount, and that this process still con-

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of conceptions *drawn over them*, capable of being analyzed and tested, so that their power of accounting for the phenomena may be ascertained. This is true of every phase of induction, from the simplest to the most complicated. In ordinary vision, for instance, we combine the sensations of our optic nerves, by *drawing over them* notions of form, size, distance, consistency, &c., into conceptions of the objects said to be seen; then we *test* these conceptions by our other senses, as touch, &c.; and if the result does not answer our expectations, we vary our conceptions till we have shaped them into moulds which *will* embrace the phenomena, and so make them intelligible. In astronomy we combine certain specks of light observed from time to time in the skies, by *drawing over them* the conception of elliptical orbits in which they move round the sun at certain distances from it; then we *test* our conception by appropriate means, in this case by a profound mathematical deduction, and finding the motions observed to agree with our deductions, construct a solar system. The process is always the same; our knowledge of the external world is the fruit of the union of the creative with the receptive faculties of reason and observation. It cannot be accounted for by either faculty alone.

tinues. No scientific thinker supposes that the perpetual variation going on in human language will reproduce the Greek or Latin tongues; or that the era of the Saurians or of the Carboniferous formations will return on the earth. Indeed, to predict the phenomenal is not in general within the reach of science. It can thus predict only when all the phenomena depend upon some principle of which the action is perfectly understood, as is partly the case in the astronomy of the solar system. The certainty produced by scientific investigation is only a certainty that all natural phenomena are produced by a power reasonable in its mode of action, and therefore are not subject to sudden and unaccountable alterations, however startling to us the result of any gradually accumulated changes may be.*

Thus the existence of a science of nature carries, in the reasonable character of the universe which makes such a science possible, a guarantee for the *continuity* of natural action. And this guarantee is materially strengthened by the character of that in natural action whence its reasonableness arises. For this is due to the fact that, unimaginably vast as the power manifested in nature is in its totality, all natural phenomena are produced by movements arising from combinations of centres of energy, each of which is as unimaginably small. Every natural substance known to us is resolvable into parts on whose mutual relations its peculiar character depends; and the process of analysis can be continued till we reach, in every case, what appears to be the limit of subdivision consistent with the possibility of existence,—those opposites of æther and matter, so called, which seem to embody the principles of co-existence and succession, to the action and re-action of whose ceaseless movements inductive reasoning is apparently on the point of reducing all the varied modes of attraction and repulsion which form the staple of physical science, as it has already reduced the phenomena of sound, light and heat. In a universe thus constituted there can be nothing unreasonable, because nothing which is not in itself deducible from an intelligible mode of action, however perplexing may be the task of following into detail the complicated

* This is the lesson enforced by Mr. Grove in his profound Address delivered at the last meeting of the British Association.

relations of its countless parts. But this is the universe revealed to us by scientific research. From elements such as have been described, all beings known to us, organic or inorganic, are built up: the organic, it is true, by the intervention of a power which, by means as yet unknown to us, brings together their elements into that mutual relation where they can manifest the series of phenomena called by us life; but so that, with exception of the regulative will displayed in man, all their qualities depend, as far as can be ascertained, solely on the actions and re-actions of the elementary centres of energy bound up into each organic whole. Nowhere in the long succession from the simplest vegetable to the human brain do we discover a trace of any action other than one proceeding from these definite and most limited centres of ever-present energy, which we venture to call the eternal body of the Deity. How can there be any place in such a universe for those effects produced without means, those arbitrary manifestations of so-called omnipotence, in which miracles consist?

There *must* be a place for them, Mr. Mozley replies, if you attribute conscious will to God.

"The conception of God as a moral and personal Being necessarily implies omnipotence; because the universal Cause must have power, and universal power, if He has will, which, according to the religious and moral conception of Him, He has. . . . Either God has will, and He can interrupt the order of Nature, or He has not a will, and then He is not, in the religious sense, God."*

A similar proposition has been very recently put forward by Dr. Mansell:

"If," he says, "the personality of man, as a limited, dependent personality, implies within these limits free action, power to do or not to do certain acts, the personality of God, as an unbounded, independent personality, implies free action and power without limits."†

Now we will not dispute that the conception of God as an unbounded Personality may imply unlimited power; for, since the conception is to us completely unintelligible, we cannot venture to say what it may or may not imply. But if we ask what ground, besides this unintelligible concep-

* Lect. IV. p. 105. † Good Words for Feb. 1867, p. 132.

tion, we have for ascribing such an action to God, the answer must be—none at all. The notion of an unlimited power capable of being exerted within a limited space, is one of those phrases by which men are accustomed to cheat themselves into talking nonsense under the plea of reverence for God. Of personality and the principle of will which forms its essence, we know *nothing* except from our own consciousness. And this makes known to us a being whose action is strictly analogous to that which science discloses to us in nature. Will is known to us in consciousness as an active, resisting force, by which we can originate and combine motions within our own bodies, and can thus oppose motions imparted to them from without. What is there in such an action to support the theological conception of omnipotence? It is true that our wills possess also a real supernatural action, in the power of choosing ends and determining purposes, and in this sphere are free from the limits affecting their external manifestation. But here, again, nature offers to us the counterpart of our own acts. The countless forms of organic life display a variety of ends, chosen, apparently, with the same sort of freedom which marks our power of choice, and limited in their execution by the same sort of dependence, for the means of their realization, on those unvarying centres of energy the universal instruments of all existence, which limits our action. The whole force of the argument from design in natural theology depends upon the reality of the analogy between the action of the will and intelligence of man, and that of the power by which organic life is produced. If that power can work without means, this argument has no logical foundation. If, as all our knowledge of nature indicates, it works only through means, then the freedom of will recognizable in nature gives no support to the notion of a miracle-working power, i.e. a power capable of working without means.

For this *working without means*, it must be borne in mind, is the essence of the miraculous. Introduce the notion of means into the conception of any phenomena, however surprising or uncommon, and the notion of miracle disappears. Imagine the earth to split into fragments and be whirled into the surrounding æther by the accumulated pressure of enclosed gases, vast as the power exerted would

be, and unparalleled by any human experience, the effect would not be miraculous to our thoughts. To become a miracle, the explosion must take place without the presence of any explosive substance. It is important not to forget this, because much confusion has been produced in arguments as to miracles from classing the miraculous with the uncommon. Babbage, for example, has adduced the fact that his calculating machine will at certain periods of its operations produce a number standing in no apparent connection with the preceding or succeeding series, as if it made the occurrence of a miracle credible; while, as Mr. Mozley well argues, such an explanation confers credibility on miracles only by destroying their miraculous character; converting them, in fact, from events effected without means, into events produced by a subtle combination of means previously adjusted in order to produce the effects. So the often-quoted tale of the African prince who refused to believe that water could become solid, or that argument on which Archbishop Whately was accustomed to insist, taken from the antecedent improbability of the career of the first Napoleon, does not really apply to miracles. For in each of these cases means are alleged as the instruments to which the effect asserted is attributed, namely, the action of cold in the one case, in the other the great military capacity of the Emperor, and the peculiar condition of political affairs occasioned by the French Revolution. A critic of the accounts might consider these means inadequate to explain the effects stated to have been produced, and therefore refuse to believe them, and might betray by this denial his ignorance of that which these means really could effect. He might justly expose himself to the charge of arrogant presumption, in putting his imperfect knowledge of causes against positive testimony to effects. It is a very different thing when the question turns, not on the efficiency of the means stated to be employed, but on the assertion that effects can be produced without the use of any means at all.*

* Hence the distinction between such an act as the change of water into wine, and the chemical changes with which Mr. Mozley compares it, and which he strangely supposes to be changes "of *one* substance into *another*." (Lect. III. p. 63.) Every chemical change is ascribed to the action of definite means. The change of water into wine is supposed to have been brought about without

It appears, then, that there is nothing in the nature of will, so far as we *know* anything about it, to remove the presumption against miracles arising from the reasonableness manifest in the constitution of nature. Nor is any better ground for the belief in miraculous power furnished by the religious instinct which ascribes personality to God. On the contrary, the conception that the Divine action is limited by its own essence, removes from this belief the vagueness belonging to the popular notion of the Divine. We can form no conception of a person except as a conscious being limited by that of which it is conscious. An unbounded personality is a phrase destitute of meaning. But if the will of God is inherently limited by the character of its own manifestations, the beings sustained by it would constitute a real *not-me*, standing over against the Divine *me*, as that of which it is conscious, and presenting in this respect an analogy to our own personality, which brings the assumptions of religious trust into harmony with the conclusions of scientific research.

When we put together all these objections to the belief in miracles, they seem to constitute an argument against that belief so strong, that it is open to objection on this very ground. Men, it may be urged, could never have ascribed miraculous power to God so universally as you admit that they have done, if that belief were so destitute of any reasonable foundation as you make out. But there appears to us to be a complete answer to this objection. The cause of the general disposition to ascribe miraculous power to God we conceive to be threefold: 1. The confused ideas of the origin of natural phenomena entertained by persons not familiar with scientific methods of investigation. 2. The fact that miraculous action is, at bottom, only the inconsiderate application, by man, to the Creator, of the mode of action proper to man as a creature. 3. The unlimited power of dealing with natural phenomena exercised by man in the use of language.

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the use of any means at all. We can *think* of the first kind of change—of the second we can only *talk*. The case of the laying of the Atlantic cable, which a writer in the Edinburgh Review recently adduced as parallel to a miracle, is distinguished from the miraculous by the principle here stated. It was not an act alleged to be done without means, but simply an act effected by means of which the effectiveness was not generally known before it was laid.

First. Man originally stands before nature as the spectator of a series of unaccountable marvels. Ever-changing appearances crowd upon him, he knows not how or why. Their order is mysteriously obscure, their cause seems hopelessly hidden. Day and night, summer and winter, storm and calm, growth and decay, health and disease, life and death,—all alike are wrapped in one common veil of unintelligibility. Under such circumstances every phenomena *must* appear *miraculous*, since of none are the means used in its production accurately known. There can, therefore, be no reason for rejecting any one as more incredible than another, and accordingly all are alike believed. The Vedic hymns are full of naïve expressions of astonishment that the sun shall be able to climb so perpendicularly up the sky without ever falling back; and that, when so young as he is in his daily birth, he should yet be strong enough to seize the clouds which hang about his cradle, and destroy them by his mighty rays.* Tell men who thus regarded nature that once the sun had "stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day," why should they doubt the tale? It would be no more wonderful to them that this should happen, than that that should happen which happens with each returning day. To this state of mind is due the peculiarity noticed by Dr. Lee in his article on Miracles in "Faith and Peace," but of which he offers no explanation, that, in the Bible, accounts of miracles are introduced with no apparent consciousness that they demand any further evidence than would be required to establish one of what we call the ordinary facts of history. The miracles of Elijah and Elisha, for instance, are interspersed among the accounts of the births, marriages, wars and deaths of the kings of Israel or Judah, without any information of the way in which the narrator satisfied himself that the extraordinary class of events had happened, more than is given for the ordinary class. The narrator of the story of Balaam has no more hesitation in mounting him upon a talking ass, than he has in telling us that Balak sent to him "the elders of Midian with the rewards of divination in their hands." Nay, he does not even describe the prophet him-

* Whence the myth of Hercules strangling the serpents.

self as at all astonished at being spoken to by his ass, but makes him hold a conversation with the animal "as if it had been a Christian." The same characteristics mark the legends of the saints. Events the most astonishing, according to our conception of what is likely to happen, throng upon us in their story; but of evidence that these events really took place, such evidence as a Lardner or a Paley would demand for a miracle reported to be worked in their own day, there is no trace. If any evidence is adduced, it is addressed, not to remove any general incredibility attaching to the miraculous as such, but to meet the cavils of those who denied that the saint whose history is being told was a true saint, marked by the possession of, so-called, supernatural powers belonging to saints as such.

The truth is, the ancient narrators of miracles adduce no special proof of them because they did not appear to them to require any special proof. To them miracles were events unusual, indeed, and striking, like the appearance of a great comet or a brilliant display of shooting stars to us at the present day, "signs and wonders," carrying with them significant evidence of Divine approval or disapproval, as comets were not long since generally supposed to do, but demanding no especial attestation, because they were not conceived to arise from any especial kind of power, but to be phenomena differing from ordinary phenomena, not in the mode of their production, but only in the effects observable. The state of mind here described, to which everything appears miraculous because men have not yet learnt to discern reason in nature, we see presented before our eyes every day in the simple credulity of children, for whom the world of modern science still exists in the mysteriousness which shrouded it for all mankind during the infancy of our race. In children also we have constant proof of the charm which stories of wonders possess for man, before he has tamed the Pegasus of imagination by the stern discipline of reflective thought, and trained it to draw patiently the car of advancing knowledge. And by observing the way in which the child deals with nature, we may understand the *second* reason for the growth of a belief in miracle, namely, that men have attributed to the Creator the mode of action proper to the creature.

The child invests all natural objects with its own per-

sonal life. It speaks to everything round it; and everything speaks to it again. Hence its delight in fairy tales. The imagery which lends intelligence and will to all that presents itself to sense, is the mode of imagination in which the child finds itself at home. So was it with mankind before they had learnt that great lesson of science, "to see with the eyes shut." That which they found within themselves they projected before their mental vision as an object, unseen indeed, but yet essentially visible; a God dwelling in a heaven above those clouds from whence all that lent charm to existence, light and heat and fertilizing showers, seemed to come down. Important as is the difference between the Jehovah of the Jews and the Zeus of the Greeks, in this respect they agree, that both were conceived as Beings who dwell apart from the universe which, strictly speaking, they govern rather than sustain. And this external character was retained in the Jewish notion of God, even when the progress of reflection had led them, as it did the Greeks, to feel that the heaven and the heaven of heavens could not contain Him in whom all things "live and move and have their being." To the Greek, to whom God had always been a Power present in nature rather than a Power present to his own consciousness, the Divine became, with this advance of thought, only a collective name for the totality of the powers manifested in the universe: while the Jew, whose faith was anchored on the conviction of the personal regard entertained by the Lord of heaven and earth for his own chosen people, collectively and individually, placed his subsequently acquired philosophy along side of his original anthropomorphism, with little or no attempt to reconcile the conflicting elements. Thus God remained to the Jew, as He still is to those who, like the mass of unscientific thinkers in England, derive their conceptions of the Divine action principally from Jewish literature, a Being who dwells apart from the universe, on which He acts from without by His word, that is, by orders given from time to time to His finite creatures; which, since the growth of science has leavened the popular mind with the conception of the unchangeableness of natural powers, have become transformed into the so-called laws of nature; i.e. fixed rules, according to which God is imagined to govern His creatures, though with the tacit reservation

of the right, on fitting occasions, to suspend their operation and subject any particular creature for the moment to some exceptional rule; whence its behaviour must necessarily become startling and produce the effects known as miracles.

Now in this mode of regarding the Divine action, the creature and the Creator really change places. To determine the constitution of the creature, and sustain that constitution from *within*, is the proper action of creative power. To act upon any finite being from *without*, altering the phenomena manifested by it but not changing its constitution, is the mode of action proper to the creature. We may satisfy ourselves that this is really the case by considering that the most insignificant creature can do, without departing from the order of nature, that which God, acting otherwise than through the intervention of some creature, could do only by working a miracle. A bird, for instance, takes up a twig in its bill, carries it through the air to an adjoining tree, and bends it into the form suitable to its nest. In so doing it overcomes the pull of the earth, which urges the twig to its surface, and the force which within the twig resists the effort to bend it. The action of the bird affects the manifestation of these natural powers without in any way interfering with their essence. The earth continues to urge the twig to its surface, the parts of the twig continue to press against the pressure which alters their natural position. Were this not the case, bird and twig alike would lose their own power. For without the pressure of the air, which again depends on the pull of the earth, the bird could not fly; and without the same pull, the twig would not retain its hold. The whole action is perfectly consistent with itself, because that which belongs to the external is ascribed to a being acting from without, and that which belongs to the internal is conceived to arise solely from within. But change the centre of action from without to within, and that which on the former supposition is natural and reasonable becomes unreasonable and miraculous. If God is to do what the bird does, He must be imagined at the same moment to sustain the nature of the earth and of the twig, and to make them act contrary to that nature. The notion of "laws of nature" which God can suspend or change, is in truth a notion borrowed from human affairs, and quite inappropriate to the Divine action.

Man may make a law binding on other men by superior strength, because man acts upon man from without. He does not alter the nature of the beings on whom he thus acts by requiring them to do one thing rather than another. But the so-called laws of nature are inseparable from the constitution of that of which they are called the laws. In themselves they are only names for conceptions by which *we* endeavour to make natural phenomena intelligible to ourselves; and if they ever seem to have an existence of their own, this is due only to our ignorance of that which produces the phenomena. We know, for instance, that the bodies called by us material have the power of producing in each other a tendency to move towards points situate between them, at rates depending on their respective masses and distances. We have not made clear to ourselves why they should possess this power. Therefore it is possible for us to separate in imagination this action from the constitution of a material body, and to suppose that such a body might exist without exercising it; ceasing, as is said, to be subject to the law of gravitation. But this imagination is purely gratuitous. We have no reason whatever for believing that this gravitating action is not a necessary consequence of the constitution of every material body, which cannot cease to operate so long as the body subsists at all. We have in chemical attractions and repulsions a host of grounds for believing in the inseparability of such kinds of action from the constitution of the bodies displaying them; while in those cases where we have attained to intelligible conceptions of the causes of any phenomena, as, for example, in the cases of sound and light, we perceive at once the absurdity of speaking of any laws of the appearances distinct from the motions which give rise to them. Now if there are really no laws of nature separable from the constitution of natural bodies, the notion of a miracle as the suspension of any such laws while the constitution of the body affected by this suspension remains unchanged, except by its freedom from the laws suspended, falls to the ground of itself. The idea of the Divine action, in becoming more profound, purifies itself from false analogies. Yet, until man has learned clearly to distinguish the action of Him who upholds all finite beings according to their respective natures, from the action of these finite beings

on each other, he can scarcely avoid conceiving the Divine action to be like his own, only free from the limits by which he is restrained, and thus confuses the true notion of omnipotence, namely, that of a power limited only by itself, with the false notion of a power capable of performing whatever man can imagine.

For in this power of the imagination, exercised through language, we come to our *third* head, and to the deepest root of the faith in miracles. By words man binds up his sensations into bundles, according to the significant likeness used by Locke in speaking of the so-called faculty of abstraction,*—bundles, each of which possesses a possibility of comprehension limited only by the will of their constructor; and these bundles he can bind together into groups, called sentences, in whatever way he likes, till he can construct a truly miraculous world—a world where the most astounding results may be produced apparently without any means at all. There are no bounds to the constructive power exercisable by man in the use of those most familiar but most wonderful materials, words; no limits to these creations of what the Greeks significantly called *poiesis*.† Can we not consign all the worlds of light, with all that they illumine, to darkness and nothingness by a word; and, by a word, call them forth again into being, in imagination? What more natural, then, than for man to assume that what he could thus do by his words, God could do in act? Is not this the essence of that far-famed sublimity of Hebrew conception—"Let there be light, and there was light"? Is not the notion, "God spake, and it was made; He commanded, and it stood fast," the key-note of the biblical descriptions of Divine power? Let us not be supposed indifferent to its majestic grandeur. But if we ask whether the notion is as true as it is imposing, the answer, we apprehend, must be, that no conception of the Divine action can be more completely erroneous. Between speech and action there is a gulf fixed. We move the air, and the air moves the brains of other men, who interpret these movements for themselves; whereupon *they* act who *hear*, not *we* who *speak*. Can this be an appropriate representation of His work, which is all action? The notion probably

* Essay iii. § 2.

† Poetry, from ποιέω, to make.

in part arose from the fact that speech, like the action which we ascribe to God, is the external manifestation of a conscious internal power. But it is a manifestation utterly powerless to do anything, except when taken up by some other being in whom it is again internalized. My words can pass into act only in so far as they pass into some one else who acts. Is this an adequate representation of the all-sustaining power of His operations, in whom all things exist? Surely, if we would form a conception of the Divine action at all corresponding to the reality, we need most carefully to free ourselves from the imagination that it has any analogy to our action in the use of language. But in proportion to our success in thus un-Hebrewizing our minds, we shall find that the conception of the Divine power as a power to work miracles disappears. The notion of miracle is really inseparable from that notion of God which identifies His creative action with an action which can create nothing but sounds, and makes God talk to His creatures in place of sustaining them.

But, it may be urged, shall we not, in getting rid of this conception, lose also the faith in the personal being of God, by divorcing His action from connection with those acts by which our own personal will especially asserts itself? We have already touched on this question, but its importance makes it deserve a more full investigation. Why is it, then, that speech is the special expression of our personality? Only because it arises from *movements* especially subject to the action of our *will*. Physiologists agree that we never think without some movement taking place in our brains. And these movements appear to proceed from *combinations* of various centres of nervous power effected by our wills,* and of which they are conscious. Speech is only a consequence of this action, the result of another set of movements springing out of the first and dependent on them. Thus the expression of our personality resolves itself into conscious combinations of those centres of energy which the wonderful structure of our brains places at the command of our wills. But all nature, as has been said, is apparently only a result of various combinations of similar centres of

* See two articles by Professor Bain in the Fortnightly Review for Jan. 15 and Feb. 1, 1866, pp. 575 and 736.

energy; that is to say, it is the manifestation of the same kind of action by which our own personality shews itself. What more do we want? *Nature* is the true speech of God. Her phenomena are the Divine language; the language of things which express the Divine personality as truly as the language of sounds expresses our personality. It is not in an action *on* nature, but in producing the action manifested *by* nature, that the true supernatural consists; as, indeed, we may learn from the teaching of Christ, which carries us to the point where the ordinary religious belief in a Divine government of nature merges into the belief in a Divine presence in nature, effecting its end by natural means. To imagine that there is a Divine Will besides the constitution of a hair and the surrounding circumstances which determines when and where it shall fall, would be to reduce this Divine Will to an impotency, such as must be ascribed to the wills of those angels to whom Mr. Ward, in his "Ideal of a Christian Church," commits the task of guiding the planets, in exact obedience to the impulses of gravitation. To realize the Divine Will in such events, we must identify this Will with natural power. Now this is precisely the identification required in order to vivify scientific conceptions with the warmth of religious trust, by accepting Necessity as the inseparable complement of Freedom; the expression of Force which attends the outward manifestation of that deep mystery of Will whose inmost essence is the principle of Love.

The belief in miracle has its origin in the assertion by man of his inherent affinity with this Divine essence, made by him while yet unconscious that the nature over which he claimed the superiority of his own freedom, is the legitimate utterance of the very power vindicated by him against it. The profound unity amidst exhaustless variety, the admirable adaptation, the harmonious order—in a word, the ineffaceable reasonableness of nature, with which scientific research is continually making us more fully acquainted, was to man in the days of his childhood, and is still to the greater number of our race, almost a sealed book. Nature seemed then, and to the majority of mankind still seems, an antagonistic element, thwarting perpetually the spirit which she enthralled; and he embodied his inborn consciousness of the dignity of that spirit, by clothing with the

conception of omnipotence, derived from its own imaginations, a Being before whom nature might shrink into insignificance, and at whose command the powers affecting his senses should shrivel up into nothingness. The struggle for miracle is, at bottom, a struggle to preserve this consciousness of spiritual reality from certain scientific notions supposed to endanger the faith in its existence. But that which is thus sought to be preserved is not really in danger from the progress of science, and that for which the battle is waged, instead of helping to preserve the faith in a spiritual reality, would be, were it true, the source of its greatest peril. To modern theology, miracles are an interference with natural action. To ascribe to God miraculous power is, therefore, to banish Him from nature. Now this is the very converse of the scriptural representations, which, although they conceive the Divine action to be miraculous, also conceive God to be ever-present in nature, because to the writers of the Scriptures, with their profound ignorance of natural means, all nature appeared a continuous miracle. The modern thinker has his choice between retaining the substance of the scriptural belief, and bringing God close to himself in the universe, by giving up the notion that miracle is the special characteristic of Divine action, or sacrificing this substance to the form of the biblical conceptions, and driving God out of the universe, by insisting upon treating His action in it as miraculous. Can we doubt which alternative they will prefer to whom the spiritual is truly real? Religion, according to every great authority on the subject, from the Bible downwards, except a few philosophers who insist on identifying, and in our judgment confusing, it with morality, consists essentially in the recognition of a personal intercourse between the spirit of man and the spirit of God, who does not, indeed, bend nature to suit human desires, but does lead those who seek His support to say, not only with the lips but from the heart, "Father, Thy will be done. I ask only to live in the consciousness of Thy presence, with the sympathy of Thy love; striving as far as in me lies to bring my will into accordance with Thine; relying on Thee in life; hoping in Thee in death." Here is the inmost, the most profound manifestation of the supernatural. The direct access for man to God lies through the gate of prayer; not prayer

which seeks to change the course of outward events, but prayer which enables man to realize the resignation of the Stoic, without the sternness or self-importance too commonly attendant on the Stoical effort after that indifference to the strokes of fortune in which he placed the perfection of the highest wisdom. Not by "signs and wonders," not by "answers to prayer" given through outward things, does God manifest His nearness to man. His presence is to be perceived by the conscience, not by the senses; its fruits are not interruptions of natural order, but peace, and hope, and trust, and love; and the constancy of nature on which science reposes, far from conflicting with this supernatural action, prepares the way for it, by leading men to see in the phenomena around them the manifestations of a power analogous to that reasonable will, which, itself the crown of nature, instinctively turns for sympathy to the supernatural Being present with it.

But here a claim may be put in for the belief in miraculous action, upon the ground that without it there is wanting a firm foundation in the so-called real world on which Trust and Hope and Love may build. This claim is powerfully asserted by Mr. Mozley. Miracles, he urges, have their *raison d'être* in their evidential character. They are the authentication of the communication which God, in His goodness, has given to man concerning the unseen world by which we are surrounded, and into which the human race is constantly passing, but about which, because it is unseen, we have no means of ascertaining anything by the use of our reason, without the intervention of some authorized exposition, and no means of satisfying ourselves that the exposition is authorized except the exercise of miraculous power.* This line of argument is not unfamiliar to writers on theology. It is maintained with much power by Mr. Miall, for example, in his "Bases of Belief." Mr. Mozley must have the credit of having developed it with great clearness and precision. But it fails at the same point where the argument as to the general probability of miracles fails, namely, that those who press it in support of one set of beliefs about the unseen world, are obliged to deny its applicability to support other different sets of beliefs about that world

* See Lecture I. pp. 5—14.

which equally appeal to this test for their authentication. Had there been one theology only which professed to initiate men into the secrets of the future, and had this theology alone claimed a miraculous sanction to its teachings, the argument that thereby man obtained a real insight into the future to which God had set his seal, would be very forcible. But, so far is this from being the case, that precisely the system of religious teaching for which Mr. Mozley claims miraculous sanction, contains, of all professed revelations, the least full accounts of the unseen world. If we want details as to the state of the dead, we must resort to Homer or Pindar, to the Tripataka, or the Shastras, or the Koran, or the legends of mediæval Christianity, not to the Scriptures of Old or New Testament: and all these revelations are attested by the evidence of prodigies, said to have been witnessed or worked by those who delivered or accepted them, if we take for granted that the acts reported did happen. Nor is the little which the Scriptures do tell us as to the unseen world authenticated by any especial appeal to miracles. The "signs and wonders" of the Bible are indeed sometimes referred to as proofs that God was with those to whom they are ascribed, but not as evidences of the truth of any particular parts of their teaching. If they affirm the truth of any part, they must affirm that of the whole; so that unless we are prepared, in the face of the entire discrepancy between what the Bible says as to the visible universe and what we now know to be the truth, to contend for the absolute correctness of all its assertions, we have nothing to which we can apply the supposed miraculous sanction; but must allow that, whatever functions the miracles of Scripture, supposing them to have happened, were intended to fulfil in the Divine economy, that of serving as an evidence of the truth of what is asserted in the Scriptures is not one.

Thus, from whatever side we approach the question of miracles, we find that the search after any general reason for believing in them is unsuccessful. We are driven to rely solely on the evidence of the alleged facts, and the impossibility of accounting for them in any other way than by the hypothesis of miraculous action. But here, again, we are stopped, at least in the miracles of the Scriptures, by the uncertainty which critical examination into the

ages and authorship of the sacred books raises, as to the time when, and the persons by whom, they were composed; an uncertainty such as must completely destroy their value in proof of any statements which do not bear the stamp of probability on general grounds, however satisfactorily they may prove the belief in the truth of these statements entertained by those who made them. So that we are reduced to accept the scientific conclusion, that God always works through definite means, as the true conception of the Divine action; a conception sustained alike by the analogy of our own consciousness and our experience of natural phenomena.

Now if we steadily lay hold of this conception, it will furnish us with an idea of revelation adapted to the state of modern thought, in substitution for that idea of a revelation resting on authoritative declarations which is breaking down on all sides. The notion of the Divine action presented in the Bible is consistent with itself. It places God without the world, and makes Him govern it by His word. Upon this conception revelation naturally becomes a declaration made by God to man, attested by "signs and wonders," which is the popular notion of it prevalent among ourselves. But this conception, as has been said, attributes to the Creator a mode of action proper only to the creature. If we convert the Divine action into the mode of action proper to God, namely, to an internal process displayed through the beings upheld by His power, revelation *can* mean only such a manifestation of the being of God as these beings are capable of making by the natures respectively given to them. The pure light *must* in all cases be coloured by the character of the media through which it is disclosed. Now of the beings through which such a revelation can be made upon the earth, man is himself the highest. Through man, therefore, we must expect to find that the deepest revelation of the Divine upon earth will be made. But man has not only an individual, but also a collective existence. He possesses what no other beings known to us do possess, a mental history; and the character of each individual is indefinitely affected by his place in this history. We must expect, then, to find in the history of man's spiritual development the deepest revelation of the Divine possible in this sphere of being; and if that history should shew the

growth of conceptions concerning the being of God adapted to meet the spiritual wants of the individual man, but matured in a manner indicating an action beyond that which can be reasonably attributed to the normal growth of thought, namely an action, shewn by the combination of distinct systems of conception into a result more complete than either could attain separately, we should have in this action a revelation of the Divine Being independent of any authoritative sanction, requiring no miraculous attestation, but carrying in its own progress an evidence not confined to any one age or people, and acquiring continued accessions of strength from its own development.

Such a history Christianity appears to us to possess. In consequence, it is able to cast off all reliance upon those marvels with which the naïve faith of its childhood clothed the Divine action manifested in it, and to take its place alongside of the revelations of science, as a manifestation of the Divine consistent with the general constitution of that outer universe of Force and Necessity with which science deals, while it reveals the depth of that inner universe of Freedom and Love, the home of the supernatural, which the natural world can only indicate, without revealing. We have not space to enter more fully into the arguments in support of this proposition; but we must add our conviction that its strength consists mainly in that doctrine of the Incarnation of God in Christ on which the Catholic Church was historically founded, though to many profound thinkers of the present day it is numbered among the errors engendered by patristic and mediæval superstition. Without this doctrine, the conception that in Christianity we possess a revelation of the essentially Divine, must, we think, melt away before the results of critical inquiry. Every one who does not wilfully shut his eyes to these results, and has the power of following them, must, we think, admit that they completely destroy all faith in the so-called "Religion of the Bible;" all belief in a Revelation authoritatively made to man by certain infallible writings originating in some supernatural action. No doubt critical investigation, while it sweeps away our confidence in the infallibility of the Scriptures, leaves unimpaired the witness of the Spirit, the consonance between the conscience of man and the words of Jesus, as an evidence of the profound

spiritual truth revealed by them. But this witness, by itself, is exclusively internal, and therefore wants part of the solidity belonging to such truth as we attain in scientific investigations, where we have an external corresponding to the internal, a something which the human imagination cannot create for itself, answering to and interpreted by the creations of the imagination. Now such an external affirmation of the voice of our conscience is given to it by Christianity, if the Catholic faith concerning the person of Christ is true, by the fact that in Him we have an action of God manifested towards man, of a character adapted to call forth the profoundest feelings of man's nature, and direct them to God. That infinite tenderness of sympathizing love which the spirit of religious trust ascribes to "our Father in heaven," takes body in the belief that God was incarnate in Christ, and thus demonstrates itself to be a reality. But how shall we satisfy ourselves that the belief is not a mistake, if we cannot rely upon the authoritative statements of the New Testament on which it has been usually rested? We answer, by the evidence furnished from the position of the Christian faith in man's religious history. History shews us that the transition from the national religion of the Jew to the universal religion of the Church was effected by the union of the Semitic conception of the Divine as a personal Being transcendent to the world with the Aryan conception of the Divine as a power immanent in the world, to produce the notion of one who was at once truly God and truly man. The convergence of these two great streams of human thought about God, which took their separate courses in the minds of successive generations of thinkers in those two mighty families of mankind, the Semites and Aryans of antiquity, is a phenomenon unparalleled elsewhere in man's religious history; and, when it is considered in connection with the wonderful combination of influences, social, moral, political and intellectual, by which this convergence was brought about, and the profound religious vitality belonging to the conception through which it was produced, it furnishes an amount of evidence for the truth of the Catholic faith in the Divinity of Christ which seems to us to raise that belief to the rank of a scientific truth. On the other hand, if this conception be rejected, Christianity must be regarded as properly an expansion of

the Semitic conceptions as to God only, and the Aryan contribution to it must be treated as a thorough mistake, although we know that the Aryans rather than the Semites were in the right generally in their notions about the universe: an issue which seems to us to convert man's religious history into a hopeless puzzle;

A mighty maze of dreams without a plan!

These are considerations which should, we think, lead those who, though avowedly teachers of Christianity, have yet been accustomed to regard the ancient faith in one who "seemest human, yet divine," as impugning the belief in the Unity of God, to consider seriously whether their objections have not been founded on a misapprehension of what this doctrine really involves, rather than on any solid ground of reason. The manifestation of the Deity which the Church believed to have been made in Christ, is essentially a manifestation of perfect Love. The boundless power and knowledge which she assumed to be latent in the man Jesus, necessarily formed part of her creed, in consequence of that erroneous conception of Divine action which produced the faith in miracles. They made the notion of a Divine humanity nonsensical. But this knowledge and power were regarded, after all, as *veiled* attributes. The attribute of God believed to be *displayed* in Christ, was that attribute which alone admits of perfect association with finite being, the attribute of Love. What is there in the conception, that the Love which is the essence of Deity manifested itself in Christ in conscious perfection, though under the limitations of human nature, in order to plant the germ of a spiritual body consisting of those whose wills it might transform by the power of its inherent attractiveness into a likeness to itself, against which either our intellects or our emotions revolt? With the destruction of the basis of dogmatic authority by the results of modern criticism, the war of texts must cease, and all the doctrines of theology submit to that continual elaboration at the hands of reason, to which scientific conceptions owe their completeness. Theology must thus generally adopt the spirit of Unitarianism, whose fundamental axiom we apprehend to be, that Revelation, though it concern matters which the reason cannot discover by any intuition of its own, is essentially reason-

able. But theology is the science of the religious, not only in its present manifestations, but also in its past history. And as geology, while taking its stand upon the study of existing organisms and formations in progress, has nevertheless been able, by unravelling the confused remains of past life and former deposits, to throw upon the relations of present living beings to each other a light as brilliant as it was unexpected, so is it our conviction that the impartial examination of the successive phases of man's religious beliefs does cast upon their present state a light, under which they may be seen to form a series of links in a connected progress, furnishing to the scientific thinker proofs of a Divine action, which must lead the Unitarian teacher, in the fearless application of his own principles, to rest his creed on the ancient foundations of the Catholic faith.

E. V. N.

NOTE.

Since this article was in type, a second edition of Mr. Mozley's Lectures has been published with an additional Preface, which, however, does not touch upon any of the defects in his argument noticed by us. It is occupied in contending for a proposition which we do not dispute—that the phenomena narrated in the Scriptures, if they were such as is there stated, cannot be accounted for by any conceivable "laws of nature." But we have before us only accounts of these phenomena, not the phenomena themselves. And the true question is, whether it is not more probable that these accounts have their origin in that spontaneous creativeness of the human imagination which Mr. Mozley considers to be the general means whereby stories of miracle have been produced, rather than that the phenomena should have been produced without the use of any "means at all."

VII.—THE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF CANOPUS.

Das bilingue Dekret von Kanopus in der original Grösse, mit Uebersetzung und Erklärung beider Texte; herausgegeben von R. Lepsius. Erster Theil. Berlin. 1866. [The bilingual Decree of Canopus, of the original size, with Translation and Commentary. By R. Lepsius. P. I.]

SINCE the discovery of this remarkable monument, Egyptian scholars have been anxiously looking for some means of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of its nature and

contents than the notices in literary journals could afford. This want is completely satisfied by the publication of a fac-simile and translation, by the first Egyptologist in Europe, who had the good fortune to be its discoverer. In the early part of last year, Lepsius made a journey in the Isthmus of Suez, and at one of the stations on the Canal, he was informed by a functionary of the Company, that he had seen, a short time before, in the ruins of San, the Tanis of the Greeks, the Zoan of Scripture, a stone with a Greek inscription. Following out this indication, he discovered, amidst a heap of rubbish, the projecting end of a tablet on which was a Greek inscription, proclaiming itself, by the style of the letters, to be the work of a classical age. By the permission of the local authorities and of Mariette [Bey], to whom the Viceroy has given the control of all antiquarian researches, he set the Fellahs to work, and soon extricated the whole monument, 7½ f. in height, 2½ in breadth, which proved to be bilingual—hieroglyphic and Greek. The decree itself ordained a third version, in Egyptian, or, as the Rosetta stone calls them, *enchorial*, characters, now more generally called demotic, the running hand of common life. If this third inscription was ever executed, it has not been found. Fac-similes of both were carefully taken by means of moistened paper, the surest mode of obtaining accuracy, and they have been reproduced in lithography, the hieroglyphics, also in a second form, with an interlinear version, by means of the movable types which Berlin and Paris, we believe, alone possess. Condorcet, in an eloquent passage on the indefinite progress of human reason, speaks of the vast chain which connects the elementary geometry of the priests of Memphis with the mathematical science of Euler.* Doubtless, the priest of Memphis who disclosed to Pythagoras the relation between the squares of the sides of a right-angled triangle, would be astonished at our modern trigonometry; but would he be less surprised at the sight of a printing-press and a fount of hieroglyphic types?

Although the Egyptian text is wanting on the Canopic stone, both the others are very nearly perfect. In this respect it has a great advantage over the Rosetta stone, the

* Quoted in Dugald Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, p. 562.

fracture of which prevented a complete comparison of the hieroglyphic with the Greek. In their subject the two monuments have a close resemblance. That of Rosetta dates from the ninth year of Ptolemy Epiphanes (B.C. 197-6), that of Canopus from the same year of Ptolemy Euergetes (B.C. 238-7).* They both decree certain religious honours to the respective kings, as a reward of services rendered to the state, or of devotion to the gods. Both seem framed upon the model of Athenian decrees of honours and rewards to illustrious citizens. This circumstance leads to the conclusion, which other reasons confirm, that the Greek is the original, and the hieroglyphic text a translation.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, the father of Euergetes, had given in marriage his daughter Berenice to Antiochus II. (Theos), king of Syria, who on the death of her father had dismissed her and taken back Laodice, previously repudiated by him that he might marry Berenice. His policy had a very different result from what he had expected. Laodice poisoned him, that she might place her own son, Seleucus Callinicus, on the throne, and put Berenice and her son to death at Daphnæ, near Antioch, where they had taken refuge. This roused the indignation both of Euergetes and the subjects of Callinicus. Ptolemy entered Syria with a large army, and, being joined by the disaffected Syrians, he overran all the countries as far as the Tigris, and perhaps even to the eastern limits of Persia. So at least the inscription in his honour at Adulis on the Red Sea declares.† Bulletins on stone are not indeed to be implicitly believed, any more than those on paper, but there can be no doubt that he overran and plundered all the Asiatic dominions of Seleucus, and returned to Egypt with an immense treasure, including the spoils of many temples. This is the expedition described—prophetically says Dr. Pusey, historically say most critics of the present day—in the 11th chapter of the book of Daniel, v. 6—9. The fate of Berenice and her son, with her Egyptian attendants and Syrian adherents, is plainly alluded to in v. 6: "The daughter of the king of the South shall be given up, and they that brought her and her young

* Sharpe's Alexandrian Chronology. Lepsius says, 239-8 B.C.

† St. Jerome in his commentary on Daniel enlarges it into "propemodum universam Asiam."

child,* and whosoever lent her aid in these times. But one of the offshoots of her roots" (her brother, Ptolemy Euergetes) "shall stand up in his place, and he shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortresses of the king of the North, and shall take means against them, and shall prevail; and he shall also carry captive into Egypt their gods and their molten images and their precious vessels of silver and gold." The principal facts of this expedition are confirmed in a remarkable manner by the decree of Canopus, enacted under the following circumstances.

It was the custom of the principal Egyptian priests, from all the temples, to assemble in Alexandria, in order to congratulate the king on his birth-day, Feb. 3. They are characterized in the preamble of the decree as "high-priests and prophets, and those who entered the adyta to dress the gods, and fan-bearers and sacred scribes." Their residence in Alexandria was prolonged this year by various circumstances. The day of the king's accession fell on Feb. 23, and as the interval was short, they remained to accomplish the duty of offering their congratulations on that day also. Egypt was the paradise of ritualists, and sacred festivals succeeded each other so closely, that the priests were scarcely left without occupation for a day. A monthly sacrifice in honour of the king and queen took place on the 13th of February; on or about the 17th, a local festival at Canopus, called Kikellia, of which no other mention is made than in this place. On the 17th, the statue of Osiris was brought by water from the temple of Hercules, which was near at hand,† and the priests offered sacrifices at altars in the *dromos*, each in honour of their own local god. But now an event occurred which changed their festivities into mourning—the death of the young princess Berenice, the darling of her parents,‡ whose apotheosis, with appropriate yearly ceremonies, was forthwith decreed. According to usage, the mourning should

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* We quote from the Revised Version; our common Bibles have "he that begat her," which is quite at variance with the history. The marginal reading is more exact.

† Herod. II. 113.

‡ The language in which her death is described in the Greek is remarkable—*συνέβη ταύτην, παρθένον οὖσαν, ἐξαίφνης μετελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀέναον κόσμον.* The corresponding hieroglyphic is rendered by Lepsius, "went to heaven." The phrase seems neither Greek nor Egyptian.

have lasted seventy days, but Lepsius conjectures that Ptolemy may have found the maintenance of so many high sacerdotal personages burdensome (for as of old "the priests had a portion from Pharaoh"*), and shortened the time to fourteen. On the 7th of March the priests assembled in the temple of Canopus, and passed the decree, the memorial of which has been so fortunately preserved and brought to light. It will be the subject of many learned commentaries, will elucidate many points in Egyptian mythology and customs, and enable the interpreters of hieroglyphics to extend and confirm or correct their previous knowledge. It is, as the French would say, *motivé* in the following preamble:

"Inasmuch as King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe the divine Adelphi, and Queen Berenice his sister and wife, the divine Euergetæ, are continually conferring many and great benefits on the temples throughout the country, and always increasing the honour of the gods,

"and with great expense and outlay constantly bestow care on Apis and Mnevis and the other sacred animals in the country;

"and the King having undertaken a foreign military expedition has happily brought back the sacred images carried off by the Persians, and restored each of them to the temples whence they were originally taken; and preserves the land in peace, making war against many nations and their rulers;

"and they secure order and good administration of the law to all in the country and to all who are placed under their sway; and once, when the River had a deficient rise, and every one in the country was in alarm, and remembered with anxiety the destruction which took place under some former rulers, when the land suffered the calamity of a drought, zealously exerted themselves on behalf of the inhabitants of the temples, as well as the rest of the land, making many provisory arrangements for the future, and remitting no small amount of taxes for the good of the people, and by importing corn at high prices, from Syria, Phœnice, Cyprus and many other places, delivered the inhabitants of Egypt from want, leaving to present and future generations an imperishable act of kindness, and the greatest memorial of their virtues, in return for which things the gods have given to them stability of their kingdom and will give them all other good for all future time—the priests therefore decree, &c."

This enumeration of the services of Ptolemy and his

* Gen. xlvii. 22.

queen contains some noticeable historical circumstances. It confirms the fact that the king had brought back with him from his Asiatic expedition the images of the gods which Cambyses had carried off. St. Jerome in his commentary on Daniel xi. 8, reckons the whole number of the images at 2500, but without discriminating those which had been recovered from those which were the plunder he had himself acquired. It was on his return from this expedition that, if we may believe Josephus,* instead of returning thanks to the gods of Egypt for his success, Ptolemy came to Jerusalem, offered many sacrifices according to the Jewish ritual, and gave many gifts to the Temple. We could desire a better evidence to this story, so much resembling that of the interview of Jaddua the high-priest with Alexander the Great: for Josephus was not a "sturdy moralist" where the glory of his nation was concerned. At all events, we may be allowed to doubt the addition which Dean Prideaux makes to the account, that the reason why Ptolemy sacrificed to the God of Israel, rather than those of Egypt, was that he was shewn the prophecies of Daniel concerning his victories, and inferred thence that he owed them only to that God whose prophet had so fully predicted them. He must soon have laid aside his monotheistic convictions, as he accepted divine honours and titles for himself, and allowed the deification of his daughter. St. Jerome's comment on his cognomen of Euergetes is rather uncandid. Having mentioned the restoration of the images carried off by Cambyses, he adds, "Denique gens Egyptiorum, idololatriæ dedita, quia post multos annos deos eorum retulerat, Euergeten eum appellavit." That he had recovered these memorials of brutal outrages offered to their religion, and humiliating defeat inflicted on their nation, was surely a reasonable ground of patriotic gratitude. It was more to them than the recovery of the standards taken from Crassus or Varus was to the Romans. Nor is there any reason to doubt that they might be recognized even after the lapse of more than two centuries and a half. The spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem were carefully preserved at Babylon (Ezra. vi. 5), and works of Egyptian art would easily be recognized among trophies won from other nations. The decree contains

* C. Apion, II. 5.

abundant reasons for gratitude on the part of the Egyptians, besides the recovery of their idols. Ptolemy had preserved the country from foreign enemies and maintained the reign of law; by liberality and wise precaution, he had averted the dreadful calamity of famine, consequent on a "bad Nile." It is very striking to observe the constancy of Egyptian phenomena. From the days of the patriarch Joseph to those of the present Viceroy, "the well-favoured kine and the fat-fleshed, and the ill-favoured and lean-fleshed," have both arisen out of the River. Superabundance or famine has depended for Egypt on the number of cubits marked by the Nilometer.

The remainder of the decree is occupied with various enactments. The priests in every temple are to be styled "priests of the Euergetæ," and this title is to be inscribed on their rings. A *panegyry* is to be celebrated every year in the temples, and throughout the country, to Ptolemy and Berenice, to last five days, and to begin on the day of the rising of the star of Isis (Sirius-Sothis). Further, the deceased princess is to be honoured in all the temples; a golden image of her, decorated with jewels and a special diadem, is to be borne in the arms of the officiating priest; and hymns are to be composed in her honour, of which the hierogrammat should give copies to the choirs of youths and maidens, and which should be inscribed among the sacred books. The daughters of her priests were to receive an allowance from their birth, and their bread is to have its own stamp and be called "Bread of Berenice." Finally, the decree is to be set up in stone or brass in all the temples of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd class. We have much reason to rejoice that, in one instance, stone was chosen.

The whole value of the monument of which we have given an account cannot be estimated, till it has been thoroughly studied by the great masters of Egyptian science—Lepsius in Germany, Birch in England, the Vicomte de Rougé in France. One result is obvious, the confidence which it gives them, that the method which has been adopted since the discovery of the Rosetta stone has been sound in principle. They may no doubt have advanced too rapidly; they have sometimes met with the fate which attends those who attempt to leap too wide a chasm; but even their tentative processes have been eminently successful, and this

discovery will aid them to correct any hasty conclusions. Had the estimable Sir G. Cornewall Lewis been living, he would probably have been induced to temper the ridicule, which in his Astronomy of the Ancients he casts upon the Egyptologists, as building their house upon the sand, and endeavouring to read an unknown character into an unknown language. This eminent man was far superior to the desire to discredit the results of Egyptian research, because they seemed at variance with an orthodox and reputedly inspired chronology. But his literary training, his official habits, inclined him strictly to require a formal voucher for everything which he was asked to believe; he seemed not to have considered that, even in law, secondary evidence must be admitted where primary evidence cannot be had. With many, however, of those who sought to depreciate the conclusions of Egyptologists there was a secret dread of that high antiquity of the human race, to which they so plainly pointed. Recent researches in other branches of science have done much to remove this prejudice, when it *was* a prejudice, and not a professional determination to admit nothing, that could not be reconciled with the established creed. No geologist or ethnologist feels himself bound by the Jewish reckoning of the Creation or the Deluge. The history of the earth's surface and of man upon it forbid such subserviency. Every proof which comes to light of the low condition in which he existed in primæval ages, is a presumption of the length of time which his advance to a civilized state must have required. And if his attainment even of its lower stages was painfully slow, what time would be needed for his reaching the height on which he stood at the commencement of Egyptian history! It is fit that those who study its monuments, instead of endeavouring to creep unchallenged through the barrier which an arbitrary chronology has set up, or to remove it a few feet further, should boldly avow their disregard of it, and expatiate into past time, to the utmost limit to which the light of History will guide them.

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THE

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I.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF CHRIST'S MINISTRY.

THIS is a subject which will by most persons be granted to be of some importance. If we could determine with reasonable certainty the time of the baptism and that of the crucifixion, we should know the length of the ministry; and this would help us materially to a right understanding of the life, and thence of the teachings of Jesus. Again, if we knew the year of the crucifixion, we should know, by the help of the Jewish law and customs, the day of the week on which the Passover supper was eaten, and thence whether Jesus ate that supper with his disciples, as we are told in the first three Gospels, or whether he was put to death before the Passover, as we are told in the fourth Gospel. At present, opinions are so much divided on these matters, that the subject has seemed to be in hopeless confusion. But I venture to think that, with a more patient and thorough inquiry, the doubts might yet be removed.

The reason why these difficulties have not been cleared up, seems to arise from the less common books which must be read, and from the less agreeable line of study which must be followed, for that purpose. Our scholars are too much confined to the classical writers of antiquity, who can in this case give them no help. A date cannot be understood with exactness unless we understand the almanac or mode of dating in use at the time and in the country to which it relates; and many of our scholars who have given an opinion about the chronology of the New Testa-

ment, may perhaps never have looked at the Mishna, Treatise Rosh Hashanah, or at Censorinus "De die Natali," or at C. Ptolemy's Astronomical work, or at Theon's and Heraclius's fragments on the ancient year, or have examined a series of Egyptian and Asiatic coins of the Roman emperors, or even have looked to the method of dating employed in the Hebrew Books of Kings. Yet most, or rather all, of these authorities have to be studied in order to understand the time meant by those very simple words of Luke's Gospel, "the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar;" although it is perfectly well known that Tiberius became emperor on the death of Augustus on the 19th August, A.D. 14. To this point I shall first confine myself.

On the Year of the Baptism.

We read in Luke's Gospel (iii. 1) that Jesus was baptized by John in the 15th year of Tiberius. Our inquiry, therefore, is, on what days did that year begin and end, according to the mind of the writer? But we shall make the question more simple if we state it thus: the first year of Tiberius began on the 19th of August, A.D. 14; when did his second year begin? And I propose to shew that the first year, according to the mode of civil reckoning in use at the time, contained only ten days; that the New-year's-day was the 29th of August; and that, therefore, on the 29th of August, A.D. 14, began the second year of Tiberius; and accordingly that the 15th year began on the 29th of August, A.D. 27.

Perhaps no English work on ancient chronology stands higher, or deserves to stand higher, than Clinton's Fasti. He begins his Fasti Romani with these words, which contain the error which I wish to refute: "The death of Augustus, Aug. 19, A.D. 14, was in the fifth month before these tables [his Fasti Romani] commence, which begin Kal. Jan. A.D. 15, and *contain the last* 7 *m.* 19 *d. of the first year of Tiberius.*" This last statement of Clinton can hardly be called untrue, because it would be true if stated of Queen Victoria instead of Tiberius; but I propose to shew that it is untrue to the extent of 355 days, if made use of when reading a date in any ancient writer who dates by means of a regnal year; and that Clinton should have said that his

Tables would contain the last 7 m. 29 d. of the second year of Tiberius. Clinton's mistake is made in the assumption that an ancient regnal year began and ended with the accession-day, which it does with the kings of modern Europe. But against this it may be shewn that the regnal year with the ancient writers always began and ended with the civil New-year's-day, excepting of course the first and last years of a reign, each of which contained only some odd months or days. With us the last year of a reign contains only some odd months or days; with the ancients, the first year also was equally incomplete. The last year of one king or emperor, and the first year of his successor, together contained twelve months.

To establish this point, let us read first in the First Book of Kings. We there find (xv. 25) that Nadab king of Israel began to reign in the second year of Asa king of Judah, and reigned two years; and yet Baasha (xv. 33) began in the third year of Asa. Again, Baasha, beginning in the third year of Asa, reigned 24 years, and yet Elah his son began in the 26th year of Asa (1 Kings xvi. 8). Again, Elah, beginning in the 26th year of Asa, reigned two years, and yet Zimri killed him in the 27th year of Asa (1 Kings xvi. 10). It is unnecessary to multiply instances from the Hebrew writers. The two years of Elah's reign mean parts of two years. Deeds, perhaps, had been dated in his first and second year. A New-year's-day had happened between his accession and his death; and these quotations prove that in each of these cases the first year, like the last year, contained only some odd months or days.

Moreover, this is not a mere inference from the apparent contradiction in the above quotations from the Book of Kings; but the Jewish work, the Mishna, written about A.D. 150, in the Treatise Rosh Hashanah, *on the New-year's-day*, begins by saying that regnal years were reckoned from the New-year's-day; that is, not from the accession-day, as with us. The Mishna, however, says that of the four days on which, for various purposes, the year was said to begin, the regnal year began on 1st Nisan, which we shall have to shew was not the legal New-year's-day used by Eastern subjects of the Roman emperor.

The Alexandrian coins of the Roman emperors, which are usually dated with a regnal year, quite confirm this

mode of reckoning. Thus Galba reigned seven months, but we have Alexandrian coins dated in the first and second year of his reign, because the New-year's-day fell within that space of time. So Titus died in September after a reign of only two years and three months; but as that space of time contained three New-years'-days, we have coins dated in his fourth year. The Alexandrian coins of the last year of Nero, of Domitian, of Trajan, of Hadrian and others, in each case claiming for them a year more than the historian allows, might in the same way be quoted to prove that the first year of an emperor's reign contained only the few months or days which passed between his accession-day and the next New-year's-day. Elagabalus reigned three years and nine months, and yet, as Gibbon mentions with surprise, we have coins dated in his 5th year.

This mode of reckoning was also used under the Greek kings, the Ptolemies, as may be proved from Porphyry's chronology of their reigns, printed in Scaliger's Eusebius. Thus Porphyry says that Philadelphus reigned 38 years; and the well-established chronology of those kings confirms this; but we have a coin dated in the 39th year of his reign.

We now proceed to determine upon what day of the natural year, or rather of our year, the civil New-year's-day fell for those parts of the Roman empire which dated by means of regnal years. But we must first remind the reader that in Rome, and in the West, wherever the Latin language was used, the regnal year was unknown. The Romans dated by consulships, which began in January and ended in December, unless any political event cut a consulship short in the middle. The Latin writers do not speak of an emperor's reign, or count his years by any expression except his consulships or Tribunician power; to do so would be to consider him as a king, while he never assumed any title but those which were used under the republic. But it was otherwise in the East. In Egypt, Syria, Babylonia and Asia Minor, the people had been used to kings; and in a very few years after Octavianus, afterwards called Augustus, had made himself sole master of Rome and its provinces, all these provinces dated by the years of his reign, as they had before dated by their own Greek kings, the successors of Alexander, using the same calendar and New-year's-day

that they had before used. This we shall shew was the 29th of August.

Claudius Ptolemy has preserved a series of Babylonian and Alexandrian eclipses and occultations of the moon, recorded sometimes by means of the regnal year of the kings of Babylon, as Nabopulassar and his Persian successors Cambyses and Darius, and sometimes by the regnal year of the Alexandrian kings, as Philadelphus, Philometor, and their Roman successors Domitian and Hadrian. In all these cases modern astronomical science has proved that the year used consisted of 365 days only, without an intercalary day or leap year. Hence the New-year's-day in these countries was always moving at the rate of one day in four years. Censorinus, who wrote on the various eras in use, tells us that in his day, in the consulship of Ulpius and Pontianus, 991 of Rome, 562 of Alexander's death [that is, in A.D. 238], this movable New-year's-day was vii. Kal. Jul. [or 25th June], but that 100 years earlier it had been xii. Kal. Aug. [or 21st July]. This information is fully confirmed by all the above-mentioned astronomical observations, which in Halma's edition of C. Ptolemy have been carefully calculated and made to throw all the required light upon chronology. Following up this knowledge, we easily learn that in the year B.C. 25, which the Egyptians called the 5th year of Augustus, the movable New-year's-day was the 29th of August. There it was fixed for the future for all those countries which had previously used the movable New-year's-day, because at that time the Julian year was introduced into Alexandria by the emperor. This we are told by the astronomer Theon, in an extract published by Cory in his Ancient Fragments. He there says that at Midsummer, in the 100th year of Diocletian, there had been 102 intercalary days, or leap years, in Alexandria; that is, that the leap year of B.C. 21 was the first leap year in Alexandria. On that year, as we have said, the New-year's-day was the 29th August, and there it was fixed for the future by the introduction of leap years. And more exactly Heraclius, in a fragment "On how to find the Day of the Week in each Month, and which Years are Leap Years," published by Dodwell, with his Dissertationes Cyprianicæ, says, "The day which we call the 29th of August, the Alexandrians call the 1st of Thoth," their New-year's-day. And

this is again enlarged upon by Theon in a fragment on the Calendar, also published by Dodwell in the same volume, where he says that from the fifth year of the reign of Augustus the Egyptians introduced the Julian method of adding a quarter of a day to the length of the year.

The provinces of Babylonia, Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt, all made use of this civil year which we have been describing; only so far varying, that while some cities counted by the year of the emperor's reign, others counted from the era of the Seleucidæ, and others from the era of Antioch. That the Greeks of the province of Syria made use of the same, or nearly the same, New-year's-day, may be shewn by their coins, of which we have many dated by those eras and bearing the emperor's name, and which were struck, some in the first and some in the last year of the reign. Had the New-year's-day been much removed from the end of August, the years by which those coins are dated would in some cases have fallen beyond the emperor's reign. Indeed, no other mode of dating was known in the Roman world in that century; but either by the year of the Consulship, which began in January, or by the Greek year of the Olympiads, which began at Midsummer, or by the Greco-Asiatic or Greco-Egyptian year, which began on 29th August, or by the old Egyptian year, which for want of a leap year began when Luke was writing on 16th August, and was used by none but the astronomers and astrologers. These two last were the only modes by which a regnal year was ever counted before the reign of Diocletian.

On the Year of the Crucifixion.

Having thus shewn reason for believing that the evangelist Luke meant, by the fifteenth year of Tiberius, a year beginning on 29th August, A.D. 27, it will be unnecessary to shew that Clement of Alexandria, when speaking of the crucifixion as happening in the sixteenth year of Tiberius, meant a year beginning on 29th August, A.D. 28, and that as the day of the crucifixion was near the spring equinox, he considered it to have happened in A.D. 29. His words are as follows: "When fixing the time of the Passion more exactly in the sixteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, some say that the Saviour suffered on the 25th of

the month Phamenoth, some on the 25th of Pharmuthi, and some on the 19th of Pharmuthi."* Thus there were three traditions about the exact day of the crucifixion in A.D. 29, namely, Monday, 21st March, Thursday, 14th April, and Wednesday, 20th April. All were agreed upon the year; they only differed about the day of the month and day of the week.

Tertullian, who wrote about the same time with Clement, namely about A.D. 210, agrees with him in the year of the crucifixion, though not in the day, saying, "Which suffering by Him of dismissal [that is crucifixion] was completed under Tiberius Cæsar in the consulship of Rubellius Geminus and Rufius Geminus, in the month of March at the time of the Passover, on the seventh day of the Calends of April, on the first day of unleavened bread, on which they slew the lamb, as had been commanded by Moses."† It is unnecessary to bring proof of what nobody disputes, namely, that the two Gemini were consuls from January to July in A.D. 29. The day fixed upon by Tertullian, therefore, is Saturday, 26th March, which he at the same time declares to have been the day of the Passover.

Origen, who wrote about thirty years later than Clement and Tertullian, in his work against Celsus, agrees with this year so far as to say that the temple of Jerusalem was destroyed forty-two years after the crucifixion. This may be understood as agreeing with our view of there being about forty-one years and a half between the spring of A.D. 29 and the autumn of A.D. 70, when the temple was destroyed by Titus; and it will not allow us to place the crucifixion in any later year than A.D. 29.

All later writers must be supposed to be guided by these, unless the contrary can be shewn. Thus Lactantius gives us the same day of the year in the consulship of the two Gemini as Tertullian; but he contradicts himself when he adds that it was in the fifteenth of Tiberius, which we have shewn, in the mouth of a Greek or Asiatic, would have meant A.D. 28; unless we suppose that in the mouth of a Latin writer it may possibly have meant A.D. 29. So Julius Africanus, as quoted by Eusebius in his Chronicle, places the crucifixion in the sixteenth year of Tiberius; but

* Strom. I. p. 147.

† Adv. Judæos liber, cap. viii.

then, like Lactantius, he contradicts himself by adding that was in the second year of the 202nd Olympiad, which would make it two years later.

It is unnecessary to add more quotations, which would all be of little value compared with these. Resting, therefore, upon Clement and Tertullian, supported as they are by Origen and Lactantius, we may take it as proved that the crucifixion took place in A.D. 29, unless doubt can be thrown upon this by any writers of equal value. But it may be as well to repeat that the reason why the date of the crucifixion has hitherto been thought doubtful, is because the mode of counting the regnal years used by the Greeks in the East has not been understood; and hence Tertullian's date has been thought to be contradicted by Clement, and both of these by the evangelist Luke. Thus Dr. Strauss places the baptism in A.D. 29, while we have shewn it may have been as early as September, A.D. 27; and others place the crucifixion in A.D. 30, while we have shewn that the early authorities all agree in A.D. 29.

We thus have arrived at the conclusion that the ministry of Jesus did not exceed nineteen months, that it began after the 29th of August, A.D. 27, and ended at the Passover of A.D. 29.

On the Day of the Passover in A.D. 29.

I am indebted to Professor Adams for the information that in A.D. 29 the first new moon after the spring equinox took place at Jerusalem on Saturday, the 2nd April, at 8 p.m. I have since had this confirmed by the Astronomer-Royal, in a paper signed by Mr. Hind. Hence, according to the usual understanding of the Mosaic law, Sunday, April 3rd, was the first day of the month Nisan, and the Passover supper was eaten by twilight in the evening of Saturday, April 16th, which was the 14th of Nisan. See Exodus xii.; Leviticus xxiii.; Numbers ix.

To this whole train of reasoning, by which it is argued that the Passover supper in the year of the crucifixion was eaten on a Saturday, I know of no objection that can be made, unless it be argued that the month of Nisan took place a lunation earlier, following the new moon of March 3rd; and that Friday, March 4th, was the first of Nisan; and

that therefore the 14th of Nisan when the Passover was eaten was Thursday, the 17th of March. But this is opposed to the opinion of the modern Jews, who, guided as they profess to be in the arrangement of their calendar by Maimonides, fix the Passover at the full moon which follows the spring equinox.

In this the Jews are supported by Christian testimony. When the Council of Nicæa, in A.D. 325, decreed that the Christians should keep their feast, not with the Jews at the full moon, but on the first Sunday which followed the full moon, they made no change in the lunation by which the feast was fixed. And Epiphanius says that when God through this Council guided the Church in respect to the feast of Easter, they settled that it took place when the fourteenth day of the moon fell after the spring equinox.* He had before said that the natural year as arranged by God does not end before the equinox.† The Mosaic law is not so explicit; but it goes to confirm this view. The month or lunation that we have been speaking of is there named Abib, as being the month when barley is in ear and becomes ripe in Judea. The day after the Passover supper was the feast of unleavened bread (see Leviticus xxiii.); and on the morrow after the Sabbath [or feast of unleavened bread], that is the 16th day of the month Abib, a sheaf of ripe barley was to be brought to the priest. Now our travellers tell us that even in the warmest parts of Judea the barley is not ripe before the 1st of April; thus confirming our view, founded both on Jewish and Christian tradition, that the Passover supper was far less likely to have been eaten in that year so early as Thursday, 17th March, than one month later on Saturday, 16th April.

On the Day of the Crucifixion.

We have already quoted Tertullian as saying that Jesus was crucified on Saturday, the 26th of March; and Clement as mentioning three days as spoken of for that event, Monday, the 21st of March, Thursday, the 14th of April, and Wednesday, the 20th of April. Now if we compare these four days, first with the two possible days mentioned above for the Passover feast, and, secondly, with the statement

* Adv. Hæres. III. i. xii.

† Adv. Hæres. III. i. xi.

in which all the Gospels agree, namely, that the crucifixion took place in the latter half of the week, we shall see that the only result we can arrive at is, that he was crucified two days before the Passover, that the day was Thursday, the 14th of April, and that the Passover was eaten on Saturday, the 16th of April. And we thus arrive at the conclusion that the external evidence, independent of the New-Testament writers, goes to confirm the fourth Gospel, rather than the first three Gospels, in the history of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion.

This opinion that the crucifixion took place on a Thursday is, however, opposed to the uniform belief of the last fifteen centuries, which seems to have been founded upon the belief that the word "Preparation" (Matt. xxvii. 62; Mark xv. 42; Luke xxiii. 54) was used for Friday. But we may remark that it is not opposed to the opinion of Clement and Tertullian, who neither of them seem to fix upon a Friday. And even if our determination of the days of the week from their days of the month be doubted, yet in the case of Clement it is clear that he had no belief that the day of the week was certainly Friday, because of the three days that he mentions, no two can be on the same day of the week. Let us see how far our opinion is supported by the Gospels. If Jesus was crucified at noon on Friday, and buried after sunset on that evening, and the tomb was found empty on Sunday morning, the body was less than thirty-six hours in the tomb, which very little agrees with the expected time, so often mentioned in the Gospels. Matthew (xii. 40) says that the Son of Man is to be "three days and three nights in the heart of the earth," and in three other places (xvi. 21, xvii. 23, xx. 19) says that he is expected to rise from the dead "on the third day." Mark also in two places (ix. 31, x. 34), and Luke in three (ix. 22, xviii. 33, xxiv. 7, 46), repeat that he is expected to rise "on the third day." Indeed, in both places in Mark, and in two in Luke, some of the oldest MSS. have "after three days." Now the evangelists certainly mean us to understand that these expectations were fulfilled; and hence we can hardly suppose that they meant to say that the body was in the tomb for a shorter period than three nights and two days, namely from Thursday evening till Sunday morning.

If we now turn to the narrative in the Gospels, we shall find that our fixing upon Thursday or Friday for the crucifixion will depend upon whether we understand that some of the actions there described took place on the Sabbath or no. Luke alone says (xxiii. 56), "they rested on the Sabbath." But if we are allowed to carry this remark into the other Gospels, and to suppose that neither high-priests nor disciples did anything on the Sabbath, we shall then find that Matthew most clearly, and Mark with less certainty, place the crucifixion on Thursday, while Luke, omitting some of the events, places it on Friday. Of the fourth we must speak separately. Treating the Sabbath as a day without events, the narrative in Matthew is as follows:

Ch. xxvi. 17. On the first day of unleavened bread the disciples prepare the Passover, and eat it with Jesus in the evening. That night Jesus is betrayed to the priests. This I call Wednesday.

Ch. xxvii. 1. On the next morning he is taken before Pilate; he is crucified at the sixth hour, or noon; he dies at the ninth hour, or three o'clock. In the evening Joseph obtains the body from Pilate, and buries it. This I call Thursday; and we shall see that it is the evening of the preparation.

Ch. xxvii. 62. On the morrow, which is after the preparation, the high-priests and Pharisees come to Pilate and obtain a guard of soldiers, and themselves seal the tomb. This I call Friday; it cannot be Saturday, because of the rest upon the Sabbath. On Friday evening at sunset the Sabbath begins, and nothing is done till sunset on Saturday.

Ch. xxviii. 1. On the morning of Sunday, the first day of the week, the two Maries come to the tomb and find it empty.

The agreement and disagreement of Mark and Luke with the above will be shewn most conveniently in the following table, remembering that in each Gospel the days must be counted backwards from the first day of the week, which is the only day certainly mentioned in any of the narratives.

	Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
Wednesday.	xxvi. 17. First day of unleavened bread. The disciples prepare the Passover. xxvi. 20. In the evening the Supper is eaten; Jesus is betrayed.	xiv. 12. First day of unleavened bread. The disciples prepare the Passover. xiv. 17. In the evening the Supper is eaten; Jesus is betrayed.	
Thursday.	xxvii. 1. In the morning he is led to Pilate, and crucified at noon. xxvii. 57. In the evening Joseph begs for the body, buries it and rolls a stone on the door of the tomb. [It is the Preparation.]	xv. 1. In the morning he is led to Pilate, and crucified at noon. xv. 42. In the evening, it is the Preparation, a Prosabbaton, Joseph begs for the body, buys a cloth, buries Jesus, rolls a stone on the door of the tomb.	xxii. 7. The day of unleavened bread. The disciples prepare the Passover. xxii. 14. When the hour is come the Supper is eaten; Jesus is betrayed.
Friday.	xxvii. 62. On the morrow after the Preparation the high-priests get a guard from Pilate and seal the tomb. [In the evening the Sabbath begins.]	[In the evening the Sabbath begins.]	xxii. 66. When it was day he is led to Pilate, and crucified at noon. xxiii. 52. Joseph begs for the body, and buries it. That day is the Preparation; a Sabbath is dawning. The women prepare spices and ointments.
Saturday.	[The Sabbath, when nothing is done.]	[The Sabbath, when nothing is done.] xvi. 1. When the Sabbath is passed the disciples buy spices.	xxiii. 56. They rested on the Sabbath, according to the commandment.
Sunday.	xxviii. 1. At dawn of the first day of the week the two Maries come to the tomb.	xvi. 2. Early on the first day of the week they come to the tomb.	xxiv. 1. By daybreak on the first day of the week the disciples come to the tomb.

Here it will be observed, that if the crucifixion took

place on Friday, according to the common opinion, Matthew would describe the priests as violating the Sabbath by taking a guard and sealing the tomb on the next morning; Mark would make Joseph violate the Sabbath by buying a cloth and burying Jesus on Friday after sunset, though the same Gospel describes the disciples as respecting the Sabbath by not buying their spices till after sunset on Saturday. Luke seems not to have been aware that the Sabbath began at sunset on Friday. He alone clearly describes the disciples as violating the Sabbath. He says that on the night of the crucifixion, when the Sabbath was dawning, Joseph buries the body, and the women prepare spices and ointments; and yet he then adds, "they rested on the Sabbath, according to the commandment." He seems not to have been aware that the Sabbath had already begun with sunset on Friday, and that he was describing a breach of the Sabbath. Thus of the first three Gospels, Luke alone, while shewing a want of familiarity with Jewish customs, places the crucifixion on Friday; the other two will both appear more consistent if we suppose them to place that event on Thursday, and simply to have omitted from their narrative the remark, to a Jewish reader so very unnecessary, that nothing was done on the Sabbath, and hence that none of the events mentioned took place on that day.

The Mishna, in the Treatise Sabbath, would leave us rather in doubt about the act of Joseph in laying Jesus in the tomb on the Sabbath-day, because though it forbids the carrying a corpse to burial on that day (ch. x. 5), yet it allows the anointing and washing it and doing what is barely needful (ch. xxiii. 5): here in the case of a person crucified Joseph would seem to have been allowed to lay it in the tomb, which was close at hand; but the sealing the tomb by the high-priest, mentioned in Matt. xxvii. 66, the buying a cloth, and rolling the stone to the door of the tomb by Joseph, mentioned in Mark xv. 46, the preparing spices and ointments by the women, mentioned in Luke xxiii. 56, are all acts which we must suppose ought to have been done before the commencement of the Sabbath or before the sunset of Friday; and therefore if they were done in the evening, as the narrative leads us to understand, they must have been done either in breach of the Sabbath or in the evening of Thursday.

Of the fourth Gospel we must speak separately; it has its own difficulties in this portion of the narrative. But before doing so we must consider the meaning of the Preparation, which is mentioned in every Gospel as one of the circumstances by which the day of the crucifixion was dated; but in the fourth Gospel is described as the preparation for the Passover, while in the others it must be understood as a preparation for the Sabbath.

The Mishna, in the Treatise Pesachim, says, that "on the evening previous to the 14th of Nisan it is necessary to make search for leaven by the light of a candle;" and "if no search has been made on the evening preceding the 14th, it must be done on that day;" and quotes one Rabbi who says that in that case it must be done early in the morning of the 14th. This ceremony seems to be the preparation meant. It afterwards adds, that "when the 14th of Nisan happens on the Sabbath, all the leaven must be removed before the Sabbath commences." Thus when the Passover is eaten on a Saturday evening, this ceremonial search for leaven, which may very reasonably be called a preparation for the Passover, must be begun on Thursday after sunset, and if not finished then must be finished early on the Friday. In the Syriac Gospels the preparation is named the Gehrevah, meaning the *evening* ceremony, because it was to be performed in the dark by candlelight; it was only in case of omission performed on the following morning.

The fourth Gospel says (xviii. 28), that on the morning of the crucifixion the Jews lead Jesus to the Prætorium of the Roman governor, but go not in themselves, that they might not be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover.

This fear of defilement does not help our inquiry, because such defilement would last a week. We read in Numbers xix. 11, that he that toucheth a dead body shall be unclean for seven days; and in the Mishna, Treatise Pesachim, ch. viii. 8, on the various defilements which will disqualify a man from eating the Passover, that he who has just parted from the uncircumcised must be considered as one who has just parted from a grave.

(Ch. xix. 14.) Pilate gives up Jesus, apparently to the Jews, to be crucified, "and it was the preparation for the Passover, about the sixth hour," or noon.

(Ch. xix. 31.) When Jesus was dead, "the Jews, that the

bodies might not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath, because it was the Preparation, for the day of that Sabbath was an high day," asked to have the bodies removed.

(Ch. xix. 42.) Joseph and Nicodemus bury Jesus, in a tomb already made, as it would seem hurriedly, "because of the Jews' Preparation."*

Now in all this there is nothing to determine the exact day of the crucifixion, except the mention of the Preparation. Our previous reasoning has gone to prove that the Passover was eaten on Saturday evening, and it is confirmed in this case by the custom of the modern Jews, who declare that it must never be eaten on Friday evening, which is the beginning of the Sabbath.† The Preparation was made, or at least begun, on Thursday evening: hence when we are told that the day of the crucifixion was the Preparation, it might be either Thursday or Friday; it might mean it was the day in which the Preparation ought to be made, or that it was the day in which it was completed if omitted on the previous night. But when Jesus is buried, which would seem to have been after sunset, and we are still told that it was the Preparation, and the writer does not say that the Sabbath had begun, the remark would seem to fix the day as Thursday, because by sunset on Friday the Preparation was over and the Sabbath had begun. Opinions may differ about the day meant, but the fourth Gospel cannot be quoted as contradicting that tradition which places the crucifixion on Thursday, the 14th of April.

The determination of the day of the week on which the crucifixion took place is, however, of less importance; our aim has only been to shew that it took place before the Passover supper was eaten, and that in this respect the fourth Gospel is in all probability more correct than the first three, which say that he ate the Passover supper with his disciples before he was crucified. In this matter the fourth Gospel is also confirmed by two of the earliest and least questioned portions of the New Testament: first, the apostle Paul, in 1 Cor. v. 7, calls Jesus the Passover slain for us; and, secondly, the book of Revelation, written pro-

* It is necessary here to depart from the Authorized Version, particularly when it speaks of "the Preparation day," since in the Greek it is simply "the Preparation," and the Syriac Version, as already quoted, makes it rather "the Preparation night."

† See E. H. Lindo's Jewish Calendar.

bably by the apostle John, in chap. v. 6, compares him to a Lamb slain. Both writers must be understood to mean that his death took place shortly before the Passover supper. The fixing the day of the week is chiefly interesting in so far as it agrees with the train of reasoning by which we fix the year. The astronomical argument, founded upon our supposing A.D. 29 to be the year of the crucifixion, gives us Saturday, the 16th of April, for the Passover; and of the three traditions recorded by Clement, that which best agrees with this gives us Thursday, the 14th of April, for the crucifixion; and then it is satisfactory to find that the weight of evidence furnished by the Gospels leans also to a Thursday.

The strongest objection to our train of reasoning is, that the preparation, παρασκευή, is the distinct name of Friday evening in Josephus and in some of the early Christian writers, as being the preparation for the Sabbath; and hence it came to mean the whole day Friday. But it will be observed that of the four Gospels John certainly does not so use the word; he speaks of the preparation for the Passover, not the preparation for the Sabbath. Clement and Tertullian do not so understand it, as they do not propose Friday for the crucifixion. Moreover, it seems improbable that Matthew should be so using it. He speaks of "the morrow, which is after the preparation." Now if that had been the morning of the Sabbath, he would certainly have said so, and not have used such an indirect mode of describing it. Mark, indeed, does explain the preparation as a προσάββατον, or *evening before* a Sabbath. But that does not prove that he means Friday evening, because other solemn days besides Saturday were sometimes called Sabbaths. Thus in Leviticus xvi. 31 and xxiii. 32, the fast day on the tenth of the seventh month is called a Sabbath; and the Sabbath spoken of in Leviticus xxiii. 11, 16, is understood to mean the sixteenth of Nisan, the great day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread. And again, the "second-first Sabbath" spoken of in Luke vi. 1, must be understood to mean, not a Saturday, but a new-moon day in one of those months to which the Jewish calendar allows two new-moon days. Luke alone declares the Preparation to be Friday evening by saying that a Sabbath was dawning.

It is not necessary to say much about the objection that the preparation for the Passover was killing the lamb for

the supper, which took place on the same day, a few hours before sunset, because that is contradicted by Mark and Luke, who place it in the evening after the sunset, and by the Syriac version of the Gospels, which by the word Gehrevah shews that it took place in the dark.

Such, then, are the difficulties in determining the day of the crucifixion, and they may be summed up in the following manner. The first three Gospels say that it was after the Passover; the fourth says that it was before the Passover; and external historical testimony, as we have shewn, decides in favour of the fourth. Again, of the two occasions for the preparation, which was on the same day that the crucifixion took place, Luke alone expressly says that it was on Friday. But if we neglect in Matthew and Mark the mention of the Passover and unleavened bread, those Gospels, as well as John, will be better understood by taking the preparation spoken of to be, not the Friday, but the Thursday evening, without considering for what it was a preparation.

On the Last Supper.

We have thus seen that in the matter of the day of the week on which the Passover was eaten, the weight of evidence rests with the fourth Gospel, rather than with the three others. If we now examine the four accounts of dipping the sop and pointing out Judas as the traitor, we shall see that there also the fourth Gospel carries with it a greater appearance of exactness. We read in John (xiii. 23), correcting the Authorized Version, "Now there was lying at meat in Jesus's bosom one of his disciples whom Jesus loved. To him therefore Simon Peter beckoned to ask who it was of whom he spake. He then, leaning back on Jesus's breast, saith to him, Lord, who is it? Jesus answereth, He it is to whom I shall give the sop when I have dipped it. And after dipping it he giveth it to Judas Iscariot."

Thus John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, was lying on that part of the couch which was said to be in Jesus's bosom; and he thought he was able, by simply leaning back his head, to ask Peter's question so quietly that the others should not hear it either asked or answered. But Jesus, yet more cautious of being heard, tells him that he will answer it by a sign, namely by giving a sop to the suspected traitor. And he does so accordingly. Now if we read this

narrative in Matthew and Mark, we shall see no reason whatever for Jesus pointing out the traitor by a sign, rather than by naming him openly. Luke does not mention the sign, or that any answer was given to the question who would be the traitor; his narrative seems to be incomplete. But Matthew and Mark, if incomplete, are faultily so; they mention the sign of dipping into the dish, but fail to explain to us why it was used. The fourth Gospel alone does this, and thereby gains a claim to be thought in this matter also more trustworthy than the others.

ON THE DRIVING THE DEALERS OUT OF THE TEMPLE-YARD.

Before attempting to form a chronological table of the ministry, which can be formed for the fourth Gospel only, we must consider one important passage in which John is contradicted by the three other evangelists. This is in the driving the dealers out of the temple-yard shortly before a Passover. John places this at the beginning of the ministry, and the others at the end. Here, I think, we may safely rely on Matthew, Mark and Luke, and consider the passage in John (ii. 13—iii. 21) as being out of place, for the following reasons:

First, after this act and the conversation with Nicodemus in Jerusalem, we are told, iii. 22, that Jesus and his disciples go into Judea, which could hardly be said at that time when the division of the land into twelve tribes was forgotten, and the whole country was divided into Galilee, Samaria and Judea. At that time Jerusalem was in Judea, and travellers could hardly be described as going from Jerusalem into Judea.

Secondly, the driving the dealers out of the court of the Gentiles, with the approval, which it must have had, of the surrounding multitude, was an act of such political importance, that we may well consider it as one of the reasons for the rulers wishing to have Jesus removed out of their way, as a popular teacher who was interfering with their authority. In the other Gospels this act naturally follows upon his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, with a crowd of believers who had accepted him as a prophet.

Thirdly, if this act and the Passover which is mentioned with it are allowed to stand in their present place, then the fourth Gospel mentions three Passovers as falling within

the time of the ministry. This would require us to allow to it a space of more than two years; whereas we have seen reason to believe that the ministry was limited to one year and seven months.

For these reasons I think we may follow Matthew, Mark and Luke, in thinking that the cleansing of the temple-yard did not take place sooner than a few days before the crucifixion. The removal of this act to a later part of the history will carry with it not only the conversation with Nicodemus, but the very important remark that it was already forty-six years from when Herod began to re-build the temple.

Of our four histories of the ministry, Matthew, Mark and Luke give no hint of the time of year in which any event happens, except in the case of the crucifixion, and of one other event, which we see was at the time of the harvest. But John has many such hints, besides mentioning the occasion of six Jewish feasts. By the help of these we may form a chronological table of the ministry, at least for the fourth Gospel. For determining the time occupied by the events in the other Gospels we have no such helps; and we shall confine ourselves to the fourth Gospel, making no use of the others except for two particulars—first, we shall borrow from Luke that the baptism took place in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; and we shall be guided, as we have said, by the three Synoptics, as they are sometimes called, in considering Christ's driving the dealers out of the temple-yard as having happened on this last visit to Jerusalem, and in thinking the passage, John ii. 13—iii. 21, out of its proper place, and in thus reducing the number of feasts mentioned to five.

TABLE OF CHRONOLOGY OF CHRIST'S MINISTRY.

A.D. 27.

Aug. 29. New-year's-day, and the first day of the fifteenth year of Tiberius. Soon afterwards Jesus is baptized by John, Luke iii. 1.

[*Note.* The visit to Jerusalem and cleansing the temple-yard at the Passover of John ii. 13—iii. 21, belong to the last Passover.]

Oct. John is baptizing in Ænon, John iii. 23, probably before the rains in November, when the crowds could not be abroad. Jesus goes into Judea.

A.D. 27.
Dec. There are yet four months to the harvest, which was to begin in April, John iv. 35. He is in Samaria at Jacob's Well.

Dec. There was a feast of the Jews, probably the Dedication, John v. 1. Jesus goes to Jerusalem.

A.D. 28.
Mar. The Passover is at hand, John vi. 4. Jesus is beyond the Lake of Galilee.

[*Note.* Between John vi. 4 and vii. 1, the events of six months are passed over unmentioned. They are described in the other Gospels, and assigned to this space of time by the mention of the wheat harvest, which is in May. See Matthew xii. 1; Mark ii. 23; Luke vi. 1.]

Sept. Now the Jews' Feast of Tabernacles was at hand, John vii. 1. Jesus goes to Jerusalem from Galilee.

Dec. Jesus is still in Jerusalem at the Feast of Dedication, John x. 22.

A.D. 29.
April 2. The moon was new at Jerusalem on Saturday, one hour after sunset, according to Professor Adams and Mr. Hind.

April 3. This is the first day of the month Nisan, being the day of the new moon.

April 10. Jesus arrives in Bethany six days before the Passover, John xii. 1. This is a Sunday.

In this week he drives the dealers out of the temple-yard. This was forty-six years and some months after Herod began to re-build the temple, John ii. 20. According to Matthew, Mark and Luke, this was on his last visit to Jerusalem.

April 14. On Thursday Jesus is crucified at noon. It is the day of the preparation for the Passover, John xix. 14. This is the 12th day of Nisan.

April 14. On Thursday evening after sunset was the preparation, or ceremonial search for leaven. Not twenty-three hours before the Passover as usual, because that would have been during the Sabbath; but a day and twenty-three hours before, as the Passover was eaten on Saturday evening. See the Mishna. During the night Joseph and

A.D. 29. Nicodemus embalm and bury Jesus, John xix. 38.

April 15. No event of Friday during the daylight is here mentioned. See Matt. xxvii. 62, where the obtaining the guard and sealing the tomb belong to this day.

April 15. At sunset on Friday the Sabbath begins, when neither the preparation nor the purchase of the cloth nor embalmment could have taken place.

April 16. Saturday the 14th day of Nisan, when the Passover is eaten in the evening.

April 17. On Sunday, the first day of the week, the disciples find the tomb empty, John xx. 1. It is three full days, wanting only six hours, from the crucifixion on Thursday.

POSTSCRIPT.—The reader would do well to look at my friend Mr. J. J. Tayler's late work on the fourth Gospel, in which he has done me the favour to quote my opinion, so far as I had then published it, that the external evidence was on the side of the fourth Gospel, rather than of the first three, in regard to the day of the Passover in the year of the crucifixion. Mr. Tayler does not think my reasoning conclusive. He is of opinion that the year of the crucifixion is not known with such certainty as to allow us to found an astronomical argument upon it; and that the fourth Gospel, while agreeing, as he believes, with the Synoptists as to the days of the week, has, for reasons which he thinks are not obscurely indicated by it, put the crucifixion on the 14th of Nisan, instead of on the 15th, where he thinks the Synoptists put it, or on the 12th, where I put it; and further that the fourth Gospel cannot be quoted as historical authority against the other three. But I would remark on the other side, that while Mr. Tayler has rightly shewn that the religious opinions of the fourth Gospel cannot be those of the apostle John, yet it is very possible that the writer may have received from the apostle, or elsewhere, accurate information about the Last Supper, and may have used that information in his narrative, although at the same time he was giving to the speeches the colour of his own philosophy.

SAMUEL SHARPE.

II.—THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

THE few words which stand at the head of this article give rise to some of the most difficult and complicated questions that can agitate the human mind. What is the kingdom of God? What is its fundamental idea? How is it constituted? Of whom is it composed? Where is it to be found? What are its conditions of citizenship? By what laws is it governed, and by whom are its laws administered? What are its relations to other kingdoms? These questions may receive almost infinitely various answers according to men's religious and intellectual culture, and, we may add, according to their interests and prejudices. Admitting the kingdom of God to be a very solemn reality, yet men can describe it no farther than they have been permitted to explore it, and their views must partake of the imperfection of human observation and thought; and it is with much diffidence that we direct attention to an aspect of the subject which seems to us peculiarly important at the present day.

We cannot attempt, within the limits of an article, to discuss all the questions indicated above, or even any one of them exhaustively. We would only offer a few suggestions as to the fundamental conception which we ought to form of the kingdom of God, leaving it to the thoughtful reader to test the soundness of our conclusion, and to deduce those consequences which bear more directly upon the solution of the other questions which might be brought under consideration.

To those who look to Christ as the greatest of spiritual teachers, and who feel that his words shed a light upon their own thought, it will not appear an erroneous method of gaining instruction to ascertain, if possible, his fundamental idea of the kingdom of God. Unfortunately, this is not so easy a task as it might appear, for the evidence on the subject is somewhat conflicting; and although "the kingdom of God," or synonymous expressions, occur upwards of one hundred times in the four Gospels, yet we are rather informed of the general principles of its government and progress than furnished with any precise notion of its nature and constitution. Even in asserting that any obscurity rests

upon this subject we find ourselves already at variance with the author of a recent anonymous work, which has deservedly attracted a large share of attention. We refer to the author of "Ecce Homo," whose freshness of thought and clearness of style give a peculiar charm to his views, and whose unpretending and earnest confidence in his own conclusions almost disarms the criticism of the reader. To him apparently there is no obscurity. Christ's plan is presented in sharply-defined outlines, and the possibility of a difference of opinion is hardly contemplated, or noticed only to be dismissed as absurd. This writer represents upon the point in question, certainly with an original vigour and delightful absence of conventional phrases, what we believe is the ordinary view; and it may be worth our while briefly to examine the grounds on which it rests. But first let us have the view itself distinctly before us.

In his chapter on "the Kingdom of God," the writer succinctly describes Christ's conception in the following words: "He conceived the theocracy restored as it had been in the time of David, with a visible monarch at its head, and that monarch himself."* Again, he says that Christ's object was "to create a new society which should stand in a peculiar relation to God, and which should have a legislation different from and higher than that which springs up in secular states;"† and this society was "the Christian Church."‡ "He undertook to be the Father of an everlasting state, and the Legislator of a world-wide society."§ "Christ announced himself as the Founder and Legislator of a new Society."‖ So he speaks in different places of a "divine society," and affirms that "to organize a society, and to bind the members of it together by the closest ties, were the business of" Christ's life.¶ That the idea of a society is with the writer fundamental appears still more plainly when he says, "When the Divine Society was established and organized, what did he expect it to accomplish? To the question we may suppose he would have answered, The object of the Divine Society is that God's will may be done on earth as it is done in heaven."** Thus we gather that the kingdom of God is neither more nor less than the

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* P. 24. † P. 36. ‡ See pp. 36 and 92. § P. 36.
‖ P. 50. ¶ P. 92. ** P. 89.

Christian Church regarded as a definite organized community; and as still further fixing that idea, we must not forget that in the opinion of the author baptism is an indispensable condition of citizenship in that kingdom. In other words, the kingdom of God is a visible kingdom which exists on certain definite parts of the earth's surface, and which you may formally enter on a given day, but to which you cannot be admitted unbaptized.

Our author is, if possible, still more explicit in asserting that Christ determined to be the visible monarch of this kingdom, and that in no metaphorical sense. He says, "Christ laid claim to the royal title;"* "he calls himself habitually King and Master;"† he "continued to speak of himself as king, and that with such consistency and clearness, that those who were nearest to his person understood him most literally;"‡ he "presented himself to the nation as their king;"§ "he took his title from the community he founded and ruled, and called himself king;"‖ "Christ in describing himself as a king, and at the same time as king of the kingdom of God—in other words, as a king representing the majesty of the Invisible King of a theocracy—claimed the character, first of Founder, next of Legislator, thirdly, in a certain high and peculiar sense, of Judge, of a new divine society."¶

So confident is the writer in the soundness of this position, that he quietly states that in assuming it he has not "entered into controvertible matter,"** and that to dispute it is possible "only to those who altogether deny the credibility of the extant biographies of Christ."†† And he seems to consider it peculiarly meritorious that he has "not rested upon single passages, nor drawn upon the fourth Gospel."‡‡ Perhaps if he had depended upon "single passages," and sounded the depths of "the fourth Gospel," he might have been somewhat shaken in his conviction. It is generally considered a sound method to base one's judgment upon facts; and in a question of this kind it is particularly necessary, for general impressions, although useful to give breadth to the view, are peculiarly liable to be tinged by our prejudices. Those who believe in the saving efficacy

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* P. 24. † P. 25. ‡ P. 31. § P. 31. ‖ P. 93.
¶ P. 40. ** P. 41. †† P. 41. ‡‡ P. 41.

of a Church, and the necessity of an outward symbol like baptism, will probably derive from the Gospels a very different impression from that of one who conceives that special organizations can be nothing higher than the earthly and temporary auxiliaries of the great spiritual kingdom. On each side our views may be coloured, and surely the correcting process must be an appeal to single passages.

How, then, is the statement justified that Christ "calls himself *habitually* king," and "had his royal title *often* in his mouth"? This statement must be the result of *impression;* the *facts* are these: Christ once speaks of "the Son of Man" as "king," in a passage where he speaks of men as "sheep" and "goats;" and he repeats the title before the conclusion of what may perhaps be justly regarded as a parable. We refer to the description of the final judgment.* Twice the title is applied to him by others; once by Nathanael,† and once by the crowd that escorted him with acclamations to Jerusalem;‡ and he did not disclaim the title. Once, at his trial before Pilate, he admits the title.§ To this we must add the number of times in which he refers to his kingdom. These appear to be four: once he mentions the kingdom of "the Son of Man," in the explanation of a parable;‖ once he speaks of the "coming" of "the Son of Man" "in his kingdom;"¶ once he uses the words "my kingdom," when he appoints a kingdom to his apostles and promises that they shall eat and drink at his table, and sit on thrones;** and, lastly, he speaks of "my kingdom," when he explains to Pilate that it was not one which need excite Roman jealousy.†† This is certainly very slender evidence on which to base the strong assertions of Ecce Homo, and will probably be considered surprisingly small when we remember the circumstances of the time. The Jews seem to have expected the "theocracy" to be "restored as it had been in the time of David, with a visible monarch at its head;" and the exercise of actual sovereignty probably formed in their minds the most distinguished func-

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* Matt. xxv. 31—46.
† John i. 49.
‡ Luke xix. 38 and John xii. 13.
§ Matt. xxvii. 11; Mark xv. 2; Luke xxiii. 3; John xviii. 37.
‖ Matt. xiii. 41.
¶ Matt. xvi. 28.
** Luke xxii. 29, 30.
†† John xviii. 36.

tion of the Messiah. In the midst of such an expectation it was a matter of the greatest delicacy, even in dealing with attached followers, to infuse a more spiritual conception, and to raise the mind to the idea that the Christ was not "Son of David," but "Son of God," and that he came "not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life as a ransom." In unfolding his own thoughts, Jesus would naturally, and almost inevitably, adopt to some extent the language of the time, both because it would be most familiar to himself, and because it is necessary for a popular teacher to attach his ideas to those which already exist in the minds of his hearers. It is not wonderful, therefore, that he should on four occasions speak of his rule in the hearts of those who loved him under the figure of a kingdom, and that he should twice allow the ascription to him of the title of king to pass without notice. This certainly does not amount to an habitual claim of the royal title in a literal sense.

This evidence is still further weakened when we examine the usage of the New Testament in regard to this regal language. This language is unquestionably used to a certain extent in a figurative sense. Thus the word "reign" is employed in reference to sin and death by St. Paul;* but what is more remarkable, the same word, "reign," is in the whole New Testament applied twice to Christ,† and six times to his followers.‡ Beyond the four Gospels the title "king" is twice given to the disciples of Christ,§ and three times to himself; once in a charge brought against St. Paul before the authorities at Thessalonica,‖ a charge of high treason being the one to which they were most likely to pay serious attention; and twice in that very imaginative book the Apocalypse.¶ These instances may help to justify us in supposing that the words "king" and "kingdom" may be used in a metaphorical sense in reference to Christ, and that they are to be classed among the numerous comparisons by which the great Teacher endeavours to raise our minds to the apprehension of spiritual truth.

This leads us to notice somewhat more fully almost the

* Romans v. 14, 17, 21, and vi. 12. † Luke i. 33, and 1 Cor. xv. 25.

‡ Rom. v. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 8; Rev. v. 10, xx. 4 and 6 (these two verses imply also the reign of Christ), and Rev. xxii. 5.

§ Rev. i. 6 and v. 10. ‖ Acts xvii. 7. ¶ Rev. xvii. 14 and xix. 16.

only piece of evidence which the author of "Ecce Homo" brings in support of his incontrovertible position. He alludes to the explanation at which we have hinted, and concludes his remarks thus: "It is clear that this assumption of royalty was the ground of his execution. The inscription which was put upon his cross ran, This is Jesus, *the King of the Jews.* He had himself provoked this accusation of rebellion against the Roman government: he must have known that the language he used would be interpreted so. Was there, then, nothing substantial in the royalty he claimed? Did he die for a metaphor?"* This appears to us a singularly one-sided account of Christ's trial and execution. There is no hint of any but the one charge against him; and we are allowed to suppose that this charge arose from the watchfulness of the Roman authorities, and that his death was inflicted with their full sanction and approval. Again we must appeal to facts. The four narratives of the trial are in some minor details inconsistent with one another; but on the whole they agree, and in an interesting way supplement one another's deficiencies. The following statements, we think, will be found correct. The claims of Jesus, whatever they may have been, do not appear in the least to have awakened Roman jealousy. Even the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, when the crowds shouted, "Blessed is the king that cometh in the name of the Lord," was allowed to pass as an innocent occurrence in connection with the national feast. The accusation of rebellion originated with the Jews, and was forced by them on the unwilling attention of the Roman government; and when Pilate investigated the case, he was thoroughly satisfied that the charge was false, so that if any explanation was required of the title which Jesus admitted, it is evident that sufficient was given to establish the frivolity of the accusation. Being a weak and unprincipled man, Pilate sacrificed Jesus to popular clamour, and endeavoured to ease his conscience by publicly declaring his conviction of the perfect innocence of his victim, and throwing the responsibility on others. The charge itself, or what we may presume to be the substance of it, is given in one of the accounts,† and from it we may judge both of its truthful-

* P. 28. † Luke xxiii. 2.

ness and its origin. One clause of the indictment accuses Christ of "forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar." This clause was a simple falsehood; may not the others have been highly coloured? The main charge is expressed thus: "Saying that he himself is Christ, a king;" and this way of stating it suggests that the appended title, "king," was added only by way of malicious inference from the name of "Christ," because "the Christ" was expected to be a king. In order to accomplish their ends it was necessary for his enemies to concoct some plausible charge to bring before Pilate, for they had not in their own hands the power of life and death; and the charge of making himself king was the one most likely to engage the interest of a Roman governor. So palpable, however, was the fabrication, and so unsupported by evidence, that Pilate perceived that envy was its real ground. So much for the charge prepared for Roman ears: what was the offence for which the Jews condemned him themselves? The author of Ecce Homo says "the Jews procured his execution," because "they could not forgive him for claiming royalty, and at the same time rejecting the use of physical force."* In the Gospels the accounts of the proceedings before the high-priest contain no allusion to any such ground of umbrage. There is no hint of the assumption of royalty till it becomes necessary to obtain the Roman sanction; and according to one account they ingenuously confessed to Pilate that the real cause of their dislike was that he claimed to be the Son of God.† At the opening of the trial his enemies seem to have been rather perplexed to find any charge capable of support. The evidence of suborned witnesses broke down. A statement that he had threatened to destroy the temple seemed likely to be successful; but according to one account this also failed. At last they convicted him for blasphemy, because in their presence he admitted that he was the Son of God.

Such, then, is the evidence that Christ claimed to be "a visible monarch," literally "a king," and that he "attached great importance"‡ to the royal title. He died, not for a metaphor, not even because he said that he was a king, for on this charge Pilate repeatedly declared that there was no

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* P. 29. † John xix. 7. ‡ P. 28.

ground for anything but an acquittal, but because religious hatred had determined that he should be murdered, with a due appearance of zeal for the glory of God and the maintenance of justice; and had resolved that the ears of hypocrites should no more tingle with his rebukes, or formalists feel abashed beneath his sincere and searching eye.

With this examination falls also the principal evidence that Christ regarded the kingdom of God as a definite organized society. Hardly any evidence is offered of this position, except the fact that the Jews regarded the theocracy from this point of view. No single passage is adduced which forces upon us such an interpretation. The words themselves do not require it, and probably require it less in the Greek than in the English, the word translated "kingdom" denoting not so much the community ruled by a king, as the abstract idea of sovereignty or kingship. The word "church" would be more definite; but as Christ speaks of his church only once in the whole of the four Gospels,* we may perhaps infer that he did not attach any primary importance to the idea.

It would appear, then, that only evidence of a very unsubstantial character is adduced in behalf of the ordinary interpretation, which identifies the kingdom of God with the Christian church. This interpretation appears to us to be a simple assumption, which sometimes requires a forced explanation of Christ's words, and frequently conceals the breadth and spirituality of his views. It is not pretended, so far as we are aware, that he gives any precise definition of the kingdom of God; and it will hardly be maintained that, because, in common with the rest of his countrymen, he regarded that kingdom as a reality, and therefore employed an expression which was in general use, he accepted the current Jewish ideas on the subject. Our knowledge of a reality may continually increase; and accordingly, while we retain the same name in order to denote the sameness of the real object, the ideas which the name excites in our minds may undergo a constant variation. Thus we all apply the same name, God, to the Supreme Being, though some may regard Him as capricious and unjust, others as all-loving and all-righteous. The retention of the same name

* Matt. xvi. 18.

represents our common conviction that God is a reality independent of our thoughts; and it would be unfair to argue that, because any one speaks of God, he therefore accepts all the popular conceptions of Him. In the same manner, Christ might speak of the kingdom of God without at all intending to sanction the popular impression; for the reality remains the same, whether we regard it as a sensual paradise, an organized church, or an unseen spiritual rule.

In the absence, then, of any precise definition, what is the proper method of ascertaining Christ's fundamental idea of God's kingdom? Is it not patiently to examine every single passage in which he speaks of it, and discover, if possible, the one underlying thought which gives the most satisfactory meaning to them all? And in making such an examination, ought we not to attach the most importance to the most original and characteristic sayings, and to make some allowance for figures and modes of expression which were current at the time, or would arise naturally out of prevailing ideas? This induction of instances and weighing of their relative importance, this rigorous testing of our theory by single passages, is surely the only legitimate way of conducting our inquiry, and alone can lead to a correct result. It would, however, be tedious and uninteresting to attempt here such an examination as has been proposed; and it will be better, simply gathering up results, to lay before the reader a different interpretation from that ordinarily given, and to leave it to his own patience and ingenuity to test its accuracy by a careful examination.

It seems to us that the fundamental idea of the kingdom of God is simply that of the reign of God in the human soul. We believe that Christ conceived a spiritual theocracy, with an invisible monarch at its head, and that monarch God. This is what the words themselves naturally suggest; and whatever else may be included, or whatever inferences we may draw, it can hardly be denied that this idea is primary and essential. Granting that the sovereignty of God is to be found only in some definite organized community, still a community in which men did not religiously acknowledge that sovereignty could not be spoken of with any propriety as "the kingdom of God;" and therefore the idea of the divine rule is more fundamental than that of a divine society, and we must never, by fixing our attention

too exclusively on the latter, allow our vision of the former to be obscured.

Adopting this as our central thought, it is easy to arrive at one or two derivative meanings. The idea of the divine rule passes by a natural transition into that of the principles and dispositions adapted to, or induced by, the divine rule; and hence "the kingdom of God" may denote the reign of truth and goodness in the human soul. In this sense it is almost synonymous with what, in modern phraseology, we call the spiritual or religious life. Adopting this meaning, we can understand the expression, "*receive* the kingdom of God," a form of words which is hardly applicable to a community. We may receive truths or principles, but it would be harsh to speak of receiving the Christian church as a little child. We may explain also in this sense St. Paul's words, "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power;"* the religious life does not consist of empty professions, but is a living force in the heart. And again, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit;"† the religious life is not composed of scruples about particular kinds of food, but of holy and tranquil dispositions. This meaning will be found applicable to a large portion of Christ's teaching, and many of the parables about the kingdom of God admit of an easy and unforced explanation when we regard them as descriptive of the progress of goodness and truth in the souls of men.

Other modes of expression arise from the fact that the word "king" is a relative term. Sovereignty implies not only a person by whom it is exercised, but also a people over whom it is exercised, and, generally speaking, a territory in which the people live. Hence we hear of *entering* the kingdom of God, of sitting down, and eating and drinking in it, and even of its keys, as though it were a fortified territory with a gate. These expressions may no doubt be interpreted as referring to the Christian church; but if we accept them as figurative, the figure is certainly not strained or far-fetched. Even in our less imaginative country and age, we may speak, without fear of being misunderstood, of entering the kingdom of truth, of passing the narrow gate-

* 1 Cor. iv. 20. † Rom. xiv. 17.

ways of knowledge or goodness, and even of sitting down to participate in "the feast of reason." In using such language we do not ascribe locality literally to truth, or propose to enrol our names in the books of a society.

It may be said, however, that God's rule implies necessarily a people whom He rules, and that therefore we arrive, in the most literal sense, at the idea of a community, even if that idea be not the fundamental one. To this it may be replied, that although God's kingdom implies a people over whom He reigns, yet this people need not form a definite organized society; and it is a question which demands careful consideration, whether the people of God, "the sons of the kingdom," as Christ calls them, constitute a determinate or an indeterminate community.

This inquiry is so closely connected with the former part of our investigation, that we must pause, not indeed to give it a full discussion, but to point out, in regard to it, the natural deduction from our central thought. If the kingdom of God be really the reign of God in the soul, it is an obvious inference from this fundamental idea that its one condition of citizenship must be a surrender of the human will to the divine, a sincere and heartfelt acknowledgment that God is the King to whom an absolute obedience is due. It is true, men's obedience may be imperfect, their conceptions rude, their knowledge of God's will incomplete. But if with earnest purpose and endeavour they maintain their loyalty, they assuredly may be reckoned among those who do the will of God and stand within the borders of His kingdom. Accordingly we find that this is the one condition which Christ lays down for admission to the kingdom of God—"Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." These are words of weighty import, not wrapt in any figurative obscurity, but bearing the clear, strong mark of the greatest among souls. If men enthrone God in their hearts, and worship Him in spirit, till the commandments of His love seem inscribed in living flame upon their souls, then they will be within His kingdom, and need not wait for any ghostly ordinance to confirm their admission; but if they disown His sovereignty, violate His law, and make their own will supreme, then, though the oldest and proudest of

churches may claim them as its own, they will be excluded from the kingdom of God. If we are thus furnished with the true condition of citizenship, can we pretend to determine the subjects of God's kingdom by their sect or their locality? Are they not rather scattered over the face of the globe, some within, some without, every possible religious organization? Thus we arrive at the idea of an indeterminate community of the people of God, which transcends the limits of all our artificial plans, which is broader than all visible churches, and which, like a viewless spirit, slips away and escapes us whenever we attempt to confine it within the bands of our most carefully devised schemes, and to throw around its whole extent the line of even the most comprehensive and catholic association.

The thought of the people of God opens, however, another meaning which the words under discussion may, we think, sometimes bear. A society in which every member acknowledged the sovereignty of God, and in which the reign of evil principles should have utterly passed away, could alone satisfy our aspirations. So long as sin and falsehood assert their power, good men sigh for a better land. Our hopes look forward to an ideal society in heaven: and in the New Testament an indefinite time is spoken of, called "the completion of the age" (translated "the end of the world"), when the righteous shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father, and the evil be exiled into their own darkness. "The kingdom of God" is, we think, sometimes used in a pre-eminent sense to denote this ideal society, this gathering of the saints from the four winds, when—to borrow the ancient form of conception—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the prophets, shall meet the great company of the elect. This interpretation would apply most readily to a few passages in which the kingdom is spoken of under the figure of an inheritance. In his description of the last judgment, Christ speaks of the righteous as inheriting the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world, and describes by these words their entrance into the final blessedness of the good, in that world where no wicked shall be found. There are also a few passages in St. Paul's Epistles in which he affirms that persons guilty of certain sins "shall not inherit the kingdom of God;" and this statement may be understood as a

warning that they shall not be deemed worthy of admission to the ideal society of the blessed, and God will not acknowledge them when He gathers His own to Himself.

The passages about inheritance, however, dimly shadow forth a broader and higher truth. The faithful discharge of the great duties of life is the needful proof of our loyalty to God, and only by fidelity can men become possessors of the divine realm of sinless purity and cloudless truth. And, on the other hand, every gross form of wickedness is utterly and for ever inconsistent with any heartfelt acknowledgment of God's reign in the soul, and no man can attain to real religious eminence who violates the fundamental principles of morality. The mention of inheritance conveys also this further thought,—God's children may share in his beneficent rule. To inherit a kingdom is to become a king; and where God's Spirit holds dominion, it makes its royal power felt through him who is a son and heir of God. Hence "the sons of the kingdom" are themselves kings, and by their unfeigned submission to the Lord of all become in their own persons invested with lordship. This lordly power shall not be exercised by the bad and immoral. No unholy person shall be a spiritual king. Only he who obeys the word of God shall utter it with a divine authority, and enjoy that most regal gift, the ability to sway the hearts of his fellow-men for good, and direct their steps into the kingdom of righteousness and truth.

The above thoughts may easily be tested and elaborated by those who feel an interest in the subject. For us it remains only to sum up in a few words the results of our examination. The kingdom of God is not an organized society, a visible church, but a spiritual empire, which we enter, not by change of place, but by change of heart. It is the reign of God within the soul, the dominion of goodness and truth, that unseen realm where in temples made without hands the spirit bows down to the Father of all, its King and its God.

JAMES DRUMMOND.

III.—THE YOUTH OF ERASMUS.

NOT more than twelve years had elapsed since the capture of Constantinople, nor more than ten from the printing of the first book; Greek was just beginning to be taught in the University of Paris, and not a Greek volume had yet issued from the press; the darkness of the middle ages was slowly rising—the light gradually stealing westwards;—when there was born in obscurity a child who was destined himself to be a bright luminary in the firmament of letters, and to exercise no mean influence in preparing the way for that better time which by contrast may be called the age of light. This was Desiderius Erasmus, as he chose afterwards to call himself, translating into Latin and Greek, after the fashion of the times, his Dutch name of Gerard (the Beloved), having found out too late—luckily, perhaps, as regards euphony—that the more correct form would have been Erasmius:—born at Rotterdam, October 28, 1465.* His parents were Margaret, daughter of one Peter, a physician of Zevenbergen, in Brabant, and Gerard—pledged to one another, some say, and we may charitably hope, by vows before Heaven; for it is certain that their union was sanctioned by no human law. Gerard's home was Tergouw, one of the most flourishing cities of Brabant. He was a man of a merry disposition, fond of joking and pleasantry, the youngest but one of ten brothers, and had been destined by his parents, Elias and Catherine, for the Church. These worthy people no doubt supposed that out of so large a family they owed at least one to God, and if they thus forbade marriage, they may have been themselves not a little to blame for the way in which their famous grandson was brought into the world. Of the union between Gerard and Margaret, Erasmus was the last, but not the only fruit. He had a brother, nearly three years older than himself, named Peter. What had become of this brother, or in whose charge he might be when Erasmus was born, we are not informed; but probably the same good grandmother who took in the second infant, had previously given a home to the first. It would seem as if, after the birth of his eldest son, Gerard

* There is some uncertainty about the year. The inscription of the statue at Rotterdam gives 1467, but the earlier date seems preferable.

had obtained the forgiveness of his parents by some kind of promise that his fault should not be repeated; for Margaret's pregnancy for the second time was followed by a burst of displeasure from the relatives on both sides, in consequence of which he left his home and his future babe, and betook himself to Rome, where he applied himself to the study of the law, intending no doubt to make that his profession, and at the same time of Greek and Latin. Meantime the infant came into the world, and was taken home by its grandmother, whose heart must have relented towards Margaret also, and given her a shelter under the same roof. How it fared with Gerard and his studies in Rome is not recorded, nor whether he was interfered with by Paul II., who at that time filled the Papal chair and was a bitter enemy of secular learning; nor whether he chanced to see Lorenzo, afterwards styled the Magnificent, who in the following year paid a visit to his Holiness. Very soon poor Gerard had more serious things to think of than Greek and Latin and Law. News came from home that his Margaret was dead; and no engagement he had with her need any longer stand in the way of his taking orders, and thus accomplishing the wishes of his parents. He was overwhelmed with grief. His love for Margaret had been fervent and unwavering. That love must now be buried in her grave, and he would bury all human love with it. Why should he any longer hesitate to take that fatal step which would render marriage impossible, and all love for woman a sin? He would now gratify his parents, since he had no longer any object for which to live in this world. He gave himself up to religion and submitted to ordination. On his return home, some time afterwards, Margaret met him alive and well. The old people, in fact, had put this deception upon him that he might be induced to become a priest; and as their story produced the desired effect so admirably, it must have been well told. Strange power of superstition to make these people not only deliberately resolve that their son should sacrifice his natural affections on the altar of a mistaken piety, but fancy they were doing God service in carrying out this purpose by means of a wicked falsehood! Margaret never married. She at least remained constant to her first love; and though Erasmus was taunted with his illegitimacy during his lifetime, the world will not now bear too

hardly upon a fault which circumstances mitigated, which fidelity atoned for, and which produced so splendid a result.

At four years old the little Gerard was sent to school. There is a local tradition that he was dull and slow at learning, and it is said that Dutch Vrows whose sons were more than commonly thick-headed used to comfort themselves with the name of Erasmus;—a very unlikely story, it must be confessed, first, because stupidity is the normal condition of Dutch men,* and still more, it may be presumed, of Dutch children; and secondly, because, even were it otherwise, no amount of dulness would be likely to be remembered in the case of a child just learning to read and write. And Erasmus cannot have remained very long at the school in Tergouw, for we learn that, while still a mere child, he was taken to Utrecht, to fill a place in the choir in the cathedral of that city. At the age of nine he went to Deventer, a thriving town on the Yssel, now, and perhaps then also, celebrated for its gingerbread *(Deventer Koek)*, but more honourably known at that time as the seat of a somewhat celebrated school belonging to the "Brothers of the Common Life." This fraternity, not bound by indissoluble vows, differing from the mendicant orders in the fact that they did not beg, but on the contrary maintained themselves by manual labour, having at least a partial community of goods, and distinguished generally by their strict lives and fervent devotion, were among the earliest promoters of the revival of letters in Germany and the Low Countries, where they had many schools for the education of youth. That of Deventer, planned by Gerard Groot, and founded in the year 1400, seems to have been the first; and there Erasmus learned Latin and Greek as well as it could be taught through the barbarous handbooks then in use. The Latin taught to the junior forms at least, was the impure Latinity of the Middle Ages. The great authors of Greece and Rome were now easily accessible to the learned, but the manuscript copies and printed editions were as yet too rare to admit of their being thumbed by school-boys, for whom, moreover, it has always been thought necessary to make learning as disagreeable as possible. Printing in

* The Dutch have been always proverbial for their stupidity. In the *Praise of Folly*, Erasmus makes Folly speak of "Hollandi mei"—my Dutchmen.

Greek had scarcely begun. There had not yet been published an edition of any Greek author. There was no such thing as a Greek grammar; that of Constantine Lascar was printed at Milan in 1476, but it was probably some time before it became known on this side the Alps. There was no such thing as a Greek lexicon: the very imperfect one of Cranston appeared in 1480, after Erasmus had left Deventer. Accordingly, it is not wonderful that our student was unable, when grown up and with his mind enriched with all the learning of Greece and Rome, to look back on these first years of his school life with much satisfaction. The studies, he says, were barbarous. "Heavens!" he exclaims in one of his letters, "what an age was that when the stanzas of John Garland used to be dunned into us with tiresome and laboured criticisms; when a great part of our time was wasted in composing, repeating and studying nonsensical verses!" In the end, however, it did not fare altogether badly with his studies; for before leaving school, which he did at the age of thirteen, he had the plays of Terence at his fingers' ends; or, according to another statement, the whole of Terence and Horace by heart. He had, besides, during the last year or two of his stay at Deventer, the advantage of instruction in Greek from Alexander Hegius, at that time head-master, who had himself learned that language from Rodolph Agricola, one of the principal restorers of learning in Germany. Erasmus, indeed, does not give his master credit for any thorough knowledge of the Greek language, contenting himself with the somewhat doubtful praise that he was "not altogether ignorant of it;" but this was said from the vantage-ground of very profound learning, and Hegius in having any acquaintance with Greek had the merit of knowing what at the time was known to very few. While at Deventer, it was the good fortune of Erasmus, as he esteemed it, to see Agricola, and no doubt he looked on that great scholar, then just returned from Italy, with wondering eyes. There is a story how Agricola, having asked to see the exercises written by the pupils of his friend Hegius, found that of Erasmus the best of all, and was particularly struck by the purity of the style, the aptness of the illustrations, and the ability displayed in the composition; and how he looked into his face, saying, "You will one day be a great man."

Another similar story tells much the same thing of John Sintheimus, or Zinthius, one of the best masters of the school, who is also said to have foretold the future eminence of his pupil. "Go on, Erasmus," said he, kissing him; "hereafter you will reach the highest pinnacle of learning." His studies at Deventer, however, were rudely interrupted, though not perhaps before he had learned all that the school could teach, by an outbreak of the plague. His mother, who had accompanied her son in order to watch over him, was one of the victims, and all the inmates of the house in which Erasmus lived were carried away. He of course returned to Tergouw.

During this period of his life we may picture Erasmus as a quiet, thoughtful boy of delicate make, with the yellow hair and blue eyes of his country, fonder of his book or a discussion, grave or merry, with his school-mates, than of their rougher sports; very precocious, and with abundance of that contempt which sharp boys always have for dullards; serious too, and disposed to a grave observance of all the little forms which religious parents taught their children in those days. Among the Colloquies there is a charming dialogue, called "Youthful Piety," which may well be descriptive of the boyish feelings and habits of the writer, but which in any case is true to nature, and represents the daily life of many a boy of the period. As nothing can enable us better to understand the time than a picture of the time drawn by one who lived in it and knew it well, a part of this dialogue is here put into English.

ERASMUS, GASPAR.

ER. Where have you been? The pastry-cook's? GA. Nonsense. ER. Having a game at ball? GA. No, indeed. ER. Drinking wine then? GA. You are quite wrong. ER. Since I can't guess, tell me yourself. GA. At the church of the Holy Virgin. ER. What had you to do there? GA. I went to salute some persons. ER. Who? GA. Christ and some of the saints. ER. You are too religious for your age. GA. Nay; religion becomes all ages. ER. If I wanted to be religious, I would put on a hood. GA. So would I if a hood brought as much piety as it brings warmth. ER. It's a common saying that angelic children turn into the devil when they grow old. GA. Well, I think the devil must have been the author of that proverb. On the contrary, I hardly think an old man can be truly pious unless he

has been accustomed to it from his earliest years. Nothing is learned so perfectly as that which is learned in childhood. ER. What then is religion? GA. It is the pure worship of God, and obedience to His precepts. ER. What are they? GA. It would take a long time to tell; but to speak briefly, it consists of four things. ER. What? GA. First, to entertain right and pious thoughts about God and the Holy Scriptures; and not only to reverence Him as Lord, but love Him with our whole heart as a most beneficent Father. Secondly, to give the utmost diligence to guard our innocence; that is, to do hurt to no man. Thirdly, to observe charity; that is, to do good to all as far as we can. Fourthly, to practise patience. This bids us bear patiently the wrongs we cannot cure, not avenging ourselves, nor returning evil for evil. ER. Upon my word, you are a good preacher. But do you practise what you preach? GA. I try manfully to do so. ER. How can you try manfully, when you are only a boy? GA. I meditate to the best of my ability, and call myself to account every day; if I have committed any fault, I correct myself by saying, that thing was unbecoming, this speech was rude, this act was thoughtless, it would have been better to have been silent about this, or omitted that. ER. When does this examination take place? GA. Generally at bed-time, or at any time if I am unoccupied. ER. But come, tell me, how do you pass the whole day? GA. I will hide nothing from so trusted a friend. In the morning as soon as I am awake (that is generally at six or seven o'clock), I make the sign of the cross, with my thumb, on my forehead and breast. ER. What next? GA. I make my entrance upon the new day in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. ER. Very pious. GA. Then I offer a short prayer to Christ. ER. What do you say to him? GA. I thank him for having vouchsafed to preserve me through the night, and I pray that he will in like manner bless to me that whole day, to his own glory, and the salvation of my soul; and that he, who is the true light that knows no setting, the eternal sun that quickens, sustains and cheers all things, may condescend to shine into my mind, that I may fall into no sin, but under his guidance attain to life eternal. ER. Not a bad beginning for the day. GA. Then, having bade my parents good-morning, to whom after God I first owe my love, when it is time I set off to school, but so as to pass through the church, if I can do so conveniently. ER. What do you do there? GA. In three words I again salute Jesus, and all the saints, but especially the Virgin Mother, then my own particular saints. ER. In truth, you seem to me to have studied carefully that saying of Cato's, "Be liberal in your salutations." Was it not enough to have

saluted in the morning, if you did not by and by salute again? Are you not afraid of being troublesome with too much duty? GA. Christ loves to be called upon now and again. ER. But it seems silly to address one whom you do not see. GA. I do not see that part of myself with which I speak to him. ER. What is that? GA. The mind. ER. But it is idle to salute one who does not answer. GA. He does answer frequently by his secret inspiration. In short, he answers abundantly who gives what is sought. ER. What is it you ask from him? For I perceive that your salutations imply a petition, as those of beggars generally do. GA. Certainly, you are not far from the mark. For I pray that he, who when a boy twelve years of age taught the doctors themselves sitting in the temple, and to whom the Father, by a voice sent from heaven, gave authority to teach the human race, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him;" and who is the eternal wisdom of the Supreme Father, may deign to illuminate my mind, that I may acquire a good education which I may use to his glory. ER. But whom do you consider your peculiar saints? GA. Of the apostles, Paul; of the martyrs, Cyprian; of the doctors, Jerome; of the virgins, Agnes. ER. What circumstance gained you these? Choice or chance? GA. They were appointed for me by Providence. ER. And are you content with saluting them? From these also do you beg anything? GA. I pray that they will recommend me to Christ, and insure my attaining at last by his gift the blessedness of entering into their society. ER. Well, you certainly ask for nothing common. What do you do after this? GA. I make haste to school, and I give my whole heart to what goes on there. For I implore Christ's assistance, as if my industry could accomplish nothing without his aid: I study as though he would bring no help, except to one who was working hard. And by every means in my power I strive not to deserve to be beaten, and not to offend either by word or deed my teacher or my companions. ER. You are a good boy to think of such things. GA. When I go home after school, I again take my way through the church if I can, and again salute Jesus in three words. If there is any act of obedience I have to perform for my parents, I attend to it. But if any time still remains, I go over, by myself, or with a companion, the lessons that have been said in school. ER. On my word, you are very sparing of your time. GA. And no wonder if I am sparing of a thing which, as it is by far the most precious, is also irrecoverable. ER. But Hesiod teaches us that in the middle we ought to spare; that in the beginning it is too soon, at the end too late, to be saving. GA. Hesiod spoke of wine, and spoke well; but it is

never out of season to be saving of time. If you let the cask alone, it will not be exhausted. But time never ceases to flow, whether you sleep or wake. ER. I admit it. But what goes on next? GA. Having set out the table for my parents, I repeat the grace; then I wait upon them at dinner, until I am desired to take dinner myself. Thanks being returned, I recreate my mind with some good game along with my companions, until the hour comes for leaving off play and going back to school. ER. And do you again salute Jesus? GA. Yes, if it is convenient. But if it happens either that there is not time or it is unseasonable, still, as I pass the church, I salute him in a brief meditation. Again in school, I do with all my might the duties of the place. Returned home, I do the same as before dinner. After supper, I amuse myself with nice stories; then, having wished good-night to my parents and all the household, I go early to my nest; there kneeling down at my bed I think over, as I told you, how the day has been spent. If I have committed any serious fault, I implore Christ's mercy to pardon it, and promise better behaviour; if I can remember none, I return thanks for his goodness in having preserved me from every fault. Then I commend myself wholly to him with my whole heart, that he may protect me from the snares of the evil spirit and from bad dreams. This done, I get into bed, make the sign of the cross on my forehead and breast, and compose myself to sleep. ER. In what way do you compose yourself? GA. I lie neither on my face nor on my back, but first reclining on my right side, with my arms folded across or like an X, so as to defend my breast with a figure of the cross, my right hand touching the left shoulder, my left the right. Thus I sleep sweetly until I either waken myself or am called. ER. You are a holy youth to be able to do so. GA. Nay; you shew your folly to say so. ER. I praise the custom, if I could but follow it. GA. You have only to wish it. For when you have accustomed yourself to it for a few months, these things will be even pleasant; so natural will they become.

Erasmus then continues his inquiries, touching on the sacrament, fasting, preaching and confession. He then asks—

ER. Has a desire of taking the hood never tickled your fancy? GA. Never; but I have often been solicited by certain persons calling me from this world as from a shipwreck to the safe harbour of the monasteries. ER. What do I hear? Did they suppose they were catching a prize? GA. They have attacked both me and my parents with wonderful artifices. My resolution, however, is fixed not to bind myself either to marriage, or the

priesthood, or a monastic order, or any kind of life from which I cannot afterwards release myself, before I shall quite know myself. ER. When will that be? GA. Perhaps never. But before my twenty-eighth year nothing shall be determined. ER. Why so? GA. Because I hear everywhere so many priests, monks and husbands, lamenting that they have rashly rushed into slavery. ER. You are cautious in not wishing to be caught. GA. Meantime, three things are my care. ER. What are they? GA. To make progress in uprightness of life. Next, if I cannot do that, to preserve at least my innocence and my good name unimpaired. Lastly, I acquire such learning, and put myself through such literary and other training, as will be of use in any line of life. ER. But meantime do you abstain from poetry? GA. Not entirely, but I read chiefly the purest. If, however, I meet with anything immodest, I pass it over, as Ulysses sailed past the Sirens with his ears stopped. ER. But to what kind of study do you devote yourself principally in the meanwhile? To medicine, civil or ecclesiastical law, or theology? For languages, general literature, philosophy, are equally advantageous for every profession. GA. I have not yet quite devoted myself to any, but I dip into all, that I may not be quite ignorant of any, and that, having tasted of each, I may choose with greater certainty that for which I am best adapted. Medicine is sure to pay well in all parts of the world; jurisprudence opens out the path to rank and honour; I should like theology best, were I not offended by the manners of some of its professors, and their ill-natured disputes with one another. ER. He who moves so cautiously is not likely to slip. A great many in these times abstain from theology lest they should waver in the Catholic faith, seeing that there is nothing that is not called in question. GA. I believe with the fullest confidence what I read in the Holy Scriptures and in the Creed called the Apostles', and I inquire no farther. I leave the rest for theologians to discuss and define, if they please. If, however, anything, is received by the usage of the Christian world, which is not plainly at variance with the Holy Scriptures, I submit so far, that I may not give offence to any one. ER. What Thales taught you this philosophy? GA. When a mere boy, I was intimate at the house of that most excellent man John Colet. Do you know him? ER. Certainly; as well as I know you. GA. He imbued my boyish mind with such precepts. ER. Will you not be jealous if I appear as the rival of your rule of life? GA. Nay, on this account I shall love you far better. For you know that friendship and goodwill are cemented by similarity of manners. ER. True; but not between competitors for the same office, when they are suffering from a

similar disease. GA. Nor between suitors for the same lady, when they are equally in love. ER. But, without joking, I will try to imitate your plan. GA. I pray that you may have the best success. ER. Perhaps I shall come up with you. GA. I wish you may even pass me by. But meanwhile I will not wait for you; nay, rather, I am trying to surpass myself every day; but notwithstanding exert yourself to get before me, if you can.

It was not long before Gerard followed Margaret to the grave, leaving his sons to the care of three guardians. Of the next few years of Erasmus' life we are fortunate in possessing an account from his own hands, in a letter which he wrote to the apostolic secretary with a view of procuring from Pope Leo X. a release from his monastic vows. According to this letter, his father had left behind him a small property, part of which, however, was plundered by the relatives who stood by the bedside of the dying man, while of the remainder, which would still have been sufficient to secure the best education for the two boys, a considerable part was lost through the negligence of those to whose care it had been entrusted. Indeed, Gerard had been unfortunate in the selection of guardians for his sons. One of them was a merchant, and took very little trouble in the matter. The second before long died suddenly of the plague. The third—a schoolmaster named Peter Winckel—seems to have been a mixture of the fanatic and the hypocrite. He was one of a class of persons, too numerous at that time, who made it a business of their lives to work upon the feelings of innocent boys and girls, to prevail upon them to enter the monasteries, using for this purpose all kinds of allurements, but taking care to select for their victims those who were likely to bring wealth to the Church. Upright and pious in the eyes of the world, he was at heart thoroughly selfish, a miser, and without any taste for literature. Erasmus and his brother were now ripe for the university; they were good grammarians and had gone through most of the logic; but the opportunity of sacrificing two such victims was not to be lost by the schoolmaster, who actually used to boast how many youths he had dedicated each year to the male and female saints who presided over the different monastic orders. So, fearing to send his wards where they might imbibe a worldly spirit and be encouraged to reject the yoke he was preparing for them,

he resolved that they should go back to school. No wonder if Erasmus was disgusted. He had learned all that Deventer could teach him, and, young as he was, was looking forward with delight to the opportunities for more extended study which a university would afford. The school to which he was now consigned, at Bolduc in Brabant, though belonging to the same fraternity, had not the celebrity of Deventer. It is no wonder if Erasmus, looking back at the two years which he lost there, and anxious also to represent his own case in the strongest colours, did not give these places of education the best of characters. They were nothing more, in his estimation, than a kind of nursery from which the different orders of monks were replenished; and as that was the object which the "brethren" had in view, they paid more attention to disciplining their pupils —or *taming* them, as they called it—by blows and threats, than to the culture of their minds. The teachers, he adds, were chosen without regard to literary qualifications. Their libraries were for the most part destitute of classical works. The greater part of the day was spent in manual labour and prayers; and the result of all this was, that nowhere else were boys turned out worse taught or worse mannered. When Erasmus entered the school at Bolduc, he knew more than his teachers, one of whom, he says, was a prodigy of ignorance and conceit. Another, named Romboldus, was a kindly man, and took a strong fancy to him. He wished to prevail upon him to join the order, which he might have done without committing himself for life, as the vows were not perpetual. But Erasmus had no taste for it. Romboldus exhorted, entreated him; he bribed him with presents; he hugged and kissed him; but without effect. The boy answered, with more wisdom than belonged to his years, that he knew neither the kind of life he was asked to adopt nor his own mind, but that when he was older he would consider the matter.

In consequence of the plague having broken out in the school where they were, the two brothers were compelled to return home. Meantime their small property had been further impaired by the neglect, if not by the actual dishonesty, of their guardians. This circumstance made it peculiarly convenient to carry out the scheme which Winckel already had in view for them, the monasteries indeed fur-

nishing, at that time, only too ready a means of disposing of young men who were likely otherwise to prove troublesome to their friends; and to a monastery, accordingly, it was determined they should be sent at once. Erasmus, however, had seen quite enough to suspect that the monastic life would not suit him, and resolved to resist. His first step was to secure an ally in his elder brother, who, being of a much weaker character, would have yielded, not, as he admitted, from religious motives, but from fear. "What a fool you are," says Erasmus, "if from fear of men, from whom certainly you need not be afraid of blows, you commit yourself to a kind of life of which you know nothing, and from which, once you have entered upon it, there is no retreat!" At length it was agreed that the question of the monastery should be deferred, and that in the meantime three or four years should be spent in study, Peter stipulating only that his brother would act as spokesman. A few days after, the guardian arrived, and with many professions of affection announced that he had been fortunate enough to find a place for them among the Canons Regular, an order of Augustinian monks, in their principal college of Sion, near Delft. Erasmus thanked him for his kindness, but added that he and his brother thought themselves too young and inexperienced to bind themselves to any particular plan of life. They had never been inside a monastery. They could not even guess what sort of a creature a monk was. They thought it far better to spend some years first in study, and then it would be time enough to consider the proposal. On receiving this answer, for which he was quite unprepared, Winckel fairly lost control of himself. He became frantic with rage. Though naturally of a gentle disposition, or appearing to be so, he could scarcely hold his hands. "So then," he cried, "I've thrown away my pains in begging such a capital place for you! You are a good-for-nothing fellow. I renounce my charge: see and provide yourself with the means of livelihood." He added that he would not even be responsible to those from whom he had been buying their food, and that their property was all gone. His threats drew tears from Erasmus, but could not move him from his purpose. Finding this to be the case, Winckel now called to his aid his brother guardian, a man of extraordinary suavity of temper. Quite

a different method of persuasion was adopted. The boys were invited into the summer-house and desired to sit down; wine was called for; and after a friendly chat, the subject was again introduced. A charming picture was painted of monastic happiness; the ambition of the young men was appealed to; entreaties even were not spared. The elder brother gave way, and, notwithstanding the promises he had repeatedly made to stand firm, bent his neck to the yoke. Luckily for him, his constitution was as strong as his wit was heavy, and if there was nothing in his character to qualify him for a religious life according to any just notions of what it ought to be, he was much better adapted to consort with the ordinary monks of the time—to endure the dull routine of monastic life, and join in the heavy drinking-bouts by which its monotony was relieved—than the light-witted, eager student, Erasmus. He afterwards gave himself up to dissipation, and died unlamented by his brother, who found it difficult to trace in him any marks of a common parentage. Erasmus, on the contrary, was of a delicate frame, and had been suffering for more than a year from a quartan fever. He was now just fifteen, and thus young and weakened by disease he was plied with arguments and representations by all sorts of persons whom his guardian had stirred up to take his side in the contest. One drew a lovely picture of the peace and harmony of the monastic life, picking out exclusively the agreeable features. Another dwelt very pathetically on the dangers of this world, as if, says Erasmus sarcastically, the monks were out of the world; which, however, they would no doubt have us believe, since they paint themselves as safe in a stout ship, and all the rest of mankind as tossed about on the waves and ready to perish unless *they* reach out to them a pole or a rope. Another described the tortures of the infernal regions, as if, he again adds, there was no way to hell from the monasteries. Another tried to frighten him with monkish stories—for instance, of a traveller who sat down on the back of a dragon, mistaking it for the trunk of a tree: the dragon awoke, turned back his head, and devoured the traveller: *moral*, thus the world eats up its children;—or of a man who had left a monkish society, resisting all entreaties to remain, and been in consequence torn in pieces by a lion. Even at the age of fifteen, Eras-

mus was not likely to be much affected by stories such as these. Others tried a different sort, which perhaps were not any more to his taste; how there was a monk with whom Christ used to converse for some hours every day; how Catherine of Sienna enjoyed such intimacy with Christ her betrothed, that they used to walk up and down her bed-chamber and repeat prayers together by the hour. Unable to hold out continually against the pertinacity, rather than the arguments, of those about him, Erasmus at last began to waver. Just then he happened to visit another monastery belonging to the order to which he had been already recommended, at Stein, not far from Tergouw, and there he fell in with an old friend named Cornelius Werden, who had been brought up with him from childhood, had probably been a fellow-chorister with him at Utrecht, and had shared the same bed-room at Deventer. Cornelius had taken the hood, not from motives of piety, but for the sake of the ease and self-indulgence of the monastic life, and also because his parents were poor. He was some years older than Erasmus, but being dull and backward in his studies, and yet not, it would seem, without ambition to improve, he thought how useful his old companion might be made if he could once more have him at his side. For this end, therefore, he exerted all his eloquence. He described the peace, the harmony, the freedom of the monastery. It was a society of angels. There he would have an abundance of books and ample leisure for study. Induced by these representations and by a revived affection for the friend of his childhood, but still more because he was quite wearied out by the importunities of his guardians, who continued to threaten him with poverty and even starvation unless he would "renounce the world," as they phrased it, the poor youth at last took the leap, and became an inmate of the Augustinian house at Stein. Still he did not abandon hope. A year must pass before he could be required to assume the dress of the order, and another before he took those vows which were to bind him to it for ever. He clung to the fond but delusive expectation, as it proved to be, that some happy chance would occur within that period to restore him to his liberty. Meantime, every indulgence was allowed him in order to reconcile him as far as possible to his new situation. The fasts were not strictly exacted,

nor was he compelled to attend the midnight services. He had the society of companions of his own age. No one reproved, no one gave him advice; every one smiled upon him. His studies, too, made rapid progress. Sometimes he read to his friend a whole play of Terence in a single night, and within a few months they went through together several of the leading classical authors. These midnight lessons no doubt told upon the health of Erasmus, and combined with what he had already gone through, and with the unwholesome situation of the monastery, may have laid the foundation of the diseases from which he suffered all his life; their effect, however, was unperceived or neglected at the time. And now the hour had arrived when the odious monkish dress must be put on. The guardians were summoned. Threats were once more resorted to. Cornelius, not wishing to lose so valuable a teacher, added his entreaties. Erasmus continued to resist, but, notwithstanding his protestations, he was compelled to submit and receive the Augustinian gown and hood. Another year went by not unpleasantly, the monks pursuing their former policy of shewing their captive as much indulgence as was consistent with the rules of the house; but Erasmus only became more convinced than ever that he was unfitted both mentally and physically for a monastic life. He saw here no honour paid to learning; but, on the contrary, a disposition to extinguish eminent genius, and give the superiority to mere brute force. The prospect of spending his days among those coarse-grained men, and submitting to all their wearisome ceremonies, in a place where he would be obliged to pursue his studies in secret, though he might get drunk as openly as he pleased, was intolerable to him. Besides, with his delicate constitution, how was he to endure the fasts and watches which the superstition of the monks probably led them to observe with sufficient fidelity? His health required that he should eat often and in small quantities. He had the greatest dislike for fish, and even the smell of it gave him a headache. He could not go to sleep until late in the evening—the result, no doubt, of his own late studies—and if once disturbed, it was some hours before he could again fall asleep. But what could such considerations avail him now that he had actually put his head into the noose? The

holy fathers saw that they had caught a prize, and they were resolved not to let it go. They represented these weaknesses as a device of Satan to undermine the faith of the young probationer, and assured him that if he would bravely overcome them, everything else would be both easy and pleasant. They urged upon him that it would be a sin before Heaven, as well as infamous in the eyes of the world, should he now refuse to take the vow. It was too late to retreat; he had put his hand to the plough, and he must not look back: the assumption of the dress was itself a silent profession. They threatened him with the wrath of St. Augustine, who would assuredly avenge the insult offered him. They told him horrible stories, which even to Erasmus at the early age he then was may have sounded less absurd than they would to any school-boy of our own day,—how one man who had similarly gone back had fallen into an incurable disease, another had been killed by lightning, a third had died of the bite of a viper. Finally, they denounced him as an apostate. "Where will you go?" they cried. "You will never be able to come into the presence of good men; you will be execrated by monks and hated by the world." Nothing influenced him so much as the dread of shame. Besides, the force of circumstances was against him. He found himself quite helpless, without a friend to take his part. He did not know if he had a penny in the world. He had fought a hard battle, but for the present at least he was overcome. The fatal words were pronounced, and Erasmus was a monk.

Such is the spirited account which Erasmus himself has left—I have done little more than translate and abridge it—of his long resistance to the yoke of monasticism. It may seem surprising that a mere boy should have displayed so much wisdom, but it must be remembered he was a boy of extraordinary acuteness. Still one cannot help perceiving that he has made the most of his case. Possibly, subsequent experience was permitted to colour his narrative. Possibly his resistance was scarcely so determined, or his feelings so strong, as he chose afterwards to represent them. However that may be, the next half-dozen years of his life were spent in the monastery at Stein, not without profit; perhaps also,—notwithstanding his dislike of the discipline

which, now that he was caught, was strictly enforced,—not without some degree of inward satisfaction. One congenial spirit at least he met with here in William Hermann, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship. Both were animated by the same zeal for literature. They studied together, spending every spare hour by day or by night in reading the Latin classics. And such was their ardour that they even excited, it is said, some literary enthusiasm in the lazy, drunken herd in whose society their lot was cast. Erasmus, however, did not altogether escape the temptations incident to monastic life. Drunkenness he always detested; and perhaps nō merit can be ascribed to him for avoiding a sin to which he had no inclination, and for which he was constitutionally unfit. But he confesses that he was at one time "inclined to great vices," adding, that "if there had been over him a superior of a truly Christian character, and not one full of Jewish superstitions, he might have been brought to yield excellent fruit." What those great vices were, and how far his language implies that he had yielded to temptation, the reader may be left to decide. At all events, allowance should be made for a strong expression; and if the monks were really as bad as Erasmus describes them, the example he was compelled daily to witness may fairly be pleaded on his behalf.

Some literary compositions thought worthy to appear among the works of Erasmus belong to this period of his life. These are partly poetical, consisting of hymns in honour of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints, odes and elegies. Others are in prose. Among the latter may be mentioned the "Funeral Oration on Bertha de Heyen, of Tergouw, a most excellent Widow," "who had been his refuge in want and his comfort in distress, who had given him excellent counsel, and had shewn to him the same regard which she shewed her children." But the most remarkable of these productions is the treatise on Contempt of the World. This essay, which attracted considerable attention during his lifetime, was written as an exercise when the author was barely twenty. It is interesting as shewing how thoroughly his mind was imbued with the works of the great Roman writers, and how perfectly he had already formed his style by the study of the best models. It is clear that by this time he

had Ovid, Virgil and Juvenal at his fingers' ends, as well as Terence and Horace, and Cicero must have been a daily and nightly companion. This composition is interesting, too, as shewing that Erasmus, when he pleased, could plead the cause of monasticism against "the world," and dwell eloquently upon the advantages it conferred. It would be rash, however, to infer from this that the writer had abandoned or not yet conceived his enmity to the system. As a rhetorician, he would naturally wish to be able to make the worse appear the better reason, and to support his adversary's side no less strongly than his own. Besides, he was not writing in his own name, but in the name of a friend who had requested him to compose an address to a nephew whom he wished to persuade to take the hood. Nor does he conclude without some strong words against the monasteries. He states that, notwithstanding all he has said, many of them are mere schools of impiety, and reminds his reader that it will matter little whether he be a monk or no, provided he is a Christian.

Besides the classical authors, the works of Laurentius Valla were at this time read with enthusiasm. This writer, as a denouncer of the usurpations of the Church, as an ardent promoter of classical learning, and as a critic of the New Testament, has been very properly recognized as a forerunner of Erasmus. Two letters written from Stein by the latter are full of admiration for Valla. The first is a playful attack upon a friend, who, it seems, had called Valla "a croaking raven," with threats of internecine warfare until he abandons that phrase and gives him instead the titles of "Attic muse" and "the marrow of persuasion." The second letter shews that the friend admitted that Valla was a master of style, but pleaded in justification of his abusive epithet that he had given much offence. Erasmus rejoins that truth is often offensive, and claims for Valla the merit of having, "with vast industry, zeal and labour, driven back the tide of barbarism, rescued literature from destruction, and restored to Italy the splendour of its ancient eloquence."

These are about all the particulars which are known to us of the years—naturally not very eventful—which were passed at Stein. Before, however, the doors are opened to

set our captive free, there is an anecdote to tell which has been thought worthy of frequent repetition, and which may as well be here repeated once more; though whether it has been invented for lack of better material, or rests upon an authentic foundation, it is needless to inquire. In the garden of the monastery there grew a pear-tree bearing fruit of so fine a flavour that the prior thought it too good for any one but a prior, and accordingly had given directions that it should be reserved for his own table. Erasmus being fond of fruit, was in the habit of going in the night to rob the tree, and the prior, observing the daily diminution to be far greater than his own supply, determined to watch for the thief. Early one morning he stationed himself at the window of his cell, and in the dusk detected one of the brethren in the tree feasting on the fruit, but was unable to recognize the features of Erasmus. The latter, hearing a noise, perceived that he was observed, and made haste to descend; but fearing lest the prior should follow him, he resolved to save him the trouble, and himself from punishment, by fixing his suspicions at once upon an innocent person. He retreated at a leisurely pace, but limping as he went; and the prior, satisfied that he had discovered the culprit in the person of a lay brother who was lame, forbore to pursue. When day came the monks were assembled; the limping brother was directly charged with the theft; the evidence was conclusive, and, in spite of his protests, the unlucky fellow was condemned to a severe penance.

In the year 1490, deliverance came for Erasmus. Henry à Bergis, Bishop of Cambray, was going to Rome to look for a Cardinal's hat, and wished to take with him a scholarly man to act as his secretary and companion. It was the very opportunity that Erasmus wanted, and Erasmus was the very man that the Bishop wanted. The monks, of course, were unwilling that he should depart, and even used threats to detain him. In a subsequent part of the letter to the apostolic secretary to which I have already referred, some strange, well-nigh incredible, stories are told of the means resorted to by the monks to prevent any of their number returning into "the world." "Fearing," says Erasmus, "lest their orgies may be made public, they endeavour to retain their members by scourgings, curses, the arm of

worldly power, walls, railings, imprisonment and death;" and then he tells how there was a certain Cardinal who, in the hearing of many persons, mentioned by name the street, the persons, and the monastery in which the Dominicans had buried a young man alive, rather than surrender him to his father, who demanded him on the plea that he had been entrapped; and how a nobleman, who had chanced to fall asleep in a church and remain there through the night, had seen two Franciscans buried alive. Erasmus, however, escaped these dangers, if any such threatened him, and regained his liberty. The Bishop did not go to Rome, but nevertheless took the poor scholar under his protection and settled a pension upon him. This was intended, according to the custom of the time, to be paid independently of any services rendered. Such was the way in which scholars were maintained in those days. The position was one of dependence; but where a munificent patron gave freely in acknowledgment of services so universally beneficial as those of literature, and exacted no return but a continuance of the same labour, there was nothing in it discreditable to either party. Erasmus, however, was unfortunate in his first patron. The Bishop was not wealthy, and the pension was not regularly paid.

In the house of Henry à Bergis, where he spent the next five years, apparently without incident, we must now leave Erasmus. One letter only, written thence, remains to us. It is soon after his arrival at Cambray. He has been suffering severely for a month and a half from a nocturnal fever, which he says had almost killed him. Accordingly he is in a very penitent frame of mind. "I desire nothing else," he says, "than that time should be given me in which I may live wholly to God alone, weep over the sins of a time when I was yet without wisdom, practise myself in the Holy Scriptures, and either read or write something. That I cannot do in the retirement of a monastery. For nothing is more delicate than I; my health will not bear either watchings or fastings or any discomforts, even when it is at its best. Here, where I live in such luxury, I am continually falling ill; what should I do among the diseases incident to monastic life? I had resolved this year to go to Italy [but the Bishop did not go, and did not choose that

Erasmus should go without him], and to devote some months to theology at Bologna, and there take my Doctor's degree; then in the year of Jubilee to visit Rome, and, having done so, return to my native country and settle there [*ad meos redire:* he can scarcely mean that he intended returning to Stein, though perhaps he wished to be so understood]. But I am afraid I shall not be able to accomplish this in accordance with my wishes."

Two things prevented him going to Italy for the present. First, the state of his health; and secondly, his poverty. In fact, the Bishop gives *perparce*, very sparingly, and is more liberal in his promises than his performances.

ROBERT B. DRUMMOND.

IV.—TISCHENDORF'S EDITION OF THE VATICAN NEW TESTAMENT.

Novum Testamentum Vaticanum: post Angeli Maii aliorumque imperfectos labores ex ipso codice edidit F. C. Tischendorf. Lipsiæ. 1867.

THE discoverer of the Codex Sinaiticus has rendered a fresh service to the critical study of the Scriptures, by publishing in a more complete and accurate form than has yet appeared, the Greek text of the New Testament contained in the celebrated manuscript of the Vatican. He has not, however, actually performed, as we learn from his own Prolegomena, all that his title-page seems to promise. His text is not directly taken "ex ipso codice," but only based on a more thorough and continuous collation. He must still be ranked with the many eminent scholars who have as yet enjoyed only a partial use of this important MS. In the literary history of the Codex Vaticanus, we have a curious illustration of the extreme tenacity with which the monopolists of ecclesiastical power cling to the retention of their least justifiable usurpations, and of the dogged jealousy with which down to the present day Protestant criticism has been denied free access to the purest fountain of the

sacred text. This codex, which bears in its orthography and forms of words, decisive evidence of Alexandrine origin, probably found its way to Italy in that general flight of learning westward which followed the threatening encroachment of the Turks on the Greek empire. It has been supposed, that it might have been among the earliest treasures deposited in the library founded on the Vatican by the learned and accomplished pontiff, Nicholas V., whose short tenure of the Holy See, from 1447 to 1455, was contemporaneous with the fall of Constantinople. It was first used for critical purposes in the early part of the 16th century (1521 and 1533), by Erasmus, who obtained a collation of it by a friend in Rome, in vindication of the readings (1 John iv. 1—4, v. 7—11) which he had introduced in his earlier editions of the New Testament. It continued to be collated occasionally during the remainder of that and the first part of the ensuing century. Of these collations the most important was one made by Bartolocci, a former curator of the Vatican Library, with the Aldine edition of the Greek Testament (1518),—which is now preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris. There it was inspected by Scholz in 1819, and more thoroughly examined by Tischendorf himself in 1840. Two collations were made for the use of Bentley when he was projecting an edition of the New Testament; one by the Abbate Micon in 1720, the other by the Abbate Rulotta in 1727. The Miconian collation passed into the possession of C. G. Woide, who published it in an appendix to his facsimile edition of the Codex Alexandrinus. That of Rulotta lay for a long time unnoticed in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (of which Bentley had been Master), and was first made use of for a critical purpose by Tischendorf in 1855. In 1862, it was printed entire in its original form by A. A. Ellis among the "Critica Sacra" of Bentley. The collations of these two Italian Abbés were followed by that of Birch, a Dane, who in 1780 collated the whole New Testament, with the exception of the gospels of Luke and John. On this and the previous collation made for Bentley and furnished by Woide, Birch had prepared an edition of the four gospels in 1788. Nearly the whole of this impression was consumed by a fire in Copenhagen; and his collations only were printed in the three volumes of "Variæ Lectiones" which he published successively between 1798

and 1801. The Codex Vaticanus was carried off to Paris by the French with other spoils in the course of the great revolutionary war; and there, in 1809, Leonard Hug, then a professor of Catholic theology at Friburg, submitted it to a careful examination, and was the first to give a full description of its form and character, and to pronounce a critical judgment on its probable date, which he referred to the early part of the 4th century,—the age of Eusebius. In 1843, Tischendorf was desirous of editing the codex, and with that view went to Rome; but power to do so was refused him, and he could only obtain permission, within the space of six hours, to examine a few doubtful passages and take a few specimens of the writing.* Soon after, Dr. Tregelles got a sight of the MS. for an examination of two passages in the Epistle to the Romans. About the same time, de Muralto was allowed to inspect it for a few hours, for the purpose of verifying readings which Birch and Bartolocci had differently represented. In 1855, when Tischendorf was preparing his larger critical edition of the New Testament, he got Dressel, who was then in Rome, to collate the MS. for him in more than two hundred places, where the reading was doubtful.

Such was the position of criticism in regard to the Codex Vaticanus, when at length there appeared at Rome, in the Christmas of 1857, a complete edition, in five volumes quarto, of the text of the Greek Bible exhibited in that codex, which had been undertaken by the celebrated Cardinal Mai, with the sanction and approval of Pope Leo XII. The work had been commenced as early as 1828, and Mai himself died before its publication; but it was carried on after his death, and finally given to the world, with numerous corrections, by Vercellone, a religious of the order of Barnabites. In 1859, a smaller edition of both Testaments appeared in one volume 8vo, that had been prepared by Mai himself, with a preface by Vercellone.†

Mai's long-promised edition greatly disappointed the ex-

* Tischendorf gave an account of this hasty examination in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1847.

† It should be observed, that the Codex Vaticanus, like that more recently discovered in Sinai, contained in its original form the whole Bible as anciently used in the Greek churches,—Greek being the ecclesiastical language of the East, as Latin of the West.

pectation of scholars. It was not executed on a critical principle nor with critical exactness.* The larger and the smaller editions differed from each other, and the latter introduced new errors. Great praise is due to Mai for his persevering determination to bring this MS. to light, against the prejudiced opposition of a large portion of the ecclesiastical circle in which he moved. But with all his learning, he did not possess the palæographic skill and accomplishment essential to the due execution of the task entrusted to him; nor does he appear to have conceived it from the proper point of view. A critical edition of the codex should have represented faithfully the original text *a prima manu*, whatever might be the intrinsic quality of the readings, whether good or bad. But this Mai has not done. He took the *textus receptus* as the basis of a continuous comparison with the Vaticanus; so that occasionally, where he thought the reading of the former preferable, he has inserted it in his printed text, and put that of the latter in the margin. The consequence is, that his publication, instead of truly representing the original MS., still approximates in some degree to the character of an edition founded on a collation. Notwithstanding these obvious defects, such was the interest excited by his work, that reprints of it speedily appeared in London, Leyden, Ratisbon and Berlin. In 1859, Messrs. Williams and Norgate and Mr. D. Nutt simply republished at London the text of Mai; but in 1862, Philip Buttmann the younger endeavoured to exhibit a nearer approach to the original text, by comparing the previous collations with Mai's published text, in a beautiful edition of the New Testament printed at Berlin in small uncial characters from types struck for the purpose. In the previous year, Dean Alford, in preparing a new edition of his New Testament, after a renewed examination of the codex in Rome, confirmed many of Mai's readings against previous collations and the corrections of the second edition, but at the same time discovered fresh errors, and, according to Tischendorf, made frequent mistakes himself.†

There seemed room, then, after all these labours, for

* "Vix tam grave opus cum majore et levitate et inscitia confici posse probabile est." Phil. Buttmann, Jun., ad calcem Nov. Test. Græce ad fidem Cod. Vat. recens.

† "In errorem quidem et ipse haud raro inductus est."

attempting a more thorough and critical edition of this famous MS. Tischendorf, in the Prolegomena to his present publication, has given a very amusing and instructive account of his various efforts in this direction. As early as 1844, he had gone to Rome with the express object of examining carefully the Codex Vaticanus; but, as we have seen, he was only allowed a hasty glance at it for six hours. One reason of his exclusion from its free use, which was chiefly owing to Lambruschini, at that time first minister of the Pope and head librarian of the Vatican, arose no doubt from the fact, that Mai's great work was then in preparation, and the papal court was not unnaturally desirous, that no other scholar should interfere with and possibly anticipate the labours of one of its own most distinguished ornaments. Mai, however, received Tischendorf very courteously, and shewed him the fifth volume, containing the New Testament, which was then printed off. Tischendorf, as he himself tells us, saw enough in that hasty inspection, to convince him that it was full of errors. When Mai's work at length appeared, and its unsatisfactory character was universally admitted by critics, Tischendorf made another effort to get the command of a critical use of this jealously-guarded treasure. A copy of the splendid facsimile edition of the Codex Sinaiticus had been presented to Pio Nono by the Emperor of Russia; and his Holiness, in graciously acknowledging the receipt, urged the learned editor to the continued prosecution of similar labours. Encouraged by these words, Tischendorf proceeded anew to Rome early in February of 1866, furnished with some powerful letters of introduction to the French and Austrian ministers at that court. Immediately on his arrival he sought an interview with the Pope, who received him with characteristic kindness and courtesy. Tischendorf asked leave to prepare from the Vatican MS. an edition of the New Testament only, after the style of the Codex Sinaiticus, on the ground that Mai's edition had not won the confidence of learned men. When the Pope contended it was entitled to faith, as having been issued under authority *(è un' affare della fede)*, Tischendorf, like a good Protestant and with great tact, replied, that faith could not be commanded, and that the real value of Mai's labours could only be fully brought out, and his credit established on solid grounds,

by such an edition as he himself proposed to publish. On the Pope's rejoining, "But surely we can ourselves do this" *(ma potremo fare anche noi)*, Tischendorf was taken a little by surprise, and limited his request to a permission to examine from the codex all those passages of which the reading had been questioned. To this request Pio Nono assented; and two days afterwards Cardinal Antonelli brought him an express papal permission to examine the codex freely, though he was forbidden to prepare a new edition from it, power to do which the Pope reserved to himself. Tischendorf commenced his labours on the 28th of February, devoting three hours every day to the work. He collated with the codex a copy of Mai's second and smaller edition, noticing at the same time the variations from earlier collations and from the Codex Sinaiticus, and occasionally transcribing entire pages, which he intended to publish as specimens of the palæography of this very ancient book. All this did not appear to him any transgression of the limits prescribed to him by the Pope. But his conduct excited suspicion; and before he had gone through the three first gospels, he was prohibited from using the codex any longer. Thunderstruck at this interruption, he earnestly begged to have fourteen more days allowed him to complete the collation, which he maintained might greatly assist the future Roman editors. Standing in friendly relations with the person to whom the supervision of the new Roman edition had been committed by Cardinal Antonelli, Tischendorf put into his hands the copy of Mai's second edition which he had himself used in the collation, with the corrections,—to prevent, if possible, a repetition of Mai's own mistakes in the projected edition. In consequence of this prohibition of his labours, the latter part of the collation from the end of Luke's gospel was hastily made. The understanding with the Pope was, that he was simply to furnish a correction of the errors of previous editions and earlier collations; not himself to issue a new edition. He says, however, that he did not absolutely promise not to publish an edition of the codex, but was simply anxious to act in such a way as not to seem to have broken the promise given to Rome.* His letter to Vercel-

* "Nec magis tamen ipse promisi me editionem non instituturum, sed prospexi potius ne, si instituerem Lipsiæ, fidem Romæ datam fefellisse viderer."

lone on this occasion, of which he gives an extract, is not perfectly clear and satisfactory. Even when already engaged on this present Leipsic edition, he constantly received assistance, in the collation of particular passages, from Vercellone, who appears throughout to have acted in the most friendly manner towards him, on the agreement understood to have been entered into between them. On taking leave of the Pope, Tischendorf offered the use of his own collations to the Roman editors; and a wish having been expressed for the use of the types which had been employed in the publication of the Codex Sinaiticus, they were forwarded to Rome, where the new edition was commenced in February of the present year. Judged by his own statements, Tischendorf seems to us to have been too eager for the fame of being the first to publish a complete edition of the Codex Vaticanus. The use of the somewhat ambiguous expression, "ex ipso codice," on his title-page, puts him in a false position to the general scholar on one side, and to the papal editors on the other. The former would naturally infer from his language, that he had given to the world a text taken direct from the codex itself, which is not the fact; and towards the latter, in so far as he had made transcripts which would justify in any sense the employment of such words, he was fairly chargeable with *mala fides*. His edition, whatever may be its merits—and no one will dispute them—is, like all which have preceded it, except that of Mai, simply founded on a collation more or less complete.

The Codex Vaticanus contains, in the following order, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Hebrews to ix. 14, where the original MS. breaks off. What follows of Hebrews, with the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon and the Apocalypse (though all included in Mai's edition), has been added by a later hand. The Codex Vaticanus is smaller than the Codex Sinaiticus, but of the same form, that is to say, broader than long (like some modern music-books); the Cod. Vat. 18 inches broad to 10 long, the Cod. Sin. 28 to 16. The Vatican. has three columns in a page, the Sinaiticus four; except in what are called *βίβλοι στιχήρεις*, which are written in both codices in two columns only. The quality of the parchment on which the Cod. Vat. is written varies, being thinner in some places

than in others. The oldest ink is pale and tawny. The numbers of the evangelical sections are given in vermilion, as are also the occasional arabesques. The Cod. Vatican. consists of *quiniones*, that is, of five leaves joined together and making a whole by themselves, corresponding to our modern sheets; the Cod. Sinait. of *quaterniones* and *triniones*. As the copies of the Scriptures ordered by the Emperor Constantine (of which Eusebius gives an account, Vit. Constant. iv. 37) were τριστὰ καὶ τετραστὰ, it is certain that the Cod. Vaticanus could not have been one of these. The clearness and perfection *(sinceritas)* of the uncial characters in both these MSS. is regarded by palæographers as a sure sign of antiquity. The accents and breathings in the Cod. Vat. are not *a prima manu*, and the abbreviations of words are less frequent than in Cod. Sin.* Tischendorf thinks that the punctuation of this MS. was *a prima manu;* but as it was not renewed by the hand which re-touched the old writing with fresh ink, it has almost faded away. Hence some have doubted, on a cursory inspection, whether there had been any original interpunction. The interpunction of both codices is similar, though it is not very obvious on what principle it is applied. Tischendorf, anxious to establish a close affinity between these two famous MSS., with which his own reputation as a palæographer is so intimately associated, has ventured on a conjecture, that one of the scribes of the Codex Sinaiticus, whom he designates D, and to whom, according to him, we owe in that MS. the transcription of a few leaves of the three first Gospels, a couple of leaves of 1 Thessal. and Hebrews, and the opening of the Apocalypse, may also have been a writer of the Codex Vaticanus. For so sweeping an inference the premisses are not very ample; and as the author plainly does not attach much weight to his own conjecture, it cannot, till fresh evidence accrues, expect much consideration from his readers.† The first *diorthotes* appears to have done his work care-

* It is noticeable, that the accents and breathings in Cod. Vat. are put on the first vowel of diphthongs, and not, after the modern practice, on the second. The *iota subscriptum* is also omitted in this MS. See the "admonitio orthographica" prefixed to Williams and Norgate's reprint of Mai's edition.

† The same hand, according to Tischendorf, transcribed, in the Old Testament of Cod. Sin., the entire books of Tobit and Judith and the first part of the fourth book of Maccabees. In the "Appendix Cod. Celeberr. Sin. Vat. Alex.," recently published, Tischendorf speaks more positively of the identity

lessly.* After the lapse of many centuries, another corrector went over the MS. again, and revised it from a codex of his own age, renewing the faded ink, and now for the first time putting in the accents and breathings.† From the small characters used by this later corrector in some of his emendations, Tischendorf concludes that he must have belonged to the 10th or 11th century. To the same period he thinks it most likely that a *tertia manus*, of which the traces are discernible, must be referred. The subscriptions to Paul's Epistles are in the uncial character, and probably as old as the 6th century. The numbers of the sections are marked in characters resembling the Coptic; and the same characters occur in numbering the quaternions in Cod. Sin. Tischendorf thinks it indubitable, that the two codices, Vat. and Sin. (or, as they are now expressed in all critical editions of the New Testament, B and ℵ), belong to the same age, the early part of the 4th century.‡ In both, the form of the uncial letters is the same. Both are remarkable for the same absence of initial letters; the same rarity of interpunction; the same occurrence of open spaces interrupting the text; and the same striking resemblance to the old papyrus rolls, such as have been brought to light in Herculaneum, and were in general use before the introduction of the more modern form of codices or books. They agree also remarkably in their deviation from the orthography and grammar of pure classical Greek. In the simplicity of the inscriptions and subscriptions attached to the several books, and of their title-pages, they are quite unique among MSS. They have no division of the text of the evangelists into larger chapters; no table of such chapters prefixed to the several gospels; and no note of them in the margin. The Codex Sinaiticus contains, indeed, the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons, which are wanting in the Vaticanus, where the sections are longer and fewer.

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of D. with a scribe of the Vaticanus. "Vix dubitari poterit," he says. Of the transcribers of the Vaticanus, he adds, in the same work: "diversas manus distinximus tres, magna illas quidem scripturæ similitudine."

* The *διορθωταί*, in the book-selling trade of the old world, exercised a function like that of our correctors of the press. They revised the original transcript, for the purpose of correcting errors and supplying omissions, before the work was finally given to the public.

† This was something resembling what we should call a new edition.

‡ "Circa Eusebii ætatem, ambo."

This in itself might seem an argument in favour of the superior antiquity of Cod. Vat. But Tischendorf affirms, that in a palimpsest of Luke's gospel belonging to the 8th century, a similar division occurs. On the other hand, the addition of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas to the Codex Sinaiticus, is justly insisted on as a proof of the antiquity of the text which it exhibits. The argument, however, as against the Cod. Vatican. is altogether negative; for, as the end of that MS. is wanting, we cannot tell what books, now considered apocryphal, may have been originally appended to it.

There seems no reasonable ground for doubt, that B and ℵ are independent representatives of a very ancient type of Alexandrine text. Their general agreement sufficiently proves the identity of the type which they followed; their not unfrequent variation from each other in readings of considerable importance, establishes their independence. We have an instance in Matthew xxi. 31, where Cod. Vat., instead of πρῶτος, reads ὕστερος (confirmed by Cod. Cantab. ὁ ἄισχατος, *novissimus* a, b), with an inversion of the order of the previous answers. Here Cod. Sin., preserving the order of the answers in the *textus receptus*, reads, with Cod. Alexandrin., ὁ πρῶτος.* Tischendorf, with the natural fondness of a man for the fruit of his own research and sagacity, seems to regard the text of the Codex Sinaiticus as on the whole superior to that of the Codex Vaticanus. We differ with extreme hesitation from the judgment of so distinguished a critic and palæographer; but, drawing our inference entirely from facts which he has himself laid before us, we feel unable to concur in this conclusion. We have compared with some attention passages in the two texts from the three first evangelists (Matt. xii., Mark viii., Luke xix., taken from that portion of the New Testament which Tischendorf had collated with the utmost care), together with a passage from Acts and another from Romans, and the impression

* This passage has put Lachmann's authoritative principle to the severest test. Retaining the usual order of the answers of the two sons, he has nevertheless, on the combined evidence of B, D, a, b, adopted ὁ ὕστερος into his text; a result which, however justifiable on purely *diplomatic* grounds, by a rigid application of the law of textual criticism which he had prescribed to himself, produces a combination destructive of the obvious meaning of the passage. It should be noticed, that D (Cod. Cantabr.), giving the answers in the usual order, reads ἔσχατος for πρῶτος.

left on our mind is, that the text in B has been more carefully transcribed, and is in general more accurate, than that of ℵ. The Cod. Sin. has all the appearance of having been hastily written, and the *itacismus* in it is so constant and all-pervading, that it is difficult to resist the suspicion, that it must have been taken down from dictation, instead of copied by the eye; so that, while we do not doubt it represents a very old text, we still cling to the opinion, expressed on a former occasion, that the date of the transcript is considerably later than that of the text. Both texts agree in some peculiarities of orthography, which betray their common Alexandrine origin; the insertion of μ in certain forms of words, as λήμψεται for λήψεται, ἐλήμφθην for ἐλήφθην, etc.; the blending of the analogies of the first and second aorists; and the substitution in some words and syllables of ει for ι.* The following juxta-position will furnish a specimen of the different character of the two texts:

Cod. Vat.	Matt. xii. 9—21.	Cod. Sin.
ο δε ειπεν αυτοις τις εσται εξ		ο δε ειπεν αυτοις τις εσται εξ
υμων ανθρωπος ος εξει προβατον		υμ̄ω̄ ᾱνος̄ οσ εξι πρόβατον εν και
εν ᾗ εαν εμπεση τουτο τοις σαβ-		εαν πεση τουτο τοις σαββασιν
βασι εις βοθυνον ουχι κρατησει		εις βοθυν̄ο ουχι κρατησας εγερει
αυτο ᾗ εγερει ποσω ουν διαφερει		αυτο ποσω ουν διαφερι ᾱνος̄
ανθρωπος προβατου ωστε εξεστιν		προβατου ωστε εξεστιν τοις σαβ
τοις σαββατοις καλως ποιειν		βασιν καλως ποιειν
τοτε λεγει τω ανθρωπω εκτεινον		τοτε λεγι τω ᾱνω̄ εκτινον σου
σου την χειρα και εξετεινεν και		την χειρα και εξετινε̄ και απε
απεκατεσταθη υγιης ως η αλλη		κατεσταθη ὑγιησ
εξελθοντες δε οι φαρεισαιοι συμ		εξελθοντεσ δε οι φαρισεοι συμ
βουλιον ελαβον κατ αυτου οπως		βουλιον ελαβον κατ αυτου οπωσ
αυτον απολεσωσιν ο δε ις̄ γνους		αυτον απολεσωσιν ο δε ις̄ γνους
ανεχωρησεν εκειθεν και ηκολου		ανεχωρησεν εκιθε̄ και ηκολου
θησαν αυτω πολλοι και εθερα-		θησᾶ αυτω πολλοι και εθερα
πευσεν αυτους παντας και επετει		πευσεν αυτους παντας και επετι
μησεν αυτοις ινα μη φανερον		μησεν αυτοις ἵνα μη φανερον

* The mode of spelling seems not to have been fixed when the Cod. Vatican. was transcribed. No certain rule is followed in writing ει or ι. For instance, Mark viii. 19, we have πεντακεισχιλίους, and in the very next verse, 20, we meet with τετρακισχειλίους.

Cod. Vat.	Matt. xii. 9—21.	Cod. Sin.
αυτον ποιησωσιν ινα πληρωθη το ρηθεν δια ησαιου του προφητου λεγοντος ιδου ο παις μου ον ηρε τισα ο αγαπητος μου ον ευδοκη σεν η ψυχη μου θησω το πνευμα μου επ αυτον και κρισιν τοις εθνεσιν απαγγελει ουκ ερεισει ουδε κραυγασει ουδε ακουσει τις εν ταις πλατειαις την φωνην αυτου καλαμον συντετρειμμενον ου κατεαξει και λινον τυφομενον ου σβεσει εως αν εκβαλη εις νεικος την κρισιν και τω ονοματι αυτου εθνη ελπιουσιν.	αυτον ποιησωσιν ἵνα πληρωθη το ρηθεν δια ησαιου του προφητου λεγοντος ἴδου ο παισ μου ον ηρετισα ο αγαπητοσ μου ον ηὐδο κησεν η ψυχη μου θησω το πνᾶ μου επ αυτον και κρισῖ τοισ εθνεσιν απαγγελει ουκ ερισει ουδε κραυγασει ουδε ακουσει τισ εν τεσ πλατιαισ την φωνην αυ του καλαμον συντετριμμενον ου κατεαξει και λινον τυφομενον ου σβεσι εωσ αν εκβαλη εισ νικοσ την κρισιν και τω ονοματι αυτου εθνη ελπιουσιν.	

It is greatly to be wished, that exact facsimiles of these ancient MSS. could be obtained by means of photography. This would submit the original directly to the eye and individual judgment of every student; would facilitate the acquisition of as much palæographical knowledge as is necessary to the exercise of an independent criticism; and spare the risk of being possibly misled by the passage of the authentic document through the interposed medium of a strong subjective influence.*

J. J. Tayler.

V.—THE PILGRIM FATHERS. A STUDY OF PURITAN HISTORY.—I.

The English Reformation had the good or ill fortune (as men looking from different sides might count it) to be arrested, in mid career, by the operation of forces external to itself. It is the natural tendency of revolutions to work

* It appears from Phil. Buttmann, Jun. (Postscript. ad calc. Nov. Test.), that Spithöver, the Roman bookseller, has promised to procure a photograph of the Codex Vaticanus. We heartily join in Buttmann's wish. "Utinam fiat, quod in hac re ipse promisit, se mox codicem arte quæ dicitur photographica multiplicaturum esse."

themselves out—if such a phrase may be used—to develop all their motive ideas to a logical conclusion, not only in theory, but in practice. But the logic of revolution is seldom suffered to have its free course; the great mass of mankind are impatient of change, except in the direction of a fixed goal; and expediency is the rule of every settlement. In religion, as in politics, nations are apt to content themselves with what is practically possible, in place of the abstractly true and the absolutely good; and are ready to hail as a "Saviour of society" any man who will smooth for them a safe middle path in which to walk. Yet in every nation are men, one here and there, whose life is on a higher level than the national; who, whether in political settlements or elsewhere, cannot be contented with expediencies and compromises, and in whose minds therefore the revolution must have its full growth and ripen its natural fruit. They are in every age and country, the Nonconformists, the Reformers,—often the Dreamers, the Fanatics,—derided as visionary and unpractical, mournfully conscious that they are out of sympathy with the life and feeling of their time, yet compelled by a force which possesses them, stronger than themselves, to be faithful to their own conceptions of truth, and encouraged to wait for a better and braver day. Such were the Puritans of the 17th century. The religious reformation of the preceding age had received a settlement which was, in many of its determining motives, political; how should they be content with it? A personal quarrel with the Pope had driven Henry VIII. to the side of Reform; and under the impulse of his imperious temper and haughty will, changes had been carried into effect for which the nation was hardly yet ripe. The tide had rolled in with quicker flood during the brief reign of his son, the child-king, to ebb as quickly at the touch of Mary's blood-stained sceptre. Under Elizabeth's masculine and politic rule, the waters seemed to be stayed; while James, weary of Scotch Presbyterianism, and fully possessed by the thought that kings and bishops stood or fell together, was resolved that the nation should make no further progress from Rome towards Geneva. Yet, after all, the compromise then effected, and which, after many fierce shocks and buffets, still subsists, was no true and right compromise at all. Ideas are too strong for monarchs, even though they

possess a Tudor pride and a Stuart obstinacy; the tides of thought can be as little checked as the waters that rise and fall upon the shore. Everywhere, even through Elizabeth's reign, were to be found a continually increasing number of godly men, scattered in country parsonages, or sometimes occupying places of greater honour, in whom the new ideas still powerfully worked, and who could not stand still within the limits imposed by the Articles and the Prayer-book. In that bright and happy morning of religious life, with the Bible newly opened to men's eyes, and, as it seemed, an infinite universe of unknown truth and untrodden duty before them,—how should they passively abide by the will even of a queen to whom they paid so passionate a loyalty? So, little by little, these men, not forsaking their office in the Church, but rather performing its duties with a deeper gravity and an added zeal, became notorious for a strict, if not a scrupulous, conscientiousness in what other men thought to be trifles; a more solemn earnestness of preaching; a punctilious regularity, an almost stern purity of life. They did not see how anything relating to religion could be trifling or indifferent, and so made a conscience of many ceremonies which still had a savour of Rome about them; they could not reconcile the ideas of truth and compromise, and so spoke boldly of what seemed to them to be true, looking rather to the authority of the Bible and of Christ than to that of the Prayer-book or any visible head of the Church. Such men as these had grown into a powerful party when, in 1602, James Stuart came to England. They met him, a thousand strong, at the Hampton Court Conference, and were repulsed with insult. Neither king nor bishops would bate a jot of their old demand: said the monarch to the Puritan spokesman, Dr. Reynolds, after he had heard their moderate request, "If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harry them out of the land, *or else do worse.*" From that moment Puritanism was committed to a struggle for life and death with constituted authorities in Church and State. But the issue was not as James boasted it should be; Puritanism lives still, and must live, in some form or other, so long as men are earnest in religion; and it was the Stuarts who were harried out of the land.

Dissent in any organized form dates only from 1662: at

the time of which we are speaking, Puritanism was a force within the Church, not a party hostilely arrayed against it. In the earlier years of Elizabeth, indeed, it could boast of large Parliamentary influence and many powerful patrons: Leicester, Knollys and Walsingham, were not without Puritan tendencies; Burleigh was unwilling to proceed to extremes against it; and Archbishop Grindal forfeited his mistress's favour by his too great mildness in regard to its ministers. But before her long reign had closed in clouds, the case was widely altered. The whole strength of her imperious will had been brought to bear against the Puritans: any movement in their favour, either in Parliament or in public opinion, was promptly discouraged; nonconforming ministers were suspended or deprived; and any ecclesiastical organization not in accordance with the Church of England was made a crime against the State. Still, such organizations were formed. Some, looking to the example of Scotland, and inspirited by the success of Knox, who also had been an exile in Mary's days, attempted to set up Presbyteries; the first of which was established at Wandsworth, in 1572. Others, inclining to the form of church government which we call Independent or Congregational, but which was *then* contemptuously known as Brownism, gathered themselves together in separate communities. It is needless to add that these churches were few and scattered: not many men were logical enough to push their ecclesiastical theories to this practical conclusion; fewer still were willing to brave the certain anger of a ruler like Elizabeth, and to subject themselves to her somewhat sharp and unscrupulous administration of penal law. The great majority of the Puritans were content to be *Nonconforming*, without becoming *Separatists*. They did not look upon the Church of England as an absolutely unscriptural and unfaithful Church; and, without severing themselves from her fold, were willing to wait for the day when she should be brought into more perfect accordance with her divine original. Such a Separatist Church, however, as that which we have described, meeting in an obscure village in one of the northern counties of England, became, after many vicissitudes of fate, the Founders of New Plymouth and the Fathers of the American Republic.

The identification of this church, the discovery of its

place of meeting, and consequently the possibility of recovering biographical details as to some at least of its members, had been for many years an object of ardent desire to American historians, when, in 1849, the prize fell to the lot of a distinguished English antiquary, the Rev. Joseph Hunter. Not often does it happen that the antiquary's minute search into church registers, and decaying parchments, and fly-leaves of family Bibles, is rewarded by the discovery of a great nation's cradle, or that the forgotten names among which lies his patient toil, are those of men whom the inhabitants of a mighty continent delight to honour. Yet so has it been in this case. Up to the date of which we have spoken, all that was known was, that two Separatist churches "did congregate severally," to use the words of one of their own members, "some in Nottinghamshire, some in Lincolnshire, and some in Yorkshire, where they bordered nearest together." One of these churches has been long ago traced to Gainsborough: but what of the other? In another work, the Life of Brewster, an elder of the church, the same writer says—"They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's-day—*which was a manor of the Bishop's.*" The conjoint statement makes the identification complete. Scrooby, a village in the hundred of Bassetlawe, in the county of Nottingham, a few miles south of Doncaster, contained an ancient manor, or mansion-house, belonging to, and sometimes used by, the Archbishop of York. In the still existing registers of its church, the names of some of the most distinguished of the Pilgrim Fathers are to be found. If further evidence were needed, it would be furnished by a circumstance which hitherto has been one of the chief difficulties of the case. Governor Bradford, the true leader of the colony, and the writer from whom we have just quoted, was known to us, from another source, as having been born at Ansterfield. But no such place exists upon the map of England; and the little light which this alleged fact seemed to throw upon the question, was only greater darkness, till an obvious typographical correction enabled Mr. Hunter to identify Bradford's birthplace with Austerfield, a village within a walk of Scrooby. Rarely has a difficult and most interesting historical inquiry been more triumphantly removed from the region of aimless conjesture into that of unquestioned certainty.

No quieter birthplace of great events could well be found than Austerfield and Scrooby. A rich pastoral country, with but little undulation of surface, and no more of the picturesque than is implied in venerable trees and shady hedge-rows; the river Idle winding its slow way through deep meadows; a tiny hamlet here, a sleepy village there; this, which may be seen in a thousand places in Midland or Southern England,—this is all. Austerfield is but a house or two, lying almost beneath the shadow of a quaint little church, with some remnants of fine Norman work still undestroyed, whose venerable walls are upheld by massive and irregular buttresses, and whose bells ring out their Sabbath invitation to the villagers from a modest open belfry. The church at Scrooby is a more imposing, if hardly a more interesting pile, with nave and aisles and chancel, and a star-y-pointing spire—as, indeed, became the parish church where Archbishops sometimes condescended to worship. But the manor-house, where Brewster sheltered the little church which was to hand down his name to all posterity, is gone. Some depressions in the greensward are traditionally held to indicate the position of the moat; a fragment of carved work, which may have belonged to it, has been discovered by an enthusiastic pilgrim in a near cow-house; and aged sycamores, which may have been saplings two hundred and fifty years ago, peacefully overshadow the scene. There is an earlier interest still about the old house, which adds to our regret for its demolition. Here Wolsey halted awhile, when, at last "fallen from his pride of place," he was banished by his master to his northern diocese; and here, turning his thoughts perhaps to the long-forgotten duties of his office in the Church, he is found, in the words of his servant and biographer, "ministering many deeds of charity, and attending on Sundays at some parish church in the neighbourhood, hearing or saying mass himself, and causing some of his chaplains to preach to the people; and that done, he would dine at some honest man's house of that town, where should be distributed to the poor a great alms, as well of meat and drink, as of money to supply the want of sufficient meat, if the number of the poor did so exceed of necessity." But when Archbishop Sandys came to the see in 1576, he practically alienated Scrooby, by granting a long lease of

the property to his eldest sons, under whom, again, it was probably held by Brewster. No longer the occasional residence of a great prelate, but only a source of revenue to a family busily engaged in pushing their fortunes elsewhere, no wonder that Scrooby manor slowly fell into irremediable decay. But let those who know how firmly early impressions are interwoven with the very texture of human life, conjecture how often Brewster, as he sat in his log hut, meditating his exhortation to his little flock of exiles, must have seen before him the grey manor-house, the slender spire, the rich meadows, the glassy river; how often, even amid the silence and solitude of the New England forest, his fancy must have cheated him into the belief that he heard the distant music of the bells which had announced to him the advent of so many happy days of rest and worship!

It is needless now to inquire into the causes which gathered two earnest congregations of Separatists in so secluded a district as this. Not long before it had been surrounded by many rich monastic foundations; and some of its Puritanism may have been therefore due to the force of reaction. A more immediate cause may be found in the fact that several earnest preachers of the "new sect everywhere spoken against" occupied neighbouring benefices. And as these incurred the anger of the Bishops, and brought upon themselves fine and imprisonment for no greater crime than an unusual gravity of life and exhortation, some even of the simple country folk may have been led to doubt the excellence of a system in which the rotten trees were left standing, and only those offered to the axe which notably bore good fruit. The congregation which met at Gainsborough, under the pastoral care of one John Smith, a sincere but hot-headed and quarrelsome man, emigrated to Amsterdam in 1604, where, after maintaining for many years a lingering life, it at last perished of dissension and natural decay. The precise date at which the little church of Scrooby first drew itself together in Brewster's house cannot now be discovered; but it was probably not till after the Gainsborough emigration. Then for a year or two a congregation, organized after what its members thought to be an apostolical model, undeniably existed. Of this congregation Richard Clifton and John Robinson

were pastor and teacher,—the distinction between the two offices being somewhat obscure,—and William Brewster not only elder, but patron and friend.

Of the early history of this remarkable man, less is known than we could wish. Born, it is to be supposed, at Scrooby, or hard by, he attained (we know not where) "the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and some insight into the Greek" —then went, for a little while, to Cambridge; and thence to Court, taking service with Davison, one of Queen Elizabeth's most able and faithful Secretaries of State. Here all seemed to promise him a successful career. He was high in his master's favour, who esteemed him, it is said, "more as a son than as a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness in private, would converse with him more like a familiar than a master." All know the story of Davison's fall;—how Elizabeth placed in his hands Queen Mary's death-warrant, and then disowned the deed. With Davison fell Brewster, who remaining with his master awhile to comfort and serve him in his disgrace, then returned to Scrooby, abandoning the slippery path of court preferment, and willing that his life should end in the peaceful seclusion in which it began. What were his means of livelihood, or how he came to occupy the Archbishop's house, were facts unknown, till Mr. Hunter, remembering that Scrooby was a post town on the great north road, bethought him of searching the records of the Post-office. There, hardly expecting to find a grain of information, he stumbled upon a mine of precious ore. At least from 1594 to 1609, William Brewster was Post, as it was called, of Scrooby, charged, in return for a salary first of 20*d.* and then of 2*s.* a day, with the duty not only of receiving and delivering letters, but of entertaining and forwarding travellers between London and the North. The profits of the office were in those days not contemptible; the influence with which it invested its occupant considerable; while the place itself had been probably found for Brewster by some friend at court, who had known him in more prosperous days, and did not forget him now. At the time of which we are speaking, 1606, he would be about forty years of age; not unversed in literature, though better read in the ways of men, having seen something of foreign countries in his master's service, and so looking out upon a wider than the Scrooby horizon; of

a homely, cautious wisdom, a manly character, a resolute will; everywhere encouraging by example and effort and purse what he thought to be true religion, and burning with a deep, hidden indignation against the persecutors of those godly preachers at whose feet he sat. So presently these things had their natural work in his mind, and he gathered together a little church of freemen under the roof that had sheltered Wolsey.

The most notable of these, to the apprehension of posterity, was a youth, then only sixteen years of age, but who already possessed sufficient individuality of mind and purpose to identify himself with the Separatists, and whose name is memorable as the historian of the colony and its Governor, by annual re-election, during thirty-two years,—William Bradford. He was born at Austerfield, of a respectable yeoman's family, long ago extinct in its original seat. His parents dying while he was yet a child, he was brought up first by his grand-parents, and then by his uncles. Even when he was but twelve years old, he is said to have been inclined to religion, and to have been greatly attracted by the Puritan ministry of Richard Clifton, who though he afterwards attached himself to the Scrooby church, and finally emigrated to Holland, was then rector of Babworth, a village some six miles from Austerfield. To reach Babworth the young devotee would have to pass through Scrooby; and doubtless many a time and oft overtook Brewster and his friends on their way through the meadows, and was encouraged by their eager devotion to cast in his lot with them. But Bradford's day of influence is not yet come: and the name fittest to stand beside Brewster's is that of John Robinson. This accomplished divine, the true spiritual Father of New England,—of whom even a bitter opponent said that he was "the most learned, polished and modest spirit that ever separated from the Church of England,"—was educated at Cambridge, and probably beneficed in Norfolk, somewhere not far from Yarmouth. What were the special circumstances which led him to sever himself from the church of his birth, we do not know: he does not emerge into the daylight of history till, in 1606, we find him pastor of the Scrooby congregation. But his was a character cast in no common mould. While many other preachers may have possessed in equal

degree the power of awakening and sustaining the religious life of their people, to him was given the nobler faculty of inspiring common men with great aspirations and fitting them for heroic deeds. Few divines so transparently honest, so simply genuine, as he; learned in the wisdom of the schools, an acute disputant, a Dissenter fifty years before Dissent, he is yet willing to learn from friend or foe; clearly sees the possibility of a more rounded truth, a deeper insight than his own; and will welcome light from whatever quarter it may break. We can easily believe that, as Bradford says, "though very courteous, affable and sociable in his conversation," he was also "a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and would be very plain with his best friends." His life is a sufficient testimony to the tenderness of his conscience and the strength of his self-devotion, while we seem to see another proof of his native vigour and worth in the way in which he threw himself into all civil business, and was father and friend, no less than teacher, of the church. "Yea," concludes Bradford, in his tender estimate of his character, after death and three thousand miles of sea had long parted them—"Yea, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock, and his flock to him .... that it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor."

To understand what Robinson and Brewster did for this people, we must always keep in mind who they were,—a little company of labourers and weavers, of whom only Bradford was of sufficient local importance to have left any trace behind him in contemporary records. The men, other than those whom we have named, who took a high place in the infant colony,—Standish, its soldier, Winslow, its diplomatist,—joined the emigration at a later period. We cannot suppose that the Scrooby separatists were practised in controversy, that they could accurately expound the differences between Rome and Canterbury, or hold an even balance between Calvin and Arminius, or had any consistent theory of a national church. Perhaps not all of them could read the Bibles in the vulgar tongue which were then beginning to be common in the land: we know what this class of society in an English agricultural county is now, and may fairly conclude that it could hardly have

been much more instructed or sharper-minded then. Still, these two or three hundred peasants (at the highest computation they could not have been more)—probably picked men, for intelligence and character, through all the neighbouring villages—had been strongly moved by the deep religiousness of the Puritan ministers of Bassetlawe, and now were awakened to possibilities of heroism by daily intercourse with heroes. To live with Brewster and Robinson without catching some portion of their spirit, was to these men, whose hearts were already warmed, whose convictions already engaged, a thing impossible. So there is a presentiment of martyrdom—if we may so speak—an outlook to persecution, in the few words which describe the foundation of their church. "As the Lord's free people, they joined themselves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in the fellowship of the Gospel, to walk in all his ways, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavours, *whatsoever it should cost them.*" And they soon found that the cost could not easily be counted. "For some were taken and clapped up in prisons; others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood." Then, after a year's persecution, their thoughts turned to Holland. There free men were fighting a brave and not unsuccessful battle against bigotry incarnate in the persons of Philip of Spain and his successor; there, in Amsterdam, one of the world's first cities, the sister church of Gainsborough had sought and found rest. "Being thus constrained," continues Bradford, "to leave their native country, their lands and livings, and all their friends and familiar acquaintance, it was much, and thought marvellous by many." The war was not yet over; the country, the language, were alike strange to them; they had no aptitude for earning their bread otherwise than in the peaceful fields; there was no hope of return. "But these things did not dismay them, although they did sometimes trouble them, for their desires were set on the ways of God, and to enjoy His ordinances. But they rested on His providence, and knew where they had believed." In this simple but sublime faith, therefore, they set forth on their life's pilgrimage. Better forsake for ever the happy meadows, the

shining river, the grey church spire, the birthplace of their children, and even their fathers' graves, than worship God with hoodwinked conscience and lying lips! Better than the loudest notes of worldly joy at home, the Lord's song, even though in a strange land!

But though it must have been hard to take this resolution, it was harder still to carry it into effect. The government was determined that these Nottinghamshire peasants should have neither freedom of worship in England, nor permission to seek that freedom elsewhere. The ports were closed to their egress; and their only chance was to bribe a skipper to take themselves and their goods on board at some unfrequented part of the coast. The first attempt was made near Boston, in Lincolnshire. The captain kept his appointment, shipped his passengers, and then, instead of putting to sea, coolly betrayed them into the hands of the authorities. The intending emigrants were summarily despoiled of their goods, their persons rudely rifled, and themselves thrown into prison—whence, after a month's durance, they were liberated by an order from the Council. Seven, however, of the principal men, among whom was Brewster, were still detained, and bound over to appear at the ensuing assizes. What was the issue of the affair we do not know. The scene next opens upon a similar attempt at embarkation upon a solitary seaside common between Grimsby and Hull. Once more the skipper was unfaithful to his trust. He had embarked the men, when seeing the approach of an armed company of horse and foot, he hoisted sail, leaving the women and children upon the shore, helpless and destitute even of necessary clothing. A more painful parting can hardly be conceived—husbands and fathers, who would have gladly stayed to protect those who were dearest to them, carried away against their will—weeping women left to the scant mercies of those whose brutality was only increased by the thought that half their prey had escaped them. The ship, after a long and tempestuous voyage, in the course of which it was driven to the coast of Norway, arrived in Holland, where, by and by, the women, after much rough treatment, were sent after. Presently all were re-united; Robinson and Brewster, who had lingered the longest in the place of danger, that they might help the weaker brethren, being the last to arrive.

After a brief sojourn at Amsterdam, where Smith's church was already distracted by fierce dissensions, they fixed upon Leyden as their future home, and thither removed in 1609.

The eleven years from 1609 to 1620, during which the Pilgrims resided in Holland, almost correspond to those of the truce which Prince Maurice of Orange had concluded with the implacable enemies of his country and his race. And how strange a place in the eyes of the world did Holland occupy in those days! Bleeding at every pore from a war which had already lasted through two generations, and which an all-daring and all-sacrificing patriotism alone enabled her to sustain against overwhelming odds, she was the citadel of free Europe, and, since Elizabeth of England had passed away, the only refuge of persecuted men. The ships of Amsterdam were upon every sea, the presses of the Elzevirs furnished the world's literature, the looms of Leyden took up the forgotten industry of Ghent: whoever had a useful art to offer to the service of man, found here an opportunity and a home; while here, every man, no matter what or how deadly his heresies, might worship God in peace. Leyden, the Pilgrims' temporary home, famous for the unparalleled sufferings of its four months' siege, had since become still more famous for the University which William of Orange had founded in commemoration and reward of the citizens' bravery and patience. It was a stately city, lying in the fertile meadows by the banks of the Rhine, and containing some 70,000 souls. Yet, though the Pilgrims—to quote Bradford's words once more—"saw fair and beautiful cities, flowing with abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches, yet it was not long before they saw the grim and griseled face of poverty coming on them like an armed man, with whom they must buckle and encounter, and from whom they could not fly." We do not know what were the occupations of the main body of the emigrants, but we may conjecture, from the shifts to which their leaders were put to earn a livelihood, that they found more spiritual comfort than worldly prosperity in Holland. Robinson's pen is busy during these years; presently we find him admitted to the privileges of the University; then disputing in public with Episcopius, the Arminian champion, and coming off con-

queror—as indeed what disputant does not, in the estimation of his friends? Bradford is said to have learned from a Frenchman the art of throwing, or perhaps of weaving silk. Brewster first established himself as a teacher of English; then, after awhile, set up a printing-press, and earned the honour of being closely watched by Sir Dudley Carlton, King James's ambassador at the Hague. But whatever their poverty, it is pleasing to know that the Pilgrims were not unmindful of the sacred obligations which occasioned and justified their exile. "Although it was low with many of them, yet their word would be taken amongst the Dutch when they wanted money, because they had found by experience how careful they were to keep their word, and saw them so painful and diligent in their callings, that they strove to get their custom, and to employ them above others in their work, for their honesty and diligence." And to their peacefulness the magistrates of Leyden bore signal witness in a reproof which they administered to the Walloon, or French Protestant church of the city. "These English," said they, "have lived amongst us now these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them. But your strifes and quarrels are continual."

Critics and historians of the last century, with their singular power of substituting phrases for facts, have with one accord declared that the Pilgrim Fathers left Leyden for New England because an obscure rest was less tolerable than a persecution which would draw upon them the world's admiring gaze. That such small annalists as Douglass and Chalmers should thus insult unconscious heroism need create as little surprise as indignation; but it is impossible not to be amazed and grieved that their sneers should be repeated by Robertson and Burke. The statement of reasons which these unwilling exiles from European civilization have left behind them is not only clear and simple, bearing in every line the impress of veracity, but, in the very absence of every attempt to move the reader's pity, one of the most pathetic documents which ever it was our fortune to read. The truce with the Spaniards was approaching its end. What safeguard had they from a second siege of Leyden, as full of horrors as the first, yet perhaps of less prosperous an issue? Their life was very hard, so that men joined

themselves to their company and again left them, not being able to bear it; "yea, some preferred and chose prisons in England, rather than this liberty in Holland with these afflictions." Old age, hastened by anxiety and distress, was stealing on them apace, and their leaders were eager to see them in a safe place, and settled in a prosperous way, ere it was too late; they could not educate their children as they had themselves been taught; and what with the profanation of the Sabbath in Holland, and divers other causes incidental to their condition, the sons did not walk in the fathers' steps, but betook themselves to the sea, or to the war, or to other callings perilous to true godliness. Then —and this, be sure, was not the least cogent argument— their hearts yearned towards the land which they had left, and they desired to preserve the name and the language of Englishmen to themselves and to their posterity, no matter in what remote and savage corner of the world they found it possible to unite this privilege with that of free worship. "Lastly," says Bradford, "a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, ... for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing of so great a work." A fear of Spain only too fully justified by the story of the last half-century; a desire of a somewhat easier life and a less chequered outlook to the future; the wish that their children might not be led away from the principles for which they had sacrificed everything; the determination that, wherever their lot was cast, they would still have the language of England upon their lips and the love of England in their hearts; and the humble hope of hastening the coming of Christ's kingdom;—how much of this is to be recognized in Burke's summary estimate of their motives? "They were tolerated, indeed, but watched; their zeal began to have dangerous languors for want of opposition; and being without power or consequence, they grew tired of the indolent security of the sanctuary." How true is it that spiritual things can only be spiritually discerned! How all impossible for the age of the Encyclopædia to understand the age of the Reformation!

But whither should they go? Some proposed Guiana, of which Raleigh, twenty years before, had published a

glowing account; bright not only with the hues which tropical luxuriance lent to his pencil, but with the reflection of those more mysterious glories of a visionary El Dorado which the adventurer hoped might be revealed at every turn of the unknown river, in every valley among the unexplored mountains. But the major part turned their thoughts to Virginia—a name which then comprehended the whole Atlantic coast between Maine and South Carolina. In Guiana, the Spaniards were a terror; in Virginia, the persecuting Church policy from which they had already fled. Still, there they might be Englishmen; would it not be possible to obtain from King James permission to settle in some obscure nook of this great territory, and peacefully to worship God in their own way? The Virginia Company, a corporation embodied by royal patent and in possession of exclusive privileges, was then a sort of rude colonial office; to it—by the hands of two of their number, Robert Cushman and John Carver—the Leyden church applied; trusting chiefly, it would seem, to the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys, son of that Archbishop Sandys whose old manor-house at Scrooby had been occupied by Brewster. After long negociation, during which many difficulties were faced and overcome, a sort of agreement was arrived at; the King would grant no public toleration of heretical worship—would not even privately promise to connive at it—but still gave the intending emigrants to hope that so long as they carried themselves peaceably, he would not meddle with them. With this ambiguous decision they were forced to be content; and a patent, conveying to them lands which, as it happened, they never occupied, was taken out in the name of an obscure retainer of the Countess of Lincoln's family, Mr. John Wincob, and "duly confirmed under the Company's seal." We may well suppose that Secretaries of State, Governors of Companies, and the like, bestowed very little thought on this matter, except perhaps to wonder that these new colonists should take so much pains to carry with them permission to serve God as they would to those savage shores, where adventurers for the most part assumed an added licence of practice. And the patent, to procure which so many noble and courtly wits were set to work, became waste paper sooner even than such documents usually do; the real significance of the transaction lying

all the while in some reasons for emigration which the Honourable Company probably never read, or, if they read, were quite unable to understand. Let us once more put on record the simple, strong sentences in which these poor wanderers express their great purpose.

"1st. We verily believe and trust the Lord is with us, unto whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials; and that He will graciously prosper our endeavours according to the simplicity of our hearts therein.

"2nd. We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet, in great part, we have by patience overcome.

"3rd. The people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world.

"4th. We are knit together as a body in a more strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience; and by virtue whereof we do hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good. . . . .

"5th. And, lastly, it is not with us, as with other men, whom small things can discourage or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again. We know our entertainment in England and Holland. We shall much prejudice both our arts and means by removal; where, if we should be driven to return, we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither, indeed, look ever to attain the like in any other place during our lives, which are now drawing towards their periods."

Is it wonderful that such a seed, thus sown, should have grown into a mighty tree?

But the bargain with the King and the Virginia Company was not the only one which the intending colonists had to make. To raise money for the necessary expenses of the voyage and settlement, they entered into a kind of partnership with certain capitalists, who, in the language of that day, went by the name of "merchant adventurers." The contract was a very hard one for the settlers; but their agents advised them that the money could not be raised on easier terms, and they had no alternative but submission or the renunciation of their plans. The main points of the agreement were these. For the space of seven years everything was to be thrown into a common stock, in which a man might hold as many ten-pound shares as he would; his

life, strength, labour, counting for one such share only. On this basis of capital all profits were to be ultimately divided. Of a man's children, between ten and sixteen years of age, two are to be reckoned as equal to £10. Everybody is to be maintained out of the common stock for seven years; at the end of which the whole property of the colony is to be rateably divided between the settlers and the adventurers. The emigrants wished, in addition to this, to secure to themselves, at the end of the fixed period, their own homesteads and gardens, and to have the right of working for themselves two days in each week; but to this the moneyed partners refused to agree. Surely never were adventurers who earned the name by so small a venture! Surely, of all hard bargains ever driven between capital and labour, this is among the hardest! And by one of the strange caprices of judgment, of which the history of opinion affords so many examples, this stringent contract, under which the settlers were compelled to value seven years' labour and hardship as equal to seven years' use of ten pounds, has been made the ground of an accusation that they sought to transplant to the shores of America the pernicious doctrines of Communism, and to found in Massachusetts Bay one knows not what horrible kind of Utopia!

The church of Leyden now prepared for the departure of some of its best and most beloved members. It was no longer the little congregation of Scrooby separatists: since its settlement in Holland, many men of good condition and ability had joined it, some of whom had now resolved to take part in the new adventure. As only the minority were about to go upon this first voyage, Robinson agreed to remain behind with the greater part. The emigrants were to be under the spiritual care of Brewster, who, with the title of elder, was to preach, but not to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; while all, in Holland and in America, were to consider themselves as still one church, divided indeed by accidents of time and space, but always united in heart. A little barque, of 60 tons burden, the Speedwell, was bought to take them to England, where a larger ship—itself of only 180 tons—awaited their coming, famous to all succeeding ages by its name of cheerful augury, the Mayflower. "So being ready to depart," says Bradford," they had a day of solemn humiliation, the pastor

taking his text from Ezra the viiith and 21st, 'And there at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance.' Upon which he spent a good part of the day very profitably, and suitably to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with the most of their brethren out of the city into a town sundry miles off, called Delft-Haven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place near twelve years. But they knew that they were Pilgrims, and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." Then he goes on to tell how friends from Amsterdam and Leyden gathered at Delft-Haven to see the last of them; how their last night in Holland was spent with but little sleep, yet much Christian discourse and many outpourings of affection; what tears and sobs broke from eye and heart when the vessel loosed from the quay, so that the very bystanders, who knew not their language and could only guess their errand, were melted; and how, when the tide ebbed and the Speedwell shook her sails to the propitious wind, the pastor knelt upon the shore, and "with watery cheeks and most fervent prayers commended them to the Lord, and to His blessing." But, after all, it is not in these details, touching though they be, that the true and lasting interest of the scene is found for us. Every day friends are parted, not knowing whether they shall meet again; every day some wanderer's path is watered by tears and perfumed by prayer. But rarely are counsels uttered so wise, so large-hearted, so full of unconscious prophecy, as those which Robinson addressed to the departing church. "The Lord knoweth"—these were his words, as reported by Winslow—"whether ever he should live to see our faces again. But whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and His blessed angels to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of His, to be as ready to receive it, as we were to receive any truth by his minis-

try: for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of His holy word." And then he cautioned them not to follow the evil example of the Lutherans and Calvinists, who, professing each implicit obedience to their great leader, were unwilling to learn anything from one another, whereas those leaders themselves, "though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed His whole will to them; and were they now living, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light as that they had received." So with an added caution that, receiving all Scripture truth, they should first satisfy themselves by examination and comparison of its character and authority, and an exhortation that in all things they should study union rather than division, he unwillingly let them go. As the Speedwell slowly dropped down the sluggish Maese, and the low shores of Holland gradually melted into cloud and sea upon the far horizon, may we not believe that their hearts would burn within them at the remembrance of words like these? Or upon what more stable foundation can any church or any state be built, than upon the aspiration after absolute truth, the desire of perfect peace, and the consciousness of an unbroken trust in God?

The Speedwell, after a quick and prosperous voyage, arrived in Southampton Water, where she found her consort, the Mayflower, in which the rest of the party had been brought round from London. Hence the two ships set sail on the 5th of August; of light burthen, as we should now think, and ill fitted to cross the stormy Atlantic, yet stronger far than the frail shallops which, freighted with hearts as stout, had borne Columbus to the land of his dreams. Their intention was to reach the coast of northern Virginia before winter, but many untoward circumstances interfered to prevent the accomplishment of their wishes. Before they had cleared the Channel, the master of the Speedwell reported that she was leaky, and that he dared proceed no further. They put in at Dartmouth, overhauled and repaired the ship, and once more set sail. But after they had made some three hundred miles, the same complaint was repeated, and both ships bore up for Plymouth. Here the leaders resolved to leave the Speedwell behind; unsuspicious of the truth, that not the ship was in fault, but the treacherous

faint-heartedness of her master. As many of the company as were able—one hundred and one in number—crowded into the Mayflower, which finally put to sea on the 6th of September, 1620. One hundred and twenty persons had at first been set apart for the expedition; but thus, says Bradford, "like Gideon's army, this small number was divided, as if the Lord, by this work of His providence, thought these few too many for the great work He had to do."

CHARLES BEARD.

VI.—A THEOLOGICAL CAUSE CÉLÈBRE IN SCOTLAND.

IT is a question of profound practical and philosophical interest how far any Church in Scotland will be able to furnish room and scope for the free development of religious thought within its creed-restricted boundaries. The existence of a Broad-church school, both among clergy and laity, is undeniable, although as yet it has ventured upon no such open avowal of heresy as that which is familiar south of the Border. The writings of James Martineau have a place in many a library where their presence would be least suspected; and passages betraying (to say the least) a striking similarity to some parts of the "Endeavours after the Christian Life," are not altogether unknown in Scotch discourses. General denunciations against the prevalence of erroneous doctrine are frequent both from pulpit and presbytery, and reveal grave suspicions and weighty fears touching the strength of an invisible but real and vital opposition to ancient formulæ of belief. Dr. Buchanan, in his masterly speech on the union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches, appeals to the example of the nations as giving a great lesson to the churches of Christ. Not merely the sagacity of their statesmen, but the instincts of the nations, are teaching them, that if they are to live at all amid the gigantic conflicts of modern times, they must give up intestine jealousies. "If little wars have come to an end in the theatre of this political world, it seems hardly less evident that in the theatre of the religious world they are passing

away too; and that here also great wars—wars of Catholic magnitude—are awaiting the defenders of Christian truth," that is, according to the opinion of the speaker, the doctrine of the Westminster Confession.*

It is remarkable that the first contest respecting doctrine in these modern days has taken place within the Free Church of Scotland. The Established Church has witnessed within the last few years trials of battle between the supporters and opponents of the use of an organ in public worship, which have resulted in its permission; a congregation being unanimous, and the local presbytery assenting. There have been great field-days of debate on ritual, and the question of a liturgy remains *sub judice*, in consequence of the sad calamity which has prostrated its chief champion, the ablest and most courageous leader of the reformers of the Church of Scotland, upon a bed of sickness on the very eve of his appearance at the bar of the Assembly. The Established Church has listened to an argument against subscription to confessions of faith, addressed to its divinity students, which might have been delivered with the greatest propriety and acceptance to the students of Manchester New College; and has instituted no prosecution.† A local court in Glasgow has debated the ceremonial observance of the Sabbath, but there was no appeal taken to the Assembly; and matters remain legally as they were before Dr. Macleod's famous speech was delivered.‡

No question, indeed, of pure theological doctrine, in any way equivalent to the questions raised by the Essays and Reviews or Bishop Colenso, has challenged judgment in the ecclesiastical courts of the Established Church. General directions have been issued to presbyteries to be on their guard against erroneous teaching; but there appears no desire to institute proceedings on the mere report that an heretical sermon has been preached. It is the policy of the Broad-church leaders not to force on any decision; and it is equally the policy of their opponents not to anticipate an inevitable conflict; so that the cry is still heard in Scotland (and for a season will yet be heard), "We are all of

* Speech of Dr. Buchanan in Free Church Assembly, May 30th, 1867.

† Address of Dr. Lee to Students of Edinburgh University, 1866.

‡ Vide article in Theological Review, July, 1866.

one mind; for have we not one confession of faith?" To those who know the facts, this statement, not unfrequently made, is a curious compound of truism and sarcasm. The Free Church, however, is pervaded by a different spirit. There we find avowed and most resolute determination to keep pure and unbroken what it esteems to be the faith once delivered to the saints. Its eyes are upon every minister, and its ears are ever open.

In his speech on the case of the Rev. W. C. Smith (the nature of which we are about to explain to our readers), Dr. Candlish made the following statement, which may be quoted as illustrative of the spirit of the Free Church:

"It was said from the bar, that if we sustain the dissent and complaint, we send Mr. Smith back to his congregation to teach the same things, the teaching of which we condemn. That would be true if we did not censure him; but we send *him abroad upon his ministry warned—well warned—warned by the whole Presbytery of which he is a member—warned by this whole General Assembly—that our eyes will be upon him, that our ears will be open.* We charge him on his allegiance not to repeat this offence—we charge him as a dutiful son of the Church to beware of teaching such things henceforth; . . . . and if it shall be found, in spite of this warning and that prohibition, he or any other minister of this Church shall be found propagating a similar view, we have a stronger hold upon them than we have at this moment upon Mr. Smith; and we give forth emphatically before this country and our people, and before the world, unanimous, united, cordial, earnest adherence of this Church, as represented in this Assembly to the old, sound, Calvinistic, orthodox doctrines as to the law of God, as contained in the two Scriptures."*

This is strong language, but we believe it precisely expresses what the Free Church has done, does, and will continue to do. The spirit dominant within its borders is absolutely opposed to the growth of any heresy. So far as it has the power, it will prevent the seed from being cast upon the ground. Dr. Candlish does not utter vague threats or words without meaning. The Free Church will watch her clergy, and with open eye and quick ear exercise an ecclesiastical supervision over purity of doctrine, precise and definite enough to have satisfied the mind of a sound Presbyterian even in the good old times of thumb-screws

* Speech of Dr. Candlish in General Assembly of Free Church, May 29, 1867.

and iron boots. She upholds her standards, and charges her members on their allegiance to be faithful. In these days of lax interpretation of creeds, of esoteric and exoteric meanings assigned to ancient formulæ, the Free Church will endeavour to present to the world uncorrupted orthodoxy. Her position is clear and consistent. She will accept no signature to her creeds which does not imply corresponding belief, and raise a strong hand against those who would hide their freer thought beneath words of double meaning.

A trial for heresy is therefore the natural and legitimate result of the whole system of Church discipline as practised under Presbyterian government. If an institution be national, there is some ground for an appeal on behalf of those varieties of thought essentially involved in national characteristics; but no such argument can avail for a purely voluntary association such as the Free Church is in the eye of the law. A man who by his own act binds himself to the Confession adopted by the Free Church, and who is not bound to remain with it a day longer than he chooses, cannot justly complain, if by regular process he is called upon to free himself from the suspicion of heretical teaching.

We do not think, therefore, any fair objection can be taken in limine to those proceedings instituted against the Rev. W. C. Smith, to which we now ask the attention of our readers.

The Rev. W. C. Smith is minister of the Free Tron Church in Glasgow. A man of refined culture, poetic taste and skill, and devout feeling, as a Christian minister he exercises a deep and noble spiritual influence in matters beyond all controversy. He is no hot and eager disputant, apt to take offence, keen in repartee, but one who (so far as our judgment goes) would be the last to urge offensively any divergence of thought—would be happier if he could honestly yield rather than press his point—and be far more delighted to prove himself in agreement, instead of at variance, with his brethen. His reputation has been that of a thoughtful minister, bringing the grace of literary culture to the preaching of the gospel of Christ, and, while true to his own truth, cherishing wide and genial sympathies. Somewhat nervously sensitive, he does not desire

to "disturb the faith even of any of God's little ones," and would rather "bear any amount of blame than vindicate himself at such a cost to others."* He even ventures to speak without direct rebuke of the imputation of heresy, as one "which in this country is more odious and damaging than any other;" somewhat forgetful of the honour of that imputation borne by "devout men not a few," scattered through many churches and among all the great seats of learning Europe contains.

In the course of his ordinary morning services, Mr. Smith delivered a course of lectures upon the Sermon on the Mount. A report that two of these lectures contained heretical doctrine attracted the attention of the Presbytery, and on one occasion, in Mr. Smith's absence, became the subject of conversation. At the ensuing meeting Mr. Smith called attention to the subject, and the whole matter came under the formal jurisdiction of the Presbytery.

The discourses were from the text, Matt. v. 17, 19, and discussed generally the character of the Old Testament in relation to the New. They maintain that, as an authoritative and valid document, the Old Testament Scriptures are abrogated, and that the New Testament contains in itself, and without mixture or addition from any other quarter whatever, the complete revelation of God's will for our salvation. Their argument may be summed up in the various passages which contend that Christ fulfilled the ancient Scriptures, but in that very fact annulled them; just as a draft will, which if duly signed and witnessed would be a sufficient testament, may be at once fulfilled and annulled by a later and final deed; and your trustees might quite honestly say, when carrying out the provisions of the latter, that they were not abolishing, but really accomplishing, the purpose outlined in the previous document. The New Testament is now, therefore, it is contended, the one authoritative and sufficient document expressing to us the whole will of God, containing a far deeper and broader law of moral duty than that which was engraven on tables of stone. Many excellent Christians have set aside the ceremonial and judicial part of the Mosaic ordinances as no longer binding, but resolutely cling to other

* Preface to Lectures on Sermon on the Mount, p. ix.

parts of the law and the prophets with a zeal and a tenacity and a passion which will not tolerate either question or explanation: we have, however, no right to select one part for abolition and another for perpetuation.

"But if any one should say that he is prepared to act on the principle that all the Old Testament economy which is not expressly abrogated in the New, is still binding on the Christian, then I would remind him that, even assuming that all the proper ceremonial law is so abolished, by far the greater part of the judicial law is left in full force, so far at least as regards direct and definite statements of the Lord or his apostles. The laws which acknowledge and regulate slavery; the law concerning Sabbath and Jubilee years; the law of tithes; the laws which punish the adulterer and Sabbath-breaker and undutiful children with death,—these and a hundred other ordinances remain unrepealed by any explicit enactment of the New Testament.

"Is any one prepared to carry into practice these now obsolete statutes?"*

In treating upon the Decalogue, the lectures declared that the moral law and the Decalogue must not be confounded: the Decalogue, though perfect in itself, as being without mistake, certainly was not the perfect moral law.

After receiving two explanatory statements from Mr. Smith, the Committee of Presbytery appointed to report upon the case, condemned the teaching of these discourses, as quite irreconcilable with that of Scripture and the Confession. What, according to Scripture and the Confession, is the complete or perfect and authoritative revelation of moral law, is denied to be so in the discourses. By the one, the Old Testament Scriptures are held to be in matters of faith and practice as authoritative and binding now as they were in former times; by the other, they are declared to be without any direct authority, in force only so far as they have been taken up and reproduced in the writings of the New Testament. Upon these grounds the Committee condemned the sermons, and proposed that Mr. Smith should be personally catechized as to the precise nature of his opinions, since it was found impossible to harmonize all his statements with each other or with the Confession. The Presbytery unanimously adopted the report, and after

* Lectures on Sermon on the Mount, p. 66.

expressing disapproval and censure of the sermons, resolved that distinct answers should be obtained from Mr. Smith to the following questions:

"(1.) Do the Ten Commandments, as given from Sinai and summed up in the two great precepts of perfect love to God and brotherly love to man, contain a revelation of the law of God, binding on Christians, and one that is comprehensive of all moral duty?

"(2.) Are the Scriptures of the Old Testament, with the requisite allowance for what is stated in the Confession as to ceremonial and judicial statutes, still an authority of themselves for the establishment of doctrine and the inculcation of moral duty, irrespective of any fresh sanction or enforcement of them in New Testament Scripture?"

As a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, the treatment of Mr. Smith at this stage appears somewhat hard and ungenerous. The sermons were condemned; and then, and not until then, were answers to the two questions demanded. It is expressly stated that there were doubtful expressions in the sermons which might have meaning either way; and surely the doctrine of the sermons should have been interpreted by the answers to the questions. To condemn a man's sermons in the first instance, absolutely and decisively, and afterwards to ask him what his opinions really are, is a method of procedure somewhat scant in courtesy and scarcely judicial in fairness.

An elaborate paper was read by Mr. Smith (Oct. 4, 1866), in reply to these questions, and the controversy rapidly became both subtle and technical. The Presbytery declared the Scriptures of the Old Testament authoritative for the establishment of doctrine, *but* there must be an allowance made for ceremonial and judicial statutes. Mr. Smith declared the Old Testament abrogated as an authoritative document, *but* all the everlasting doctrine and all the everlasting duty revealed in the old covenant have been gathered up and expressed with greater fulness in Christ, so that not one jot or tittle of them is lost.

"I hold that the Old Testament Scriptures are quite sufficient authority for establishing any *clear and undeniable* spiritual truth, seeing *that their abrogation does not affect such revelations at all;* that they are also sufficient authority for establishing any properly moral duty, seeing that *moral duty carries its reason*

in itself, and is therefore binding whenever, wherever, and by whomsoever uttered; but all the positive law contained in the Old Testament is annulled, and all the illustrations of it which might claim to be authoritative examples to us are also annulled, except in so far as they are re-affirmed in the New Testament, which at the same time *does re-affirm all the spiritual truth and all the moral obligation which had been aforetime revealed through Moses.*"*

Heresy upon the Old Testament is thus drawn out to the thinnest conceivable line, like goldbeaters' wire, and not one of the great problems of modern criticism is involved in the discussion of the case. What free play for the light and shadow of spiritual thought, what scope for the unfettered investigation of the higher problems of faith, can there be in a Church which debates interminably differences between heresy and orthodoxy so nearly invisible as these!

Mr. Smith gives no better solution than the Presbytery of the grave moral difficulties involved in the theory of the infallible authority of the Old Testament.

"Remember the law of intolerance, that the idolater in Israel should be stoned with stones until he die. I challenge not the propriety of such a law in the peculiar theocratic constitution of the Jews; but surely it was a limitation of the great principle, Love thy neighbour as thyself. Remember the ordinance (in Deut. xx. 12), applicable not to the exceptional case of the Canaanites, but to all cities at any time taken by assault of war, that the men should be slain, and the women and children reduced to slavery —captives of the bow and the spear. Was that a full application of the principle, Love thy neighbour as thyself? Remember the distinct authorization of divorce, simply on the ground of some physical disgust; and again I ask, was that fully carrying out the law of love to our neighbour? Remember that (in Lev. xxv.) Israel was enjoined to buy and sell bondmen and bondwomen of the heathen around them; and was that holding of slaves as goods and chattels an application of the precept, 'Do to others as ye would that they also should do unto you'? I could easily point to other examples of the same kind of thing; but I forbear, because, in this case as in the former, it is far from my purpose to under-estimate the moral worth of the Mosaic legislation, but only to shew the greater fulness that is in Christ. I adduce these cases, therefore, merely to prove that, while the great law of love to God and man was certainly declared at

* Speech of Mr. Smith, Oct. 3, 1866.

Sinai, yet in its practical application it was, for wise, however inscrutable, reasons subjected to various restrictions, so that the people of Israel did not fail in its observance merely because of their perverse will, nor yet merely because they had not quite so much light as we have, but because, in point of fact, there was positive statute authorizing them to do in some cases what we must acknowledge to be repugnant to the law of perfect love. These statutes, therefore, had to be repealed; these permissions had to be annulled; and the truth had to be revealed in its integrity ere the whole duty of man could be known and performed."

To stone an idolater, we submit, is not merely a limitation of the great principle, Love thy neighbour as thyself, but an absolute contradiction to its whole meaning.

The massacres absolutely ordered by (so-called) divine authority, the injunctions regarding bondmen and bondwomen of the heathen, and similar instances, prove, not that the Lord God ever authorized a restricted application of His perfect law, but that the Mosaic economy, with all its wisdom and nobleness, was in parts guilty of ascribing to God the results of human bigotry, injustice and cruelty.

Mr. Smith believes that there was positive statute authorizing the people of Israel to do in some cases what we must acknowledge to be repugnant to the law of perfect love, and so far he agrees with the Presbytery upon the most vital question which can be raised by Christianity regarding the nature of the Old Testament. The far broader question, whether there actually were any such God-given permissions to act wickedly, or whether man has not attributed to God the workings of his own passions, remained untouched throughout the whole debate. And this is the wonder and the marvel of the case, as a trial for heresy in the 19th century. Grave and learned divines weave the web of their ingenious arguments, on either side producing, though by slightly different process, one pattern; while something more important than process or pattern, the value of their whole work itself, is being questioned in the great world of modern scholarship. Whether certain injunctions are binding, because commanded in the Old Testament, or because re-produced in the New,—the exact point within the Scriptures on which we are bound to rest the weight of their authority,—are matters of eager debate in a Presbytery; while the world outside is asking,

every day more clearly and earnestly, whether in these books of ancient Scripture themselves human errors are not intermixed with divine verities, and whether the last appeal must not be taken to the mind and conscience of the worshiper.

With reference to the other question asked by the Presbytery, Mr. Smith summed up his views by saying that the moral law is always and unchangeably binding; that it is briefly but absolutely comprehended in the two precepts enjoining perfect love to God and brotherly love to men; that the Ten Commandments contain a weighty summary of moral duty, and in so far are perpetually binding; but that neither does the Decalogue nor the entire Mosaic code fully expose and apply the whole idea of perfect love to God and brotherly love to man. On the part of the Presbytery, Dr. Fairbairn accepted this statement as not essentially differing from orthodox doctrine. Mr. Smith differs (he remarked) from the standards in thinking the Decalogue not quite so "comprehensive" as the two precepts of love; but this point might safely be left to his more mature study.

The sum-total of this dangerous heresy agitating the Church is thus found at last only to amount to this—the Decalogue is rather less "comprehensive" of moral duty than the two precepts, love to God and love to man; both parties admitting that the New Testament contains the fuller expression and more thorough application of the moral law.

Is it possible that heresy and orthodoxy could ever do battle on a more microscopic issue? By use of high powers lines may be observed on diatomaceæ which poorer instruments cannot reveal; and the Glasgow Presbytery must be credited with the possession of instruments for the detection of heresy capable of the clearest definition within the narrowest field.

The debate further touched upon the value of Mr. Smith's idea regarding the fulfilment of the Old Testament in the New as a principle of criticism. It was admitted on both sides that the earlier dispensations had certain temporary regulations and ordinances well suited for the times then present, but destined to pass away; and that differences of opinion exist even among "sound" divines as to what was of temporary application in the Old Testament. Mr. Smith lays down (in effect) almost as a canon of criticism, by

which the temporal part of the Old Testament may be discriminated from the eternal, that since the Old Testament contains nothing of spiritual truth which is not reaffirmed in more complete and perfect form in the New, nothing in the law or other writings of Old Testament Scripture is binding unless sanctioned in the New.

We agree with the Presbytery that no difficulties are solved by this statement, and that it breaks down upon its first application. The New Testament in some passages repeats the Judaic errors of the Old, simply because it was written among the Jews. It acknowledges, for example, the crime of witchcraft.

The argument of Dr. Fairbairn is to our mind clear and unanswerable:

"Coming now to a consideration of Mr. Smith's own principle of interpretation on the other side, that principle appeared to be this, that nothing in the law or other writings of Old Testament Scripture was binding unless either directly or by implication sanctioned in the New. Mr. Smith seemed to think this a very precise and definite rule, but to the speaker it appeared rather an indefinite and elastic one, which would lead to endless differences. What was directly sanctioned might, of course, with pretty general unanimity, be ascertained; but in so wide a field, and amid such a vast number of topics, how many opinions might be held about what was set forth there by implication? The object for which this principle was specially propounded by Mr. Smith was to let people see the impropriety of mixing up in certain matters the Old Testament regulations with the spirit of the New, and he specifically referred to the delusions about witchcraft, and the dreadful treatment of witches. This came, Mr. Smith thought, from confounding the old law with the new, and his principle would prove an effectual safeguard against it. Certainly it would be no safeguard to him (Dr. Fairbairn), on the supposition that he was a believer in witchcraft, after the fashion of our forefathers. Supposing he went for light on this subject to New Testament Scripture, he found that St. Paul, in one of his epistles, named witchcraft among the condemned works of the flesh, placing it alongside of murder. Might he not fairly associate this with what was written in Old Testament Scripture on the subject? Surely he might. In fact he would, and if the murderer was still, by universal consent, held liable to the penalty of death, why should not the witch be counted worthy of the same? He therefore

saw no important use that the principle in question could serve. Its supposed benefits, he believed, were quite imaginary."*

On the other hand, the Old Testament contains divine laws which cannot even technically be said to have been abrogated by Christ at any moment or for any purpose. The everlasting sanctities of God, revealed through the Prophets, were as authoritative from their lips as from the lips of Jesus Christ himself.

Moses and the Prophets and Jesus Christ are better described as revealers than as legislators. Newton did not legislate regarding the heavens, but revealed the mighty marvels of their harmony; and the Lord's messengers do not legislate upon His will, but reveal its eternal sanctities. Whensoever a moral law, therefore, is perceived, it carries with it its own binding obligation; and whether stated in the Old Testament or in the New, is of precisely equal authority. As Mr. Smith himself states—"I hold that moral law, from its very nature, cannot be annulled. It carries the imperative OUGHT in its own bosom; and though it may be justly said to obtain additional sanctions when uttered expressly by God, yet, whenever and wherever spoken, it claims rightful and perpetual authority over every soul of man."

This language we find it impossible to reconcile with the technicalities of the dispute regarding our obligation to observe a law given in the Old Testament because it is reproduced in the New. A law of God has a universal authority, in whatever book written or by whatever prophet uttered. All the questions raised in this weary controversy concerning abolishing, fulfilling, re-producing, re-enacting, are purely technical, and have no relationship whatever to the fundamental grounds of human obligation.

The New Testament thus containing an element of Judaic error, and the Old Testament an element of everlasting truth, Mr. Smith's theory does not appear to us either dangerous as a heresy or profitable as a solution of critical difficulties.

Dr. Buchanan, however, anticipates grave results from the so-called heresies of Mr. Smith; and this passage of his speech must be quoted as one of the curiosities of the con-

* Speech of Dr. Fairbairn, Presbytery of Glasgow, May 28, 1867.

troversy. Dr. Buchanan, we are bound to state, conducted the case throughout with consummate skill, and is undoubtedly the leader of the Free Church in the west of Scotland.

"As to the former question, it was the law of the Ten Commandments, as given from Sinai, under which Christ was made—it was the righteousness of that law He undertook to fulfil—it was those who were under that law He came to redeem. If, then, that law was after all incomplete—if it did not embody the whole duty of man—if it is a higher, more spiritual, more pure and perfect law which under the Gospel we are bound to obey—the tremendous consequence must needs follow, that the work of our surety and substitute was incomplete, and it does not fully meet the necessities of our case. Nay more, from such a view of the law as given from Sinai, it would inevitably follow that God himself is mutable. If His law, which is simply the formal impression of His mind and will, can vary, it must be because He is not the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever! As to the latter question—if the Old Testament Scriptures have been superseded in the sense and to the extent that nothing they teach is binding now, save in so far as it has been taught over again directly or by implication in the Scriptures of the New Testament, results of a very formidable nature must inevitably ensue. The New Testament contains no code of forbidden degrees on the subject of marriage. Adopt Mr. Smith's theory and it will be hard to say, with any voice of divine authority, what constitutes an unlawful and incestuous marriage. The New Testament is all but silent on the subject of infant baptism. The argument on which infant baptism mainly rests is the broad fact that God's covenant with Abraham is identical with that under which the Christian Church exists; and as the Old Testament teaches that the infants of the members of the Jewish Church were entitled to receive the seal of that covenant by the ordinance of circumcision, we hold that by necessary consequence the same privilege, by the New Testament ordinance of baptism, must belong to the infants of the members of the Christian Church. All that we read of the action of the Apostles is in harmony with this conclusion, and the uniform practice of the primitive church is in harmony with it. But let Mr. Smith's principle be adopted—that nothing we read in the Old Testament is of any authority, save in so far as it is reproduced in the New—and we shall immediately find that the right arm of our whole argument for infant baptism is broken. Mr. Smith's theory provides the opponents of infant baptism with a statute of repeal so sweeping and so peremptory as will go far to nullify arguments

otherwise irresistible, not only for infant baptism, but for many other things besides. The New Testament says little, if anything at all, about the responsibility of nations as such, or of the principles according to which God regulates His dealings with them. On this great and important subject the teaching of the Old Testament is clear and precise; but on the footing of Mr. Smith's principle it will be hard to say whether we have any right to appeal to it at all. Once more, not needlessly to multiply examples of the serious practical bearing of this theory of his about the Old Testament Scriptures, I firmly believe it would take away from us the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment. It might, indeed, leave us a Sunday, in the course of which Christians ought to engage in the public worship of God. But left, as by Mr. Smith's theory we must necessarily be left, to make out our whole argument for a Sabbath from New Testament Scripture alone, I know not where we should find in it any such clear and conclusive statement as would suffice to secure that right and duty which God, by his own example in the beginning of the world, and by the Fourth Commandment of the moral law, as given from Sinai, established for all men and for all times. In short, upon the footing of such a position as Mr. Smith's theory assigns to Old Testament Scripture, I should scarcely feel at liberty to go up to my pulpit, and to take a text from the Old Testament at all."*

These results are indeed serious. If the Gospel contain a higher and more spiritual law than the Decalogue, the atonement is incomplete. We accept the alternative, but it is Dr. Buchanan, and not Mr. Smith, who urges us to heresy. If the Old Testament Scriptures have been superseded, Calvinism has no "*voice of divine authority*" to urge against "*an unlawful and incestuous marriage;*" it hears, that is, no voice of divine authority in nature, and owns no supreme command of purity in the constitution of man! Take away the Record, it has no message of God against sensual iniquity! So be it; and let it accept the verdict from an age which is learning divine revelation from the light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world.

In what conceivable sense can God's covenant with Abraham be identical with that under which the Christian church exists? It is a covenant to give all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession (Genesis xvii. 8), and

* Speech of Dr. Buchanan in Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow, November 19, 1866.

has no analogy whatever to the privileges of a Christian church which has no gift or promise of "a land of Canaan," —a land which, after all, had to be conquered by a series of battles unexampled in ferocity and bloodshed.

The national policy of England, again, is absolutely opposed to that which Dr. Buchanan would take as a divine guide. Jewish policy was restrictive and exclusive, and did no justice to the stranger. Foreign alliances with the heathen were abominated, and toleration of strange gods was unknown. Calvinism (it further appears) is not contending for a Sunday—a day on which Christians ought to worship God, but for the Jewish Sabbath; and it needs the Jewish law to establish its case.

If any English reader wishes to know the work free thought has to accomplish in Scotland, let him ponder carefully over the speech upon which we have been commenting.

The debates upon Mr. Smith's answers to the questions terminated in the passing of a resolution (by a vote of 36 to 28), insisting on the indispensable necessity of retractation and disavowal by Mr. Smith of the statements in his *sermons*, and entirely putting aside every explanation which had been given. The defeated amendment condemned the unfortunate sermons, but considerately stated—

"2. That the attention of Mr. Smith having been specially called, in terms of the report, to these passages in the sermons on which the foregoing sentence is based, and now understanding that he disclaims and rejects the views which the Presbytery consider these passages to convey, and that he adheres to these doctrines of Scripture and the Confession of Faith with which the Presbytery have found the passages in question to be at variance —the Presbytery deem it unnecessary to take any further action in the case. 3. That in adopting the preceding resolution, the Presbytery at the same time enjoin Mr. Smith to avoid for the future in his public teaching statements and forms of expression which experience has proved to be of a nature to give rise to serious misunderstanding, and to perplex, if not to mislead, the minds of his hearers on subjects vital to the Christian faith."

The case thus became one regarding the personal treatment of Mr. Smith, rather than a case of heresy. The preacher had been driven from sermons to explanations—from explanations to questions—from questions to statements—surely as long and hard a race as clergyman ever

ran; and while inconsistent expressions may have been used, and the doctrines of the Confession apprehended and expressed according to the peculiarities of an individual mind, those high authorities—Drs. Buchanan, Fairbairn, Douglas—could find no sufficient ground for a charge of heresy. The final statement made by Mr. Smith, indeed, reduced even the appearance of divergence to a minimum.

"If I understand that substantially, though not formally, Dr. Buchanan would have me to affirm my replies given at the meeting of October, I can most frankly do so, and now do so to this effect:

"1. That I hold most firmly the immutability of all divine moral law, and that the Decalogue contains a divinely authenticated summary of that law, which is everlastingly binding, only that the New Testament contains a fuller and clearer statement of that same law.

"2. That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, and the only rule of faith and manners; and, further, that their organic relation is of such a nature that the Old Testament does not take its authority from the New, but both have the same kind of authority, and both taken together are the complete revelation of the Divine will. I therefore, of course, now, as always, unhesitatingly disclaim any opinion at variance with these truths which have been ascribed to me as supposed to be taught in my sermons."*

The question, as it was finally referred to the General Assembly, on appeal from the defeated minority in the Presbytery, had thus become scarcely one of heresy at all.

The one party were satisfied because they understood Mr. Smith to disclaim and reject the views which the Presbytery considered certain passages of his sermons to convey. The other party, under the leadership of Drs. Forbes and Gibson, insisted on a retractation, instead of being satisfied with explanations. Retract what? (Mr. Smith might ask). Certain statements you made. But the meaning you ascribe to those statements I do not give. How can I retract the meaning I never had? But *we* think the words bear that sense; therefore retract.

The complication reaches the strangest point of perplexity, and a man is to be compelled to say that he used his words

* Debate in Glasgow Presbytery, Nov. 19, 1866. This statement is important as furnishing the special ground for the final deliverance of the Assembly.

in a meaning which other people gave them, and not in his own! Dr. Lorimer very justly remarked that he could not concur in the report adopted by the majority, because it recommended the Presbytery to insist on the indispensable necessity of the retractation of sentiments which have been already virtually disclaimed, and which therefore could not admit of retractation in the proper sense of the word. Dr. Candlish also thought the Presbytery had gone further than it was entitled to go.

"Suppose you charge a sentence in a book of mine with being heretical, and I give you another proposition which you affirm is sound; you are not entitled to ask me to retract the sentence you considered heretical, so long as I considered it quite consistent with my other proposition."*

Under these circumstances, the generous method of treating the case on the part of the General Assembly would have been its simple dismissal. Why should any sermons be judicially condemned, if their author disclaim the sense his judges put upon them?

In a kindly and temperate speech, Professor Douglas said that he was not sure he understood the process by which Mr. Smith reconciled his sermons with his doctrinal statements; but Mr. Smith had all along declared his sermons and these statements to be in harmony; and in these circumstances he could not conceive how Mr. Smith could now retract without practically confessing that he had been dishonest in his explanations. He would be no party to such proceedings.

The judgment of the Assembly, however, deserves quotation, as a curious example of the tender mercies of an ecclesiastical court.

"The General Assembly sustain the complaint, reverse the sentence of the Presbytery of Glasgow complained against, and

"(1.) Find that the two sermons Mr. Smith brought before the Presbytery contained statements with respect to the moral law and the Old Testament which were at variance with the Confession of Faith and the teaching of Scripture; accordingly confirm the finding of the Presbytery of 12th September, 1866, disapproving and censuring the said sermons. But in respect that the statements submitted by Mr. Smith in explanation, es-

* Speech in General Assembly.

pecially that of the 19th November, 1866, warrant the Assembly in holding that Mr. Smith's views are in substantial accordance with the teaching of the Confession of Faith, and that he disclaims the contrary doctrines, which various passages in the sermons have been found by the Presbytery and the Assembly to convey, they find it not necessary to take further judicial action in this case.

"(2.) Having regard to the importance of the doctrines set forth in the Confession with respect to the perfection and authority of the moral law as revealed in the Old Testament, and especially as summed up and set forth in the Decalogue; and also with respect to the Old Testament Scriptures, as constituting, along with the New, not only an inspired record of God's revelation, but an authoritative rule of faith and manners — the General Assembly feel called upon to express their sense of the serious character of the errors which the statements in the sermons convey, although Mr. Smith disclaims the intention of teaching these errors.

"Further, they have observed with pain and regret indications on the part of Mr. Smith that he has not sufficiently considered the responsibility that attaches to the publication in the pulpit of theories on the important questions referred to—theories which bear the mark of having been hastily assumed, and which on Mr. Smith's own showing were incompletely thought out in their bearings and consequences, which were supported by statements speedily withdrawn as erroneous, and requiring the most serious modifications in order to make them even seem consistent with the views that Mr. Smith declares that he all along entertained.

"The General Assembly enjoin Mr. Smith to avoid for the future the use of statements and expressions such as have given occasion to these proceedings, and seriously and affectionately admonish him to cherish henceforward a deeper sense of the humility and caution which it becomes the preachers of the Word to manifest in delivering instruction to the flock of Jesus Christ."

We deeply regret, in those interests of Christian charity which are larger than those of sect, the harshness of this decision. It is a sad spectacle when a Church like the Free Church of Scotland—great in activities of Christian work, and great through the loyal allegiance of many good men, the sacrifices which have been made on her behalf, and the line, short as it is, of her illustrious dead—so rudely censures one of the most cultured of her ministers upon

grounds of technical theology, when there avowedly exists substantial agreement regarding her standards. She thus undertakes the work of compelling educated men not merely to maintain the same principles, but to use the same forms of expression, without regard to the personal peculiarities of individual minds.

From some knowledge of what heresy in Scotland is, and after some study of the best methods to be taken for its propagation, we can assure the Free Church that it cannot render a more acceptable service to the cause it most shrinks from, than by narrowing its boundaries, compelling its poet-preachers to express themselves as theological lawyers, and demanding not only agreement to a confession, but, through a process of keen theological cross-examination, establishing a confession of a confession, as in the case of Mr. Smith.

It is a sufficient condemnation for any Church, at the bar of Christian charity, that from within its borders a cry should arise such as that of the following hymn, written by the preacher who has borne the burden of all these long and weary proceedings:

"Think on me, Lord: for I am all alone,
My friends and brethren turn their eyes away:
Who love me, fear to let their love be known;
Who hate me, boast that none shall say them nay;
Think on me, Lord, and open up my way.

"They watch my steps—my steps do always err;
They catch my words—no word of mine is true;
Mine every look hath something sinister;
And what lacks meaning they give meaning to:
Think on me, Lord: I wot not what to do.

"Think on me, Lord; for in the name of Him
Whose name is Love, they compass me with hate;
Think on me, Lord: and in my darkness trim
The lamp within, that I may calmly wait,
Loving the more the more disconsolate."*

No argument on behalf of a free, non-subscribing Church could, we submit, be more emphatic than the history we have now sketched. If a minister sign a confession, he fairly takes the risk of such a sifting of his thoughts, and

* Hymns of Christ and the Christian Life, by the Rev. W. C. Smith, M.A.

the trial for heresy is the legitimate and perfectly justifiable result of the system of church government he has voluntarily accepted. It is the system itself against which we protest, as entirely antagonistic to the free development of Christian truth and the rightful independence of a religious teacher. If there were trials for heresy in physics, in chemistry, in astronomy, public rebuke or loss of place being the penalty of offence, a serious check would be given to scientific progress. Each professor would be appointed for the sake of his attachment to the old doctrine, and not because of his power to unbar the golden gates of the dawn, that more light may flood a darkened world. By trials for heresy in theology, in a similar manner, religious truth is in danger of being sacrificed to sectarian zeal.

The sanctities of the Christian life, the awfulness of eternity, the shame of sin, the hope of immortality, the beauty of holiness in the Lord Jesus, the mercy and love of God, are themes which must be prominent with every minister of religion; but in questions of speculative theology we plead for liberty, for the sake of truth, since the unfettered mind is the only instrument for its discovery; for the sake of the preacher, since thus only can his manhood be kept free from the nervous dread of violating solemn engagements; and for the sake of the congregations within the church, which by sometimes hearing that from which they differ, may learn practical lessons in Christian charity.

As we read this strange tale of one man hunted by many opponents, contending even among themselves as they pursue the devoted preacher, through the labyrinths of winding thought within the church of an infinite God, we regret the one-sided antagonisms which conquer generous hearts when theological disputes arise; and we thank God for the hope of a church, which every trial for heresy makes surer and brings nearer, which shall exclude none who seek after righteousness and truth, and have no conditions of membership narrower than those needful for the love of God. To this result the literature and the science, the education and the heresy of our age, are tending; and God hasten the up-building of such a temple of the New Jerusalem!

HENRY W. CROSSKEY.

VII.—THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY'S CHARGE.

We suppose that our readers do not as a rule attach any great importance to the dicta of the Bishops of the Established Church, either when they speak for themselves alone, or when in their collective unwisdom they condemn a book which many of them have not read. The larger part of those likely to look into these pages are accustomed to take tracts, sermons and the like, for what they are worth, do not consider that the consecration of a Bishop gives him an intellectual, or his appointment according to political needs a moral, weight which he would not otherwise possess. The great majority of Bishops' Charges, like most other pulpit utterances, concern only those who are unfortunate enough to be bound to listen to or deliver them. And some may think that, in admitting any discussion of the Bishop of Salisbury's recent Charge into our pages, we are examining a document of slight and passing interest, exaggerated by the prominence which has been given to that prelate's name by the letters to the Times signed S. G. O., and by the startling impertinence at Bridport of Mr. Templer, a clergyman whose influence is least felt by those who know him most.

But we regard the Charge in question as an indication of feelings common to a very large number of the clergy of the Church of England, some of which are held unconsciously by ministers without that Church's pale, and which, because they are held by so large a number, have at last demanded and found episcopal expression. Every wave of change in doctrine or practice which has ever swept over the Church of England has reached the Bishops last; they have been the last to move to its swelling tide. We are far from saying that such conservative element is a bad thing; it must exist so long as Bishops are chosen, perhaps wisely, from *safe* men for the most part; perhaps unwisely from those who have had reason to think such a prize was not beyond their reach; we merely wish to draw attention to the fact that the Bishops do not lead the public opinion even of their own religious body, and only give expression to views already shared by thousands. This being admitted, however, it is impossible that the ultra-sacramental and

sacerdotal section of the Church of England should have found a spokesman fitter than the Bishop of Salisbury. A far higher Churchman in essentials than the more noisy and theatrical Bishop of Oxford, he has also the great merit of being transparently honest and true. So far above worldly motives do we think him, that we can even imagine any suspicion that he remained in the Church of England for the sake of the advantages attaching to his office would be a distinct temptation to him to leave it; it is clear that in his own mind he is constantly endeavouring, though with scant success, to do justice to those who differ from him. He always desires to say in the plainest, unhappily not the fewest, words what he means; and if at times his language is misty, it is not because he wishes to be vague, but simply because he is dealing with matters which seem to him absolutely beyond the thought, far more beyond the speech, of man to fathom. In his diocese no Bishop is a harder worker, no man more accessible, none kinder to his clergy; the hospitality of his palace is unbounded, his personal wants most simply supplied. Those in his diocese who most repudiate their Bishop's teaching, are inclined to condone his theological faults for the sake of his personal virtues; none who know him can doubt his piety towards God, or his warm, affectionate heart towards man. Therefore we can listen to what he says without that distrust or irritation or contempt with which we might receive the sayings of Bishops less true, less conciliatory, less worthy than he. And he is not too clever. We never feel that we are being entrapped or cajoled or lubricated with an excessive eloquence in reading those sentences whose only charm is their straightforwardness.

The claims put forward by this Bishop are of the highest, and are very consistent; their rejection, if we reject them, involves consequences which do not concern the Established Church alone, nor even those Christian bodies alone which claim the name of orthodox.

With the special occasion at which these doctrines were propounded we have nothing to do. That the clergy of the Church should have occasions of meeting their ecclesiastical superiors is only right; nor does it concern any but themselves that much of the machinery for this purpose is cumbrous and inconvenient; that there should be the formality,

but not the weight, of a legal court; that persons cited who do not attend should be threatened with various pains and penalties which every one knows will never be enforced. It may, however, be said that the document is scarcely before us in a public form, having been delivered piecemeal to the various congregations; that a promised appendix bearing on the work of the diocese is not published at all. But this work is a matter on which we do not intend to speak; the report of the Charge in the Guardian newspaper is admitted to be substantially accurate—is *said* to be printed from authority; and it is far better to say what we have to say now, rather than wait three months to speak on a treatise which will certainly differ in no material degree from the present form, while the controversy may have swept far out of its present course.

The position of man in this material universe, his instinctive perception of spiritual presences, or a spiritual presence higher than his own, his physical perception of the sensible facts by which he is surrounded, his temptations to revolt against circumstance and break the chains of law, have been explained in a hundred religions with more or less consistency. One form alone of Christianity has given an explanation which has at least the merit of a most complete symmetry; it is that known as the Church system, whose main features are preserved in bodies which have cast off their outward adherence to the Church. And those who do not adopt such explanation accept, no doubt, the very grave responsibility of saying that in this world at least all things concerning God and man, the nature of both, the destinies of the latter, are undiscovered and undiscoverable; only out of the weltering chaos of opinions there seem to emerge some few facts, that we and all things are under the rule of law, but that to some extent within that law we seem to ourselves free, that there is a "far-off divine event (or person?) to which the whole creation moves." And with even greater unanimity they find certain things good and evil, desirable or unlovely; an ideal of duty rises before them, not the less high because they know not what the reward shall be. A grave responsibility to accept this only, if for nothing else, because it gives so slight a basis for teaching, because it enables us to help others but little on the path we find so hard, while the

light that shines on it is so trifling. The Catholic, or the Protestant who holds Catholic tenets along with his assertion that he has a right to judge for himself, has his own difficulties, but they are quite of a different kind. His own position is clear to him. He is a denizen of a world once created holy, inhabited by holy man, who falling dragged with him in his fall all his descendants for ever. But the Son of God, coming from heaven to undo this vast confusion, and having by his death bought back mankind from the power of sin to which they were delivered, returned to heaven, leaving behind him a great spiritual organization which should apply to those who entered it the benefits which he had procured, chiefly the help against and pardon for sin in this life, and eternal happiness instead of eternal misery in the life to come. This spiritual society is propagated by external ministrations working inward spiritual changes; its life is nourished by miracles, chief among which is the imparting the life of its Founder under certain symbols of bread and wine appointed by him; it exists supernaturally in a natural world; neither its growth, its power, its life, its laws, can be understood or measured by the faculties or the rules applicable to all else with which we have to do. On these fundamental assumptions has been raised a vast scheme of dogmas, creeds, articles, liturgies, sacraments, of which we need not now speak more particularly than to say, that all dogma whatever is based ostensibly or secretly on this tenet of a lost world, and that other of a Church which is not co-extensive with the world. To the whole of this system, such as he conceives it to be in its integrity, the Bishop of Salisbury gives his firm adhesion; in this he claims to be a direct descendant of apostles, tracing his spiritual lineage to Christ himself. All this he would impress on the clergy, and laity as well, in the counties of Wilts and Dorset, over all of whom he claims to be the true and only spiritual Father in God. So firm is his faith in the validity of this his claim, that he can see no secondary agents at work even in such a matter as the nomination of Bishops to dioceses, but rejoices to find in the appointment of Dr. Milman to the See of Calcutta, "an answer to his saintly predecessor's prayers for his diocese," and in his own to Salisbury, a following of the advice of Bishop Denison, "that the

burden of his office should be laid on" Bishop Hamilton. The other side of the facts goes for nothing, that Lord Cranborne found a real difficulty in filling the See of Calcutta, that the See of Salisbury was first offered to another man, and that had not Lord and Lady Herbert of Lea been more influential at the moment than some other great personages, Bishop Denison might have advised in vain.

Consistent with this view of the unity of the Church by descent and in dogma, is the fact, that the maintenance of each point of traditional doctrine is the highest act attributed to the two others of his own order whom the Bishop mentions in his Charge. Thus of Bishop Cotton's defence of the Athanasian Creed, "Had he but this one claim, as a Bishop of our Church, for our reverence and love, namely, that he has thus testified to the necessity of building the Church of India, 'on the strong rock of dogmatic teaching,' I should be foremost in calling him blessed." Of Bishop Grey, whose actions against the Bishop of Natal some of us can only deplore and endeavour to undo, we read, "There is very much for which to thank God in the vigorous and healthy condition of all the Colonial Church, and I must add emphatically for the preservation to us of that remarkable man and great champion of the faith, the Metropolitan of Southern Africa."

Having spoken of the Colonial Church, Education, and some other topics, the Bishop approaches the central point of his Charge very solemnly and earnestly. He regards what he has to say as a deliberate opinion on points of Christian religion, affecting a man's whole faith, and therefore his whole life. We think the same; and their acceptance or rejection demand, therefore, as do all great alternatives which may be presented to us, grave consideration. We owe it to the subject to quote the statement of this opinion fully.

"If I confined myself to matters in which late events have seemed to give me a kind of *personal* interest, I should only speak of one doctrine. But I purpose doing more than this. Other doctrines are at this moment subjects of very special controversy, and I consider it is my bounden duty to speak to you as plainly about them, as about the one to which I have alluded, namely, the doctrine of Absolution. These doctrines are a part of that entire revelation which God has been pleased to make to

us about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. They embrace our functions as His members, who is the Intercessor of the Church, and the charge which He has committed to His Church about binding and loosing, forgiving and retaining sins, or, as is commonly said, the Power of the Keys. For the sake of greater clearness I will at once explain to you in the fewest words what are these doctrines to which I refer. The doctrines are these:

"1. That certain men have had entrusted to them by God, 'as fellow-workers with Him,' some supernatural powers and prerogatives.

"2. That, for example, God has been pleased to give to them as His Ministers the power of so blessing oblations of bread and wine, as to make them the channels of conveying to the soul for its strengthening and refreshing, the Body and Blood of Christ.

"3. That as Christ, our ascended Lord, is now ever pleading His one sacrifice, so these ministers of Christ, as His representatives, plead on earth that which he pleads in heaven.

"4. That God, who alone forgives sins, has delegated to these same his ministers the power and authority of ministering to those fitted to receive it, the pardon of their sins, or, to express the same thing in very well known words, 'Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, hath given power and commandment to His ministers to declare and pronounce to His people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins.'"

Having stated these controverted doctrines "in the baldest and most naked way," the Bishop proceeds to shew how these truths are rooted in others which are part of "the revelation which God has been pleased to make of the mysterious relations in which Christ and the Church stand to one another." These others are the "Incarnation of the Son of God, the beginning of the bridal union between the Divine and human natures," and the Church of Christ, the society or body of which he is the head, of which all the members are in a sense prophets, priests and kings, but in which there were and are "those who had received in a very special and peculiar way from the one Prophet, the one Priest, the one King, special powers of teaching, sacrificing and ruling," so that these men are "'fellow-workers with God,'" instruments for applying to men the "blessings attached to the prophetical, priestly and regal functions of the God-man."

This is quite enough to shew the drift of the whole theology of the Charge, the position of the Bishop, and those

whose spokesman he is. It is Catholic, and all that word implies, deliberately, consciously, openly. It is not Roman or Romanizing, for the Bishop is very careful to assert the claims of the Church of England to be the legitimate representative of Christ in this land. And, again, there are points of Roman teaching which, it is only fair to say, the Bishop and High-churchmen would repudiate;—not only the Roman supremacy which is implied in the assertion of their own position, but Transubstantiation, at least in terms, the cultus of the Saints, and many usages of the continental Church which are less definitely points of faith. This very Charge, indeed, sails very near the wind in the matter of Transubstantiation, and we are aware that there are those among the extreme High-churchmen who place the whole issue on the question of Supremacy; but on the whole, on the points above specified, Roman doctrines are denied by the party at large.

The Catholic claim as put forward by those in the Papal obedience is based on tradition; the orthodox children of the Reformation, repudiating tradition, appeal to the Bible; while the party of which we have spoken attempt to take a middle course. Not only is there, they consider, nothing in the Bible opposed to tradition, which every Roman Catholic would of course admit, but all true tradition is to be found in the Bible, if once that book is rightly understood. A difficulty at once occurs from the fact that many passages adduced in support of doctrines do not seem to human reason strong enough for their purpose, except on the ground that the Church is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, and that the tradition of the Church asserts that the passages in question were always understood in the orthodox way. But it is plain that this proves more than enough. If tradition is to be allowed to interpret Scripture, we certainly shall find in it much that the Anglican denies; if not, we do *not* find much that he accepts.

And we are quite unable to believe that the basis of the Reformation was really the difference between Con- and Transubstantiation, how much or how little honour was due to the Saints; such shades of opinion must and do exist within the limits of churches, and lead to no violent severance. Mere doctrine may induce individuals here and there to leave the communions in which they have been nurtured;

but the causes which sever whole bodies are moral or political. The differences in doctrine are later inventions, serving still further to justify the act of the seceders, or are simply the expression of feelings which were held equally, but unexpressed, before. If, then, the Reformation had not, as we think it had, a deeper meaning than has been given to it by the Churches of the Reformation, there is much to be said for the Roman objections to that great schism. If it was made on moral grounds, and there was yet an admitted virtue in church organization and much of the old doctrine, then men like Erasmus abroad and our own Wolsey here were far more right in attempting or pressing reforms from within, than were those who did their best to tear down the walls of the Zion, so long their home, and build new huts with the scattered fragments. If the schism was political, as here in England it surely was, then the very principle asserted was that now so vehemently denied—that Erastianism which declares that the state of each land is supreme in all religious matters. And since no one would deny that the Church of Rome is by direct descent the Church of the Middle Ages, and the Church of the Middle Ages the direct descendant of the Fathers, that Church has surely a right to determine who do or do not cut themselves off not only from her, but from Catholic Christendom. Granted that the Papacy was unknown to the earliest centuries,—granted that the vast society which grew up under the shelter of the Theism taught by Jesus had at first many differences of practice, according to the nations among which it came,—yet one form and one government were soon accepted by the West—that is, by civilization—and those who left that order have no right to claim to belong to a body, the only connected and consistent part of which denies their claim in toto. It seems to us to be with the Catholic Church as with a family, in which he who has long been acknowledged as head has clearly a right to define on what terms and on what conditions the members of the clan hold to it. None who sever themselves, on whatever grounds, can claim to be integral parts of that which in fact they have left.

Therefore it is that we consider the whole Anglican position so untenable. Catholicity represents one aspect of Christianity, complete, consistent. If a Church in the Ca-

tholic sense is needful, there is but one, with an interdependence which cannot be broken between the Incarnation and the Mass, the Headship of Christ and the Vicariate of the Pope. An infallible Church can be the only authority for positions to which human reason would assuredly never reach, which needs not to confuse, as does the Anglican, the theologies of St. Paul and the twelve to get its doctrines piecemeal, but appeals to unbroken tradition and a constant train of supernatural agencies. The Catholic system is confused and incomplete; though, we admit, unconsciously incomplete, save as rendered and interpreted by the Roman Church.

Not more satisfactory is the position of orthodox Protestant bodies. They appeal to reason, and reject rationalism; to antiquity, and have it not; to the Bible, and no two men interpret it alike; to their confessions, and they are crammed with damnatory clauses; to free thought, and they are narrower than Mediævalism, which at least admitted two great schools. Their quarrel, again, with the more formal churches is not doctrinal, except as an after-thought; if these ceased to be established, as they soon may, the ground of dissent would be cut from under their feet. Rome, again, seems the only true home, the only true expression, of all orthodox dogma.

And it seems to us that Dr. Hamilton deserves the sincere thanks of all men for the way in which he has put the issue. He has shewn, we think, that the doctrines he lays down are Catholic, and that none are Catholic if they do not admit them. We can judge for ourselves how great or how small is the gulf which separates him and his from Rome; it is well that we who are free-thinkers should look steadily at the gulf which separates us from the so-called orthodox churches. To this end we must consider the Bishop's special points in more of detail.

"God has been pleased to make to us a revelation about the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." Is this so? Surely, even if we assume that the Bible is a direct revelation from God of His truth, and not rather a record of what men, holy beyond the average, let it be admitted, have thought about Him, it is yet too much to say that any consecutive and coherent teaching has been even therein revealed. However single expressions in one place have

been joined to single expressions in another, metaphors read as a statement of facts, and Eastern poetry translated into Western prose,—however the Church has authorized the product thus obtained,—no one can seriously maintain that such doctrine is *revealed*. Concealed would be the truer word, and strange has been the finding. There is of course no difficulty in understanding the rapid development of the Lord's Supper into a high eucharistic service. It grew with the growth of the opinions about Christ. When Jesus said to his apostles, "Do this in remembrance of me," he was indeed their Master and Lord. But he was a man among them; their love and sympathy were called out by his human relations with them. And if from time to time there came to the souls of any of them such exalted belief in him as is recorded of St. Peter,—if, again, visions of transfiguration pointed out their Leader as one great beyond all that earth had seen,—the daily drudgery and hardships of life came round them and dulled their finer fancies; and even when they believed him risen from the dead, they could attain to no higher explanation than, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" So, no doubt because their companionship had been so human, when they met to eat again after the Paschal Supper, and the Master's place was vacant, he was felt to be among them only by the spiritual enchantment of loving memories. Soon, however, it was rumoured that a vision of angels had appeared, which said that he was alive; now one, now another, was reported to have seen him; and to some he had made himself known in breaking bread once more. If before his death there had been moments in which gleams and intimations had come of Jesus' more intimate communion with God, if parts of his life had seemed mysterious, superhuman,—now all was apart from all experience; he was and he was not like other men, he was and he was not what he had been. So gradually, yet rapidly, their human friend was transformed into a grand and divine person,—a friend still, yet one not to be thought of so familiarly as before,—less to be remembered as the Galilean Jesus, than as the crowned Christ of God, till the earthly dropped away from the divine, and St. Paul could say to the Corinthians, "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more."

With this change in the view of Christ seems also to have changed the notion of that breaking of bread from a simple memorial to a means of mysterious though real communion. Then, as the Gospels were written and took their place in the Christian system, men reading what the evangelists recorded as the very words of Jesus, or at least what they conceived to be his meaning translated into their own words, those sayings of eating the flesh of the Son of Man, and drinking his blood, of drink that he would give, that none who drank it should thirst any more, came to be understood in the light of this later conception of the Supper of the Lord. As it acted on the interpretation of the text, so the text reacted on men's thoughts of the rite. If the bread was his flesh and the wine his blood, then as his body which was broken and his blood which was shed on the Cross were indeed himself, the eucharistic bread and wine were also himself, and the offering of them might be considered as the renewal and extension of the great sacrifice which was made on Calvary, and of it, as well as of that sacrifice, all the sacrifices in the old law, all that had been said of food and fasting, were hints and shadows. So completely did men come to identify the consecrated bread and wine with the bodily presence and person of Jesus, that those who meant no imposture saw visions and dreamed dreams how in the consecration there appeared before their own eyes the shape of a man or a child in place of the sacred bread. The faith which made such imaginings possible was the faith of all Christendom, and though the High-church party in England and the more educated Roman Catholics would stop short of such gross materialism as this, it was the outgrowth of the same traditional system as that which furnishes their own belief. It is just as much and just as little revealed by God as is anything whatever about the Eucharist which is inconsistent with hard common sense. It was to such a touchstone that the Reformation began to bring all "mysteries." Zwingli, that most advanced and consistent Reformer, held that the bread and wine were only signs and symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ, so that the rite was only a pious ceremony to bring it to the remembrance of the faithful. And this, as it seems to us, is the original view of those who first, according to his will, celebrated "the dear remembrance of

their dying Lord." The growth of the legends about it is quite plain, and common sense we take to be a truer "revelation" from God than the forced interpretations of uncritical ages. We are or we are not bound by the traditions of the past. If we are, we get far more out of Scripture than the Bishop would admit; if not, we get far less; and it has to be proved that we are bound to accept all Scripture. Out of the notion of an Eucharistic sacrifice there grew of necessity that of a sacrificing priest, such as had been recognized by the Jewish law. This Christian priesthood is regarded by those who believe in it as begun by Jesus, conferred on the apostles, transmitted by some spiritual virus or electricity to bishops and priests, and so handed down in episcopal churches even to this day. No man feels the high honour of belonging to such an order more than does the Bishop of Salisbury. He was proud on a former occasion to know that the blood of the apostles was in his veins, with a queer confusion between natural and spiritual generation; and there is a something almost comic in the enthusiasm he feels at having supplanted the priests of the Law. "The destruction of the city and the temple testified that the Christian Priesthood was substituted for the Jewish. Nor will you doubt, my rev. brethren, that it was soon admitted that such a substitution had taken place, when I recall to your minds" (we wonder how many had ever heard it before) "that Eusebius" (A.D. 267—340) "reports, on the authority of Polycrates, that John, the beloved disciple, assumed as Bishop of Ephesus the mitre plate which distinguished the Aaronic Priesthood, and that Epiphanius" (A.D. 332—403) "tells us that James, Bishop of Jerusalem, did the same." There was at least plenty of time for the growth of a story of singularly little importance.

It is often said that the notion of sacrifice is at the root of all religions; that even those of the heathen were and are a forefeeling after a great truth, the perfect sacrifice which has made all others needless being that of Jesus Christ. If sacrifice were indeed in any old religion the real expression of a wish to yield the best to God which the worshiper has to bring, to shed out to him the lavish fulness of treasure and love and life, then we might admit that all had a common basis with that which is at the root of the Theism established by Jesus. But, in fact, sacrifice, as too

often understood in religion, does not spring from love, but from fear, is the substitution of the innocent for the guilty to beg off the vengeance of an angry God. And so the death of Jesus is represented by theologians as a transaction in which God, an angry King, is appeased by the shedding of blood, which being infinitely holy cancels an infinite amount of guilt, and refrains from punishing those who really deserve it. Now for such as take this view, the Christian priesthood may well be a continuation or substitution for the Jewish; but if to believe in such sacrifice is the only way to be Christians, then are we none. The whole notion of vicarious sacrifice, whether of bulls and goats or of a Son of God, seems to us utterly subversive of all morality and justice. It is only in the infancy of a religion that there are priests, sacrifices, or anything supernatural, anything mysterious, except that great mystery of our own being and the being of God, which no playing at the transmission of spiritual graces through material channels can ever aid us to solve. The Christian minister has, in our view, no powers which do not belong to all men. We cannot receive that interdependence of the so-called orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Sacramental system, and the Priesthood, without assuming our Father to be a tyrant, His will and Christ's to be with regard to us at strife, or, if not at strife, engaged in an elaborate fiction which revolts alike our reason and our sense.

It would be fair, however, that those whose priesthood we deny should demand from us our explanation of such words as we can scarce cleave to Christianity without accepting, "the sacrifice of the death of Christ," and the like. We imagine such explanation is to be found in the use of the word *representation* instead of *substitution*, and in the words of the fourth Gospel, which speaks of the death of Jesus as gathering together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad. How was there an atonement, or a making at one, wrought by the death of Jesus? First, between man and man. Selfishness can never be a bond of humanity. And there is a selfishness in thinking that any stands between us and evil which should be rightly ours. This selfishness has led men to narrow in practice the universality which in idea attaches to the redemption of

the world, and to speak and act as though indeed Christ had died only for this or that particular church or sect. A common interest is rarely, if ever, a lasting bond, while a common sympathy is so always. And thus it is that so many noble souls, who love their fellow-men, would live for them, suffer for them, die for them, find a representation of their own desires in the facts of the life of Jesus, who died because he fought against evil in all its forms, moral, social, political. In him Christians may believe are gathered up and represented all patriotism, sympathy and love, and may be drawn to him as their head. And next, between man and God. We conceive of God as holy and pure, and then comes the thought of our own unworthiness, our own untruthfulness to our higher natures, desires and intentions, to put us at an infinite distance from him. The life and death of Jesus may be to us an answer, one only perhaps among many. Here was one like us, of our own flesh and blood, whose life was in harmony with God's life, his will with his Father's will. In him we may see what we are in intention, and may strive really to be. In him men are drawn together in one, man is at one with God. With such a view of Christ and the Atonement, we may without hesitation, we must even deliberately, reject all notion of sacrificing priests, supernatural powers, whatever other and further rejections of Catholicity, of much which has often been considered inseparable from Christianity, these rejections may carry with them.

One other claim of the Catholic priest remains to be considered, as strongly insisted on in this Charge—the power of Absolution. Now our difference with those who make this special claim for one special set of men is quite other than in the cases we have already considered. We deny that God has *revealed* any system of doctrine to men about the Eucharist; we deny that Christ's words, "This is my body, this is my blood," were more than metaphor, as when he said, "I am the door," "I am the vine." We assert that the notion of a propitiatory sacrifice and a sacrificing priesthood was no part of true religion; that it was a part of the Jewish religion and the older faiths only because they were imperfect; and that to maintain a literal priesthood in Christianity is to take a false and degrading view of God and man. But, supposing the words of Jesus to his dis-

ciples to be rightly reported—and we have no wish to question the fact—"Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained"—there is no ambiguity whatever; the only questions will be in what character Jesus himself claimed to forgive sins, how far all men have the power of forgiving. At the risk of sermonizing, we must beg our readers to follow us in the consideration of this matter. There can be no doubt that Jesus repeatedly declared that *he* forgave the sins of people who came to him in love and repentance. To the woman taken in adultery (we do not forget the doubtful character of the passage) he said, "Neither do I condemn thee; go, and sin no more." Of the Magdalen, "Her sins which are many are forgiven, for she loved much." To the sick man at Capernaum, "Son, thy sins be forgiven thee." And his deeds declared that his whole life was one long work of binding broken hearts in the spirit of that passage in Isaiah which he took to himself. The Jews were offended at this, for they were a hard and cruel people, and their law was a hard law. Filled with its spirit, they could not understand that the offender could or ought to go free; and they made an excuse for their hardness in the words, "Who can forgive sins but God alone?" And the assertion implied in the question is true if it mean that God alone can know the reality of repentance and love; that He, as He is aware of the temptations to, so also the aggravations of each evil; but most untrue if it is to exclude from men all forgiveness and judgment according to the best of their power—all imitation of what will be, as they believe, God's dealings hereafter. To this question Jesus replied, "The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins." The forgiveness of man was, as seemed to him, the sign and seal of the eternal forgiveness of God. If this be so, the minister pronounces absolution in the name of the congregation he represents, while he declares that God forgives sins. And that such assertion, by whomsoever made, should be recognized in worship and by every congregation, is, we take it, a most salutary provision. Man needs not only forgiveness, but the assurance and certainty of forgiveness. No doubt there are some who have never felt the care and burthen of sin; even if conscious of their evils and desirous to amend them, are of a

robuster fibre than to be deeply afflicted; who feel what we take to have been Luther's temper when he said, "Pecca fortiter." But there are others to whom there come times when all the disobediences, all the tempers, all the uncleannesses and riots of life, rise up before them; to whom at the same moment it seems that God gives them some glimpse of His own blessed purity. Such a man perhaps determines that, God helping him, he will for the future live a more godly and manly life. But for the past? And if he can trust the past is blotted out by present repentance, what of all those daily misbehaviours which he knows will come, strive he never so hard in the future? It will by no means always avail to send such an one to the Bible. It will seem that his case was not considered there; he craves an intelligible sign. We are describing no fancied state, but a very real one, which has led men to wild and strange penances, to long years of self-torture and misery, to human systems which seem to afford relief, to death and certainty rather than longer life and suspense. It is in such states as this that the relief of confession and absolution is recognized. If a man tells out the secret plague of his heart to a priest because he is, or is believed to be, a priest, it is because he has not grasped the truth that God has forgiven him. But the priest's only power lies in the fact that he is the delegate of the congregation, that he is a fellow-man. He dares not turn from the poor soul who asks his help. He forgives in the name of his brother men, and therefore in the name of that God whose nature can only be revealed, so far as it is revealed at all, through man. This is the side which is best in Roman Confession, is the true reason of all such comfort as is found in the act and public declaration of absolution; even occasional private declaration may be found advisable in all churches in which one class is retained, set apart for the ministry. In all this there is nothing supernatural, nothing of charm or incantation; simply a declaration of a solemn and eternal fact.

But we must not forget the other half of the words, "Whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." If forgiveness helps a man to rise on stepping-stones of his dead self to higher things, so the want of forgiveness may crush him. How many have been rendered harder and fiercer than before by punishment and pain, and perhaps of neces-

sity. It may be that in this world the sins of the few must needs be retained for the sake of the many. Nor does that exclude the notion of God's forgiveness after probation in the ages which shall come. But the words *may* be considered a warning rather than a command, the warning not to retain and deepen our brother's sin by our own want of love.

Thus, then, while admitting that the whole Sacramental and Catholic system, its daily miracles, its supernatural claims, is attractive, consistent, alluring, we for ourselves reject the whole, though this places us in a sadly isolated position, and severs us from the faith and love of many we so reverence and respect. The ministry, of which the Bishop of Salisbury makes so much, becomes a merely human arrangement, which may even cease to be in the years of coming change, for all who do not hold the whole Catholic faith.

But it is because ministerial claims are made so strongly by those who would repudiate a priesthood, because priestcraft and slavery of conscience, a demand on obedience, and a superstition that ministers are more sacred than other men, are to be found in far other than episcopal communions, that we have taken the Salisbury Charge as an occasion for expressing our own more lay religion—our own belief that the Reformation was a revolt against all dogma, not a mere change of an infallible Bible for an infallible Church, a multitude of opinionated Bishops for a supreme Pontiff. And having thus expressed our convictions, we need not go into the rest of the Charge. Believing, as has been well shewn in these pages, that Ritual is but the expression of dogma, we cannot but see in this Charge the strongest encouragement to Ritual, though but faint praise is given in word. Trusting that so long as any religion is recognized as the dominant one in the nation, the State will keep over it a strong firm hand, we are not afraid of that Erastianism which is the Bishop's bugbear; our fear of the future is far more that men should forget, than that they should grasp too firmly, that God and man are indeed one; but we should probably not explain "the Incarnation" in the same way as is done by Dr. Hamilton.

So far, however, as our words may have weight with any one who may read them, we would urge them to look the

fact in the face that the coming struggle in spiritual matters is not, as we think, between Romanism and Anglicanism, nor between Anglicanism and Dissent, nor between Trinitarianism and Unitarianism, but between two wholly different modes of regarding God and man—the belief in miracle and interference—the belief in order and law. The one lands us logically in the Catholic system, the other will lead us—we know not where! Perhaps only the end will shew whether the Catholic or the Sceptic has done rightly, wisely, bravely, in following out his own theories; at least let us know what we are doing, and choose our parts accordingly. Beyond this it is not our place or our inclination to warn or advise; we may have our own opinion on the slavery of the intellect which the Catholic theory imposes on ordinary, though not on all minds; our own views on the loss or gain to a nation which accepts them, and the retardation of the progress of society consequent on their acceptance. But a man's religion is, after all, his own business; and if any desires to be Catholic or Orthodox, in the ordinary use of the terms, in God's name let him be so, but weigh well at the same time all that this implies.

Nor, again, would we wish those within the churches who may seem led to freer views to leave them, or abandon the old formularies so long as in any sense they can hold to them. If truer views of the nature and life of God unfold themselves, and those also change which they have held of the nature and work of Christ, they may often be thankful for the old formularies still, deeming them the words of those who, being high-priests, have prophesied, used words which seemed to bear an insufficient or false meaning, but which yet are able to contain fresh and fresh infusions of God's truth. And across the divisions of Christendom and the world we shall do our poor little parts towards making God and man more in harmony, working to gather together in one the scattered family of the Father which is in heaven; to which great federation, seen dimly through the mist of ages, the Churches and the Catholic Church can only compare as compares with the substance the shadow of a shade.

A CLERGYMAN OF THE DIOCESE OF SALISBURY.

VIII.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *Natal Sermons. A Series of Discourses preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter's, Maritzburg.* By the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. London: Trübner. 1866.

The chief value of these Sermons lies in the absolute fearlessness with which the Bishop of Natal exposes the inadequacy or falsehood of the popular or traditional theology of England and of Christendom, wherever he has reason for thinking it to be false or inadequate. If for a moment we grant that he thus speaks from a sense of duty, he may well use the words attributed to St. Paul, and with a conscience void of offence say, "I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God." The ideas of endless torment in a fiery hell—of the perfect truthfulness of Scripture, whether in its historical statements or in its moral and spiritual teaching—of a visible or personal Tempter—of a visible advent of Jesus from the clouds which course round the earth, to judge men with bodies compounded of material particles scattered to the winds through many a long millennium—of a sacrifice of blood as necessary to reconcile God to the world or man to God—and, finally, of a "great aboriginal catastrophe," from the effects of which a small minority are rescued by the great scheme of salvation—are each and all dismissed to the limbo of mischievous and dismal fallacies. They are each of them either the result of a misapprehension of words, and thus belong to the regions of mythology; or they are inferences drawn from the ancient practices of heathenism, and in this case they are the gropings of men in a state of barbarous ignorance towards a purer light and a higher knowledge.

But with these negations there breathes throughout these Sermons a fervent and unshaken trust in the goodness of that God who is merciful because He rewards every man according to his works. If we say that the Bishop in every discourse sets before his hearers the pure Christian gospel, we may be accused of wilful ambiguity and equivocation, or of using a cant phrase; and therefore we will only say that of love to God and of love for man in God—of the indispensable need of discipline and chastisement until the

dross has been purged away and only the pure ore is left—of penitence and forgiveness—of the long-suffering of our Father—and of the stern, unswerving righteousness which will by no means clear the guilty—the Bishop of Natal speaks in a way which is filled with the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, and of all the teaching attributed to Jesus in all the Gospels, except perhaps in some portions of the fourth.

Doubtless there are references to the special circumstances under which these Sermons were preached. Thus, "if we feed by faith on the living word of God—if the spirit of Christ dwells in our hearts—then, as Bishop Jeremy Taylor says, we do every day communicate; and no earthly circumstances, no earthly power can deprive us of this." And then, having adverted to the degradation and excommunication of Ridley, he adds—

"When all this was done, who doubts for a moment that in that prison cell, at that fiery stake, though blasphemously cut off from the Church of God and given over to the devil, that holy martyr communicated daily in spirit with the Church of the Living God, with the spirits of the just made perfect, with the spirits of the faithful and true-hearted in every age, that he was fed daily with the living bread and the living water, eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of Man, and receiving abundantly according to his need supplies of Eternal Life from his faithful and compassionate Creator, his Master and Lord God, whose known truth, he said, he would never deny."

Much will of course be said of the perplexity and wretchedness which these Sermons may cause both in English colonies and in this country. The less, perhaps, that is said on this subject the better. It is not easy always to know who the weak brethren are for whom we must provide milk only; and the character is most commonly claimed by those who only use it to cover a particularly deliberate, narrow-minded and intolerant bigotry. Yet, here and there, although the cases are not nearly so frequent as we may fancy, there may be deep and genuine distress in a mind which has placed its whole trust in the popular theology, and then finds that the fabric of that theology rests on insecure foundations. These may be left in the hands of a merciful Father; and we may safely say that if their hearts are quickened by a real love of God and by a hearty desire

to know His truth for its own sake and in the form in which it may present itself, without reference to previous convictions and associations, the distress and anxiety will not last very long. But no one probably supposes in seriousness that deep convictions are on this account to be suppressed by those who feel that for lack of them the spiritual life of a nation is stagnating, and the dark dominion of superstition and fallacy gaining strength daily. The words of one who believes, like the Bishop of Natal, that he has a message from God for his fellow-men, must tend to reveal the thoughts of many hearts; and a strange revelation in some instances it must be admitted to be.

On one commentary, evoked by the volume before us, we cannot refrain from saying a few words, partly because it shews how repulsive and revolting many of the conceptions of the traditional theology are, even when presented in a subtly modified form; and still more because we are sure that the writer is profoundly unconscious of the gross and unworthy inferences involved in his assertions. In a discourse on Perfection attained through Sufferings, the Bishop had quoted some of the beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount, and he asks—

"Are these words true merely because they are written in the Bible, or merely because they were spoken by the Lord Jesus Christ himself? Are they not felt at once by us to be essentially, eternally true? Would they not be just as certainly true, wheresoever they were written, by whomsoever they were spoken? Do we not know that they are among those words which shall never pass away? . . . . Are not such words as these among those which, by the unanimous verdict of the human mind, in its best and holiest moments, we bind on earth and they shall be bound in heaven?"

With this passage the critic in the Spectator (January 19, 1867) expresses himself dissatisfied.

"This is true," he says, "but it seems to us to leave out of view—we do not mean to deny—the centre of the Christian revelation, and even that element in it which has chiefly fitted it to impress the human conscience and human reason—the record, namely, of divine actions no less than of divine thoughts."

Here at once, before we can advance further, the point for determination is, whether in the spiritual world there can be any divine actions, except in the form of opera-

tions of the Divine Spirit on the spirit of man: but the words which follow leave us in doubt whether the critic is referring to any spiritual acts as such.

"The entrance of the Son of God into human history is unfortunately, if true at all, a fact of history; and yet, though a historical fact, a fact more calculated (as all actions, as distinguished from facts and sayings, are) to impress the human reason and conscience than all the divine sayings of our Lord put together without this act."

We can but ask the meaning of these words. Let us suppose for a moment that every statement bearing on the divine character of Jesus had dropped out of the gospel narratives, and that nothing was left but his discourses and parables, with the accounts of some of his works of love and mercy. Are we to infer that in this case these words would have produced an inappreciable effect as compared with that which they produce now? We may safely deny the proposition, if only because we have not, and cannot possibly have, any means for proving it. But, again, is the critic speaking only of his character, or of his mode of assuming it in an incarnation of which the circumstances were as described in the third Gospel? If the former, then indubitably it lies beyond the domain of history, for history cannot conceivably throw any light upon it; if the latter, surely the historical trustworthiness of the story must first be established. But if the account is self-contradictory, and if it be impossible to reconcile it either with the later gospel history or with the narrative of the first and the fourth Gospel, then we are at once thrown back on a spiritual fact, for which it is ludicrous to expect any historical corroboration.

This, however, is but a small matter compared with the reason assigned for the greater influence exercised by these so-called divine acts.

"Just as we say of men, that their words are beautiful and true, but what we want to know, before we can thoroughly believe in them, is their actions; so in all reverence men must say, and whether they say or not, will think of God."

We deny this with the most solemn earnestness. Such thoughts cannot be uttered with reverence, and we do not believe that men would ever think them, would ever have thought them, but for theories which have been broached

only within the last sixteen hundred years. They who use such words may be, and we are sure that they are, utterly unconscious of the nature of their language; but in itself the language, we must say it, cannot be too severely condemned. For it is practically to address God thus, or rather to imagine the Christians of the second or third century as so addressing Him, and leaving to us the wretched inheritance of their words:

"It is very true that a long line of prophets and teachers have put before us many exalted precepts and a very pure morality, and have told us that what they said to us were Thy words; and if Thou art holy and just and merciful, as they tell us, then Thou art deserving of our love. But how are we to know this? Men who have spoken to us very admirably, and have edified us greatly by their teachings, have often done us wrong, and we have found that their deeds were evil; how are we to know that it may not be thus with Thee? Do some act and shew us some deed which may convince us that Thou art the God which these prophets represent Thee to be."

We stand aghast at words which degrade God to a level lower than that of the Homeric Zeus; and we have scarcely the spirit to ask what acts God can do to shew His nature, beyond and apart from the direct action of His spirit on the spirit of man? But it seems that the writer in the Spectator is prepared with an answer. He has no scruple in repeating his fearful insinuation, and saying—

"If *we* had to inspire another, we might tell him nothing but what was pure and noble, and yet not be willing to do it ourselves. What we want to know is, what is God in Himself? Will He suffer, if it is necessary, to extirpate sin? Will He sacrifice Himself for us, as He wills that we should do for Him? If not, His life and character are not sharply enough defined to give regeneration to human society."

Does the writer really look for a living union from propositions which others with their whole hearts abhor or else put aside as absolute nonsense? How can the impassible Being suffer? How can the God who knows no change sacrifice Himself? If the critic professes to adopt the theology of the Church of England, there is no room for these fancies which, if taken into account at all, are by it stigmatized as heresies. With these things, however, we are not concerned; but it touches us as men when we hear any telling

God that unless His actions and policy are of a certain kind, they can have nothing to do with Him, and that the regeneration of human society can come only from some more sharply defined character.

This is not Christianity; and for any aid which these Sermons may give towards crushing this spurious outgrowth we shall owe a debt of gratitude to the Bishop of Natal. The time, we trust, may come when the critic in the Spectator will feel that we have been justified in using words which may seem unduly harsh. For the present we can only repeat our conviction that when he wrote he was profoundly unconscious of the impression which his language would leave on those who look at the subject from a point of view different from his own.

PRESBYTER ANGLICANUS.

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2. *The Massoreth ha-Massoreth of Elias Levita; being an Exposition of the Massoretic Notes on the Hebrew Bible; or the ancient critical Apparatus of the Old Testament in Hebrew, with an English Translation, and critical and explanatory Notes.* By Christian D. Ginsburg. London: Longmans. 1867.

We give this title in full, as best expressing the exact nature and scope of this curious and learned book. It may be necessary to state that the Massorah (or Massoreth) is precisely "the ancient critical apparatus of the Old Testament," which in printed editions of the Hebrew Bible is found disposed (generally in small type) round the margin or at the foot of the page. Its chief function is to suggest emendations of the text, rendered necessary (in the opinion of its authors) by some difficulty in the received text; but it also calls attention to peculiarities of spelling which were in danger of being overlooked by copyists; and mentions various readings, and various pronunciations of the same word, and in other ways regulates and establishes the mode of reading and of writing the Scriptures. The majority of Christian Hebraists *see* these curious notes, which are written with excessive brevity, in Rabbinical Hebrew, and with abbreviations only comparable to those in the Latinity of medical prescriptions; but find in these three facts reason sufficient to deter them from paying much heed to them. The now prevalent opinion of the recent origin

of all the accessories to the sacred text—vowel-points and accents as well as Massoretic notes—furnishes a ready excuse for not studying them more deeply. The apparent triviality of many of their suggestions and emendations, and the fact that others are evidently prompted by doctrinal preconceptions which may be vital to Jews, but are indifferent to Christians;* and, above all, their unwillingness to recognize varieties of language or dialect in the various books of the Old Testament, which leads them to emend the text where modern criticism would unhesitatingly retain the forms they condemn†—these and other causes combine to support the notion that the Massorah is not worth studying. Yet, however much truth may be admitted to lie in these assertions, they are manifestly inadequate to support the conclusion. If help for the understanding of the Scriptures is found in the various ancient versions, whose date and origin are obscure, and which were often produced by persons very inadequately acquainted with the original tongue, and betray at times the grossest errors, surely the reading of the Jews themselves, transmitted through this accurate and delicate apparatus from very early times with the wonderful fidelity and amazing labour which is their main literary characteristic, ought not to be disregarded because their claim for the infallibility of their art cannot be sustained. Whoever will do justice to Dr. Ginsburg's book will, I am confident, think more highly of the *sense* and *judgment* of the Jewish scholars (of their vast and minute erudition, it may be presumed, no doubt exists) than he did before.

The biography of Elias Levita prefixed by Dr. Ginsburg

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* An instance of this is found in the punctuation of the passage וְאֶרְאֶה פְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, "and *see the face* of God," Ps. xlii. 3 (2); the first word they point וְאֵרָאֶה, so as to elicit the sense, "and *appear before* God," plainly to avoid the unorthodox idea of *seeing* the Invisible. The same is found in all similar passages; yet that the idea was not always so shocking is proved by its being used without offence by Jesus, who distinctly said that the pure in heart "shall *see God*," Matt. v. 8.

† The most striking instance of this is perhaps the constant correction of the pronoun הִוא in the Pentateuch, whenever it refers to a feminine pronoun, into הִיא. If a modern English grammarian were to insist that wherever "his" in our Authorized Version refers to a thing, it is a mere misprint for "its" (e.g. Exod. xxx. 18, 27, 28, xxxi. 8, 9, &c.), the case would be perfectly parallel.

to Levita's treatise, and which with characteristic modesty he does not even name in the title, although its compilation shews an amount of research and investigation of rare and curious books more akin to that of the Buxtorfs, Waltons or Levita himself, than to the easier studies of the men of our day, is very interesting, and not to Hebraists only, but to any one who cares to see a picture of the age of the Reformation from a point of view which will be quite new to most readers—that of the Jews. No more striking contrast is presented in history than that between the fearful persecutions and ignominy, involving utter insecurity of all that civilized nations hold most sacred and inviolable—person, family, property and life, constantly inflicted upon this quiet and inoffensive people by nations in the van of civilization, like Spain and Portugal, and the honours accorded, almost in the same breath, to the learned among them, and the intellectual power actually wielded by them, of which the restoration of literature (which means the reuniting, on a sound foundation, of the ancient, Hebrew as well as Greek and Latin, world with the modern), and the religious reformation itself, are in great part the product. As to the persecutions—in Levita's time all the Jews "were expelled from Mayence and the Rheingau by Adolph of Nassau, 1470;" "Bishop Hinderbach had the whole Jewish community at Trent burned (1475), in consequence of a base calumny that they had killed for their Passover a Christian boy named Simon;" and so on throughout Germany. In Spain "the whole Jewish population, about 300,000 in number, were expelled" (1492); and in Portugal (1496) King Emanuel issued the edict, "that all the Jews and Moors of his dominions should submit to Christian baptism, or quit the country by October next on pain of death." That in those days a Jew seldom spent all his life in one place, or one country, is not surprising. Levita was a German, but spent most of his life in Italy, at Padua, where he gained his great reputation as one of the greatest Hebrew scholars, mainly by teaching Christians; then at Rome, under the wing and in the house of the learned and enlightened Cardinal Egidio di Viterbo; and finally at Venice, where he died. But his life in Italy shews the troubles of the time from another quarter. When the army of the league of Cambray took and sacked Padua in 1509, "Levita lost *everything he possessed*, and in a most destitute

condition had to leave the place!" His exit from Rome is even more distressing: "After labouring *nine years* on a Concordance to the Massorah, and making considerable progress in the Aramaic Grammar, he was again driven from his peaceful studies at Rome by the Imperialists under Charles V., when the greater part of his MSS. and property were destroyed." It will scarcely be credited that at Venice he actually recommenced and carried to a conclusion the "stupendous Massoretic Concordance," the MSS. of which had been lost at Rome; but he was doomed to another disappointment, in not being able to get it printed.

These few biographical details have so beguiled me that I can only speak in the fewest words of Levita's book. Much will doubtless be found trivial and unimportant to modern scholars. The curious conceits in vogue among the Jews in the form and arrangement of their books (as when the book is divided into three divisions, called, in reference to the story in Exodus, the First Tables, Second Tables, and Broken Tables, and containing Ten chapters, in reference to the Ten Commandments) may disgust some students—unfairly, because these are only externals, which at least can do no harm. But the sensible and independent judgment cannot fail to be observed and admired. On one important point I would gladly have spoken at length—on Levita's discussion, in his third introduction, on the origin and antiquity of the vowel-points. He was the first to pronounce the momentous decision, backed by such arguments as only a learned Jew was capable of producing, that they dated from no higher age than about 500 A.D. This was the beginning of the furious controversy on that subject, which soon entered the Christian world, and divided Protestants and Catholics, and one section of Protestants from another.

In conclusion, I wish strongly to recommend Dr. Ginsburg's book as an admirable introduction to the reading of Rabbinical Hebrew. Being printed in Hebrew and English, and having a careful (almost too profuse) explanation of technical expressions, abbreviations, references, &c., it is perfectly suited to this end; and the student who takes it up with this view will also have the satisfaction of knowing that he is at the same time gaining acquaintance with one of the foremost books of its class, and with a scholar who in the Hebrew world ranks with Reuchlin, the Buxtorfs, and Scaliger in the Christian. RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

3. *Miscellaneous.*

The minute investigation of the evidence for and against the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel which has recently been made in our pages, precludes us from now entering upon the elaborate discussion of Mr. Tayler's valuable treatise,* which the weight of his reasoning and the judicial impartiality of his method would otherwise claim at our hands. Among many services which the learned and accomplished author has rendered to theological science, none is greater than this attempt to set plainly before the English public facts and reasonings which have long been suffered to have their due weight in countries where inquiry into the bases of religious belief is less hampered by traditional prejudice. Nor could the attempt have been made under more favourable circumstances. Not only are religious inquirers beginning to awake to a full perception of the differences between the Synoptic and the Fourth Gospels, and of the hardly soluble problems involved in those differences, but Mr. Tayler's book is written with competent learning, remarkable freedom from prejudice, and a spirit of deep religious reverence. However widely the critic may dissent from his conclusions, it is impossible not to admire the spirit of the investigation which conducts to them. Had the book no other value, it would possess a permanent worth as a proof that prejudice and acrimony are not inseparable from a theological argument; and that an inquiry into a difficult point of biblical criticism may be conducted by the same methods and with the same freedom from prepossession as the investigation of any problem of natural science.

In order that our readers—many of whom will no doubt become acquainted with the book itself—may see the light in which the question of the fourth Gospel presents itself to Mr. Tayler's mind, we subjoin an outline of his argument. His first section is devoted to a "statement of the question," in which he briefly draws out the differences between the first three and the fourth Gospels, and shews how hard it is to reconcile their conflicting statements as to the facts of Christ's life and ministry, or to blend their varying repre-

* An Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel, especially in its Relation to the Three First. By J. J. Tayler, B.A., Principal of Manchester New College, London. London: Williams and Norgate. 1867.

sentations of his character into one harmonious whole. Next, he asks, is it possible that the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse—two books of the New Testament traditionally ascribed to the apostle John—should be the production of the same author? Answering this question in the negative, he proceeds to collect all the notices of the apostle John preserved in the New Testament (apart, of course, from the Gospel which is the subject of inquiry) and in the most ancient traditions of the Church; and shewing that these agree in one, to infer that the character which they delineate is more in harmony with the author of the Apocalypse, so far as he is self-revealed, than with that of "the beloved disciple" who is indicated as the writer of the Gospel. The next step is to bring to bear upon the question, thus beginning to be narrowed, whatever external testimony, direct or indirect, can still be gathered up; and in his fifth section, Mr. Tayler enumerates the witnesses to the ancient belief of the Church in the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse. He shews that, so far as we can judge from our present means of knowledge, it was at first universally accepted as the work of the apostle; but that, as the lapse of time shewed the delusiveness of the expectation that the end of the world and the final judgment were close at hand, men began to doubt whether a book which was so apt to feed these hopes could possibly be of authorship so august. At the same time, these doubts, in the absence of any general diffusion of the critical spirit, passed away without practical result; and the canon of Scripture, as finally settled, included Gospel and Apocalypse side by side. On the other hand, all scholars must admit that, from whatever cause it may arise, the external evidence for the authenticity of the Fourth, is not as full and precise as for that of the Synoptical Gospels. Of this evidence Mr. Tayler gives a very careful analysis, especially examining Baron Bunsen's laboured attempt to extract testimony from the quotations from Basilides, contained in the "Refutation of Heresies" ascribed to Hippolytus. His conclusion is thus expressed:

"It must strike every one, I think, who compares the testimonies to the Apocalypse, as the work of the apostle John, with those that have been produced for the same object on behalf of the Fourth Gospel,—that while the former are distinct and express as early as the middle or even the first half of the second

century, none appear for the Gospel that can be adduced with any certainty till Theophilus of Antioch, 178 A.D.; and that by a curious exchange of position, the Fourth Gospel should then first obtain the full and undoubting suffrage of the Catholic Church as the production of an apostle, when the Apocalypse is beginning to fall in reputation, and doubts are already insinuated against its authenticity—that is to say, in the early part of the third century."*

In the eighth section, Mr. Tayler, entering upon a more difficult part of his inquiry, proceeds to examine whatever internal indications of age may be found in the fourth Gospel. These will of course present themselves in differing lights to different minds. Mr. Tayler finds in the doctrine of the Logos proof of a dogmatic development, for which lapse of time would be required; in the "clear and still" air of the Gospel, indication of its origin at a time when "the storm of controversy had passed." The final rupture between Christianity and Judaism has taken place; the destruction of Jerusalem is a thing of the past; there is no trace of millennial expectation. These things are, however, matters of impression; a more definite difficulty, requiring a definite explanation, arises out of the relation of the apostle to the celebrated Paschal controversy. We cannot follow Mr. Tayler into his very learned and exhaustive discussion of this matter; the gist of which lies in the divergence of the apostle's own practice as to the time of observing the Paschal feast (reported, on the authority of Polycarp, in a letter of Irenæus preserved by Eusebius), from the statements of the Fourth Gospel. On all these grounds, therefore, Mr. Tayler is unable to "regard the Fourth Gospel as of apostolic origin in the strict historical sense;"† and he seems to incline (so far as is justifiable in the absence of direct evidence) to the conjecture that it may be the work of that John the Presbyter who, like the apostle John, was intimately connected with the Ephesian Church, whose name appears to stand at the head of the canonical letters known as the Second and Third Epistles, and to whom Eusebius was inclined to ascribe the authorship of the Apocalypse.

We should do Mr. Tayler grievous injustice if by this brief summary we conveyed the idea that his work was no

* Pp. 83, 84. † P. 150.

more than a dry theological argument. That there are, indeed, parts of his book which necessarily make no appeal but to the critical reader, it is needless to say; but nothing is more remarkable than the way in which he has often succeeded in clothing the dry bones of his subject with flesh and blood. Take, for instance, the following admirable passage upon the indications of different authorship given in the Apocalypse and in the Gospel:

"It has been urged by those who affirm the identity of authorship, that the difference of style and manner and underlying tone of thought, which is perceptible on the most cursory reading, between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, is simply the difference between a young and an old mind—between the sensuous fire and brilliancy of a yet unsubdued imagination, and the serener light of a spirit mellowed by years and experience. This explanation seems plausible, till we look more narrowly into the nature and grounds of the difference between the two writers. For it is a difference not resolvable into any conceivable amount of progressive development out of a common mental root, but a difference so marked and so characteristic as to imply a radical distinctness in origin. The writer of the Apocalypse has a mind essentially objective. He realizes his conceptions through vision. He transports himself into an imaginary world, and speaks as if it were constantly present to his sense—introducing its ever-shifting scenes by 'I saw,' 'I looked,' 'I heard,' 'I stood.' His colouring is warm and gorgeous, and his lights and shadows are broadly contrasted. His whole book is pervaded with the glow, and breathes the vehement and fierce spirit, of the old Hebrew prophecy, painting vividly to the mental eye, but never appealing directly to the spiritual perception of the soul. When we turn to the Fourth Gospel, we find ourselves at once in another atmosphere of thought, full of deep yearnings after the unseen and eternal, ever soaring into a region which the imagery of things visible cannot reach; even in its descriptions marked by a certain contemplative quietness, as if it looked at things without from the retired depths of the soul within. It exhibits but a slight tinge of Hebraic objectiveness, and throughout seems striving to express its sense of spiritual realities in the more abstract phraseology which the wide diffusion of Hellenic culture had rendered current in the world at the commencement of the Christian era. It has been said, indeed, that both writers are distinguished by a remarkable power of objective presentation. In a certain sense, this is true. But in how different a way is it shewn! Compare, for instance, the awful description of the effect of opening the

sixth seal, and that ghastly procession of the horses which precedes it, in the Apocalypse (vi. 12—17 and 1—8), where every word vibrates, as it were, with the throbbing pulse of an excited imagination, and that marvellously graphic story of the man born blind, or the exquisite pathos with which the raising of Lazarus is narrated, in the Fourth Gospel (ix. and xi.), where all is so clear and yet so calm and still, as if the writer had looked the fading traditions of the past into distinctness, as enthusiasts for art have been said by dint of gazing to call back into their original vividness the decaying colours and crumbling outlines of the Last Supper of Da Vinci on the wall of the refectory at Milan. We at once recognize in the authors of the Apocalypse and the Gospel a genius essentially distinct. . . . .

"The case may be illustrated to the English reader from our own literature. Two of our greatest poets passed through remarkable mental changes. Milton's earliest and latest poems are separated by the chasm of the civil wars; and the stern Puritanism of the Samson Agonistes with the severity of its Hellenic form, is strikingly distinguished from the joyous, romantic spirit and the cavalier-like appreciation of everything graceful and gay, which pervade the Comus and the Arcades, many of his early sonnets, and those exquisite pendents, L'Allegro and Il Penseroso. Dryden underwent mutations more extraordinary still. He began life as a Puritan, and passing through the intermediate stage of Anglicanism, ended his days in the bosom of the Catholic Church. The Hind and Panther, in which he justified this last change, breathes, as may be supposed, a very different spirit from the lines in which he bewailed the death of Cromwell. Yet, if we compare the poems written at the opposite ends of the lives of these great men—notwithstanding the revolution of thought and feeling which came over them in the interval—every mind that has any sense of mental characteristics, will at once perceive that it is dealing at bottom with the same individual genius;—that it is a case of growth and development, not of original difference; —and will feel it to be utterly impossible that, even had they passed through changes of opinion more radical still, Milton could ever have written the Hind and Panther or the Veni Creator, and Dryden, the Paradise Lost or Samson Agonistes. No living writer has exhibited a more remarkable change of style in the course of his literary career than Mr. Carlyle; yet, if we compare his Life of Schiller with his French Revolution or his History of Frederic the Great—notwithstanding the great disparity of form—every reader of ordinary discernment will recognize the same fundamental characteristics of his peculiar genius in his earlier and his later works. Apply this standard to the

two books now under consideration; and the conclusion will be irresistible, that if the apostle John be the author of the Apocalypse, he cannot have written the Gospel: if he wrote the Gospel, he cannot be the author of the Apocalypse."*

In the last, which is also, in many ways, not the least valuable chapter of his work, Mr. Tayler treats with eloquent suggestiveness the "religious bearing of the question." But into his proof that the Fourth Gospel by no means claims an apostolic authorship so decisively as is generally assumed; into his repudiation of the alternative commonly sought to be forced upon those who take his side in this debate—that if the Gospel be not the production of the apostle it must be a wilful forgery, and therefore destitute of all religious value; and into his vindication of the existence of the Christian spirit and tradition apart from the letter of any written record, we cannot follow him. We are not sure that the theory of the true relation between the spirit of theological criticism and that of simple religious trust, which he has here half-unconsciously developed, may not be as valuable, in the present condition of religious opinion, as any positive intellectual result which he may be held to have established. Taking the book as a whole, it claims a high place in the too brief roll of modern theological works which express the finer learning and the freer trusts of English Christianity.

Attempts to understand Jesus Christ as a *living* Christ, and not as the mere incarnation of a scheme of doctrine, are becoming characteristic of the literature of our age. The object of Dr. Schenkel in his work on "The Character of Jesus,"† now translated by Dr. Furness, is to give a genuinely human and truly historical representation of Jesus; and his work is both critical and reverent. Pursuing the strictest inquiries suggested by an accurate scholarship, Dr. Schenkel yet finds the conviction that Christ is the light of the world impressed upon his mind, while writing his book, with a vividness never before known. His work is thus a remarkable proof that the freest criticism on the records of Chris-

* Pp. 9—14.

† The Character of Jesus portrayed; a Biblical Essay, by Dr. Daniel Schenkel, Professor of Theology, Heidelberg. Translated from the Third German Edition, with Introduction and Notes, by W. H. Furness, D.D. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1866.

tianity is not only consistent with, but productive of, a deep regard for the personal character, the authority and actual work of Jesus Christ. Dr. Schenkel applies every test which his learning can suggest, weighs contending theories with anxious care, and is faithfully determined that the extent of his belief shall not exceed the measure of the evidence; and yet he recognizes the image of a living Christ stamped upon the great heart of the world—the living, and on this account the historical Christ, who not only taught in the body centuries ago in Galilee, and suffered in Jerusalem, but still lives on in all those in whom his word has become spirit and life, through freedom of thought and the truth of faith and love.*

We cannot refrain from rendering a tribute of honour and respect to the spirit in which Dr. Furness's able notes are written. Often questioning the conclusions of the text, they shew a pure and simple love of truth, without prejudice or passion, and may well be referred to as examples of the way in which controversy may be conducted, with an entire absence of the *odium theologicum*.

Mr. Madge's volume of "Discourses on Subjects relating to Christian Faith and Life,"† is a welcome addition to the treasury of pulpit literature, even though the pleasure of receiving it may be tempered by the recollection that it may probably be "the last fruit from an old tree." The venerable author was requested, in his years of well-earned leisure, to renew the chain along which the electric thrill of sympathy has so often passed between himself and his hearers, and the volume under our notice is his answer to the request. Its contents are in the very variety of their character a faithful transcript of his public teaching; while even those readers who have never personally experienced the charm of his silvery voice and unaffected earnestness of mien, will discern in the half unconscious melody of the phrase, the natural roll of the sentence, indications of the genuine power of persuasion, the real rhetorical force, with which these sermons must have issued from the preacher's

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* Vol. II. p. 319.

† Discourses on Subjects relating to Christian Faith and Life. By Thomas Madge, formerly Minister of Essex-Street Chapel. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1867.

lips. For they *are* sermons, not essays; speech from a living man to living men, not closet disquisitions; and they possess, therefore, a measure of that prophetic power which no mere intellectual accuracy of statement or subtlety of argument can exercise. We cannot attempt to characterize in detail a volume the contents of which are so various, especially when the variety is a diversity of life and wealth; but, as a specimen of the author's manner, we append a striking passage from the first sermon, on "Scripture appealing to Reason and Conscience," which gives no uncertain sound in regard to principles which underlie the fundamental controversies of the day.

"When the Scriptures address our consciences, when they speak of the law written on the heart, when they ask us to judge of ourselves what is right, and when God appeals to us for the justice of His proceedings, saying, 'Are not my ways equal?'—they take for granted that we have that within us which is capable of forming sound moral judgments and of coming to right moral conclusions. So, again, when the Scriptures speak to us of the goodness and the loving-kindness and the mercy of God, they do not begin with defining the sense in which they use these terms. They suppose that we have already a general and sufficiently accurate knowledge of them. They take for granted the existence of these qualities among men, as arising out of the very constitution of their moral nature, wherever the faculties of that nature have been suffered in any degree to develope and expand themselves. What is goodness in man is the same that we mean by goodness in God. And so with justice, faithfulness and mercy. These qualities, which we ascribe to God, we have first gotten a knowledge of by our own feelings and experience as human beings. And when we refer them to the Supreme Being, we mean by them precisely what we mean when we apply them to ourselves; only with this difference, that when we regard them as divine attributes, we divest them of every imperfection, of everything that is partial, prejudiced and confined, and we clothe them with all imaginable purity and perfection; transforming them from an earthly to a heavenly existence, by raising them far above all human littleness and weakness, above the caprice, the uncertainty, the changeableness belonging to man. If the Divine mercy and benignity mean not something like this, if they have no resemblance to kindred qualities existing in our own bosoms, what are we to understand by them? They become mere sounds, and nothing else, words to which there attaches no significance, and all our conceptions of the

character of God are reduced to the greatest possible vagueness and obscurity. This is the darkened state of mind to which some religionists are aiming to bring us. In order to set up their theological dogmas, they make no difficulty of discarding the plainest moral convictions stamped upon the heart, of shutting out that light of the inner man by which alone he can be guided to a clear perception of moral truth. Once overrule and bid defiance to the clearest dictates of the understanding, once set at naught and despise the deepest and most universal of our moral sentiments, and the mind is fitted and prepared for the belief of any opinion, however absurd, for the reception of any sentiment, however cruel and revolting. Demand of me anything but the surrender of my intellectual and moral guides. They, by the grace of God, no man shall take from me. Ask of me humility, caution, care, the utmost impartiality and the most listening attention, and you may have them; but ask me to sacrifice to the letter that killeth, the testimony of that inward spirit which quickeneth and maketh alive, and you will ask in vain. Require of me to give heed to the evidence you may tender in favour of a proposition, however strange, however remote from my present views and apprehensions, and it may be my duty to attend, to ponder, and at length to believe. But require me to give audience to assertions and statements in behalf of self-evident contradictions and palpable moral incongruities, and I revolt from the rashness of the attempt. I feel it to be an affront to the nature which God has given mé; I pass by and turn away. If you fear to exercise and trust the power which God has conferred upon you for the ascertainment of truth, I fear not to exert them, not to make use of the light which the inspiration of the Almighty has kindled within me. If you fear to reject whatever may have the faintest appearance of divine authority, I fear, by the admission of unreasonable and extravagant doctrines, to turn men's affections away from God, and to expose the religion which He has sent us to aversion and contempt. Be our fears, however, what they may, there is one fear that should rise and prevail above all—the fear that anything should operate to an unmanly distrust of the powers of our own minds, so as to enfeeble and cripple them in the just and fair exercise of their rightful authority. It is by and through their instrumentality alone that we can arrive at the knowledge of the truth. To them it is that God appeals when He says, 'Are not my ways equal?' To them did Christ address himself when he said, 'Let him that readeth, understand; he that hath ears to hear, let him hear; why of yourselves judge ye not what is right?' If we have no faith in the fundamental principles of human reason, and

in the primary and essential moral feelings of the human heart, the foundations of all rational conviction are destroyed, and we are let loose to be driven about by every wind of doctrine, to be the victims of the wretchedest fanaticism, or of the most deadening and depressing scepticism."*

Mr. Horace Field's little volume, entitled "Heroism,"† is, if looked at simply from the intellectual point of view, a strange phenomenon. He justifies the second title of his book, "God omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent," by denying all free-will to men. "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players," are words which literally express his faith. God is the direct cause of everything good and bad, in ourselves and others, and our consciousness of choice, our inner assurance of free-will, are only a benevolent deceit which He puts upon us, that we may play our parts with the happier dignity. Nor is it an imputation upon God's goodness to make Him thus the direct cause of evil; for there are two races of men, the celestial and the infernal, the essentially good and the radically bad, who fulfil their office and justify their existence in that reciprocal reaction which tends in each case to the complete development of character. Each of these attains a fit consummation, consonant with Divine goodness: the devils are happy in hell, the saints in heaven; and each state of existence would be misery to the participators in the other. But this quaint and, at first sight, unpromising theme is worked out with so much earnest simplicity, such tenderness of religious sentiment, as to make the book attractive even to those whose logical faculty takes alarm at the author's first assumptions. Mr. Field will find more readers than disciples; but all worthy readers will end by becoming friends, who will be ready to hear him whenever he speaks again.

Mr. Harris Cowper's translation of the Apocryphal Gospels‡ reached us too late to receive notice in the article on that subject which appeared in our last number. It may

* Pp. 6—11.

† Heroism, or God our Father, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent. By Horace Field, B.A. London: Longmans. 1867.

‡ The Apocryphal Gospels and other Documents relating to the History of Christ. Translated from the Originals, with Notes, &c., by B. Harris Cowper. London: Williams and Norgate. 1867.

be emphatically recommended to all English readers who desire information in regard to a topic of singular and curious interest, as far more than an acceptable substitute for the unscholarly and untrustworthy work of Hone, which has obtained so large a currency. Mr. Cowper's introduction and notes are well worthy of attention, though in his anxiety to make clear the undeniable difference of quality between the Canonical and Apocryphal Gospels, he seems to us to make too light of the hold upon Christian belief which, in certain ages of the Church, these strange legends have enjoyed. His translation is carefully executed, and he draws a clear distinction between the Apocryphal Gospels and the Apostolical Fathers, a distinction which, in the minds of those who depend solely upon English sources of information, Hone's book had helped to obscure. On the other hand, he does not follow M. Nicolas into the treatment of Gospels (such as the Gospel to the Hebrews) which, so far as we can judge from the very insignificant fragments that remain, may possibly have stood on the same level as those now alone received as canonical.

In his "Sermon-Essays,"* Dr. Rowland Williams gives the substance of notes prepared in the first instance for use in the pulpit, and afterwards expanded into their present form. The volume affords an example, most worthy of the attention of all liberal preachers, of the possibility of uniting free thought and speech with a spirit of true reverence and a constant aim at practical usefulness. It is a delightful surprise to the reader, when he turns to sections with such headings as "The Atonement," "The Holy Trinity," to find that, instead of metaphysical disquisition or theological logic, he meets with deep religious feeling united with wise advice and sound intellectual instruction. Instances of this meet us on every page, but it is difficult to illustrate them without giving a longer extract than we have room for. The following passage, from the essay on "Mediation," has a peculiar interest:

"It may be hardly avoidable, that when the Unitarian position is reached by a downward process, at each step of which some reason for devotion has crumbled, it changes the reveren-

* Broadchalke Sermon-Essays on Nature, Mediation, Atonement, Absolution, &c. By Rowland Williams, D.D. London: Williams and Norgate.

tial spirit into the critical, and seems less favourable to graces properly religious, though marked strongly by the masculine virtues. It is difficult to break idols reverentially, even when the breaking is necessary. On the other hand, when the same frame of thought towards Christ has been reached by an upward process, through sympathy with his character or our need of guidance, and an awakening of emotion, it is not so injurious to reverence. Hence it may be that some gifted writers, too latitudinarian for Unitarian orthodoxy, have approached nearer to primitive Christianity, because their theology is not a commentary on a book, but a living relation between their soul and their Maker. Only of these latter we may ask, whether the state of the world justifies so facile a confidence in throwing history to the winds, and in making the prophets of each generation our alone guides to truth? How can we seriously consider the many desires and capacities whose gratification is necessary to man's happiness, yet which are destined often never to be gratified, and maintain that the mysterious power which encompasses us, or the destiny designed for us, must be all that our wishes frame? Though it is right to call God our Father, how does the ascription of such a name explain famine and consumption, and the extermination of helpless races, or grinding poverty, and the certainty that in this world honesty or duty may be ruin, while cunning is prosperity? *Though He slay us*, yet let us *trust in Him;* and either find in Him alone an abundent reward, or hope that in a better life all will be rectified; but if the pious souls who cherished this hope before us were not worth listening to, why should our witness be right? It is far from my desire to magnify difficulties; but even a just re-action from misreadings of history should not make us neglect to verify it; and though an event or a life two thousand years ago need not be our only ground of trust in God, it may be a confirmation or a fulfilment."*

If the spirit manifest in this volume could be found pervading the general pulpit utterances of England, we might feel assured that the interests of Religion, and with them the true well-being of the nation, were so secured that they could never more be endangered.

Mr. R. W. Mackay's treatise, "The Eternal Gospel, or the Idea of Christian Perfectibility,"† which appears among

* Pp. 139—141.

† The Eternal Gospel; or the Idea of Christian Perfectibility: a Tract in Two Parts. By R. W. Mackay, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate.

the free-thought publications issued by Mr. Thomas Scott, of Ramsgate, exhibits the same union of sound scholarship, vigorous thought and neatness of diction, which gives a permanent value to the author's work on "The Progress of the Intellect," and to his recent essay on "The Tübingen School," and the only drawback from its worth as a contribution to theological science is the presence in it of that Pantheistic conception of God's relation to man, which colours more or less all Mr. Mackay's writings,—a conception which fits him, no doubt, for the admiring appreciation of Greek and German thought, but greatly disqualifies him, we think, for sympathetic dealing with a faith so eminently Theistic as is that of Jesus of Nazareth. No one who carefully watches the progress of the speculative views which give form and character to the literature of the present day, can avoid noticing the growing influence of a theology, æsthetic rather than ethical, which blending natural phenomena and human volitions in one artistic unity, sees in both alike but plastic media through which the Eternal Artist ceaselessly manifests the development of perfect thought in harmony with the expression of the highest beauty. No doubt, the view of God's relation to the universe, which thus sanctifies poetry and science by representing nature as the immediate outcome of Divine intelligence and sentiment, is far more satisfying to the soul than the Deistic idea of the world as the result of the mechanical interaction of secondary causes. Unfortunately, however, this revulsion from that too exclusively ethical conception of God's working which characterized the Deism and Protestantism of the 17th and 18th centuries, has now become excessive, and, transgressing the limits of a healthy Theism, invades the province of man's free causality, and appears to tend towards a modified form of Spinoza's Pantheism. The operation of this tendency on Mr. Mackay's theology is manifested in his view of Free-will, which he regards as "an illusion," and in the belief that the "power which first rouses the "moral element is the feeling of the beautiful." Yet it must be added, that in happy inconsistency with his Necessarian principles he discourses eloquently and justly on the *obligation* we are under to cultivate our higher nature, to give free play to those self-surrendering affections and truth-seeking aspirations which liberate the soul from the tyranny of

selfishness, appetite and prejudice, and effect at last that complete moral freedom in which duty and inclination coalesce, and love becomes the perfect fulfilling of the law.

"Ecce Deus"* copies more closely than is perhaps quite fair, the external form, size and colour of Ecce Homo, to which it appears professedly not as a reply, but rather as a pendant. It sets forth the life and doctrines of Jesus Christ with the fundamental thought that he was the incarnate Deity, and that his work could not have been accomplished except by a Divine person. The style of the work is attractive, and its matter interesting even to those who will not adopt the author's conclusions. But it has not gained the celebrity of its predecessor, nor will its evident ability or its frank and generous tone elevate a work written with a controversial purpose into the popularity of an original investigation. Its title does not justify itself to our conception. It exhibits Jesus as a man approved of God, on whom the Holy Spirit was poured forth without measure, who exceeded all previous prophets and teachers, in that he was the well-beloved Son of God, the Messiah sent to save mankind. But the argument will convert no Unitarian, scarcely convince any indifferent student that the Christ was the incarnate Deity. The author fails altogether, if even he attempts, to reconcile the twofold nature of man and God in a consistent and uniform consciousness, such as must have existed, one would think, in a Deity who had clothed himself in flesh. Nor is he orthodox in other opinions; he hardly even claims to be so. His doctrine as to human depravity especially will not pass muster with the advocates of original sin. In short, he admits Christ's humanity as the origin of his sympathy with his fellow-men, and claims that the truth and authority with which he rebukes, converts, forgives and blesses them, prove him to have been God. It is needless to say that in our view the argument does not justify the conclusion.

Mr. Panton Ham, in his "Idea of the Church"† has written a small book on a large subject. He would probably have done more justice, both to his theme and to him-

* Ecce Deus: Essays on the Life and Doctrine of Jesus Christ; with Controversial Notes on Ecce Homo. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1867.

† The Idea of the Church: an Essay. By J. Panton Ham. London: Whitfield, Green and Son.

self, had he allowed his essay to take a form which would have permitted him to work out his ideas more fully. He defines "the Church" as "that general manifestation of the aggregate religious consciousness of a people," "that general religious sentiment in a Christian society which takes some outward form for the purpose of expressing its special convictions and aspirations," and proceeds to shew that it springs from the natural sentiment of religion, and that "schism" is the loss of spiritual sympathy, voluntarily cutting off the soul from God, and to point out the relation of the Church to the State, to society and to the individual. The longest of the many short sections into which the essay is divided is an attempt to clear up the vexed question of the true position of "sects" as parts of one all-embracing Church. Frequent quotations from and references to Vinet indicate the source whence many of the ideas are derived. But it is difficult to obtain from the whole a clear impression of the logical process through which the writer desires to conduct his readers, or of the conclusion to which he seeks to lead them.

The space at our disposal will not allow us to do more than record the titles of "Glimpses at the Origin, Mission and Destiny of Man,"* a collection of miscellaneous papers, by Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, a well-known Liverpool merchant, on matters of social interest; of "Hours of Work and Play,"† an interesting and varied series of essays by Miss F. P. Cobbe, for the most part reprinted from different magazines and reviews; and of the "Unity of Truth,"‡ a little work which, under that somewhat strange title, conceals a devotional diary, consisting of a text of Scripture and a connected apothegm for every day of the year. We must also offer a word of welcome to the fourth edition, in one volume, of Mr. Martineau's "Endeavours after the Christian Life;"§ to the fourth edition also of Dr. T. F. Barham's

* Glimpses at the Origin, Mission and Destiny of Man; with Miscellaneous Papers, &c. By Lawrence Heyworth, Esq. London: Williams and Norgate. 1866.

† Hours of Work and Play. By F. P. Cobbe. London: Trübner. 1867.

‡ The Unity of Truth: a Devotional Diary, compiled from the Scriptures and other Sources. By the Author of "Visiting my Relations." London: Trübner. 1867.

§ Endeavours after the Christian Life: Discourses by James Martineau. Fourth Edition. London: Longmans. 1867.

"One God the Father;"* and to the second edition, which we rejoice to see so speedily called for, of Mr. Madge's Family Prayers.†

"Tracts for the Day,"‡ edited by Mr. Orby Shipley, now well known as also the editor of "The Church and the World," are intended to advocate that peculiar form of Catholic doctrine which obtains among Anglican Ritualists. The two numbers before us, on "Priestly Absolution Scriptural," and "Purgatory," are written carefully and in a moderate tone. They may have some cogency of argument for those who are already prepared to appreciate their peculiar mode of dealing with theological topics; to others they will seem wholly beside the mark. At the opposite pole stands a thoughtful and eloquent pamphlet, "The New Catholic Church,"§ which advocates the establishment of the Church of the Future on the simple basis of the Christian principles of love to God and love to man. The fact that this little essay has rapidly reached a second edition, as well as the expressions of sympathy and approval which the author has received from very various theological quarters, are another testimony to the rising desire for union on a religious as opposed to a theological basis. Perhaps by the time Mr. Orby Shipley and his friends have found their way back to the *old* Catholic Church, the new Catholic Church may be gathering up and arraying its strength for that final conflict between Authority and Freedom which every day brings nearer.

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* One God the Father; or the Strict and Proper Monotheism of the Gospel Vindicated. By T. F. Barham, M.B. A New Edition. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1867.

† Prayers for Morning and Evening, &c. By Thomas Madge. Second Edition. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1867.

‡ Tracts for the Day: Essays on Theological Subjects, by various Authors. I. II. Edited by Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans.

§ The New Catholic Church. Second Edition. London: Trübner. 1867.

THE

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS.*

In a recent notice† of Mr. Tayler's excellent work on the keenly-disputed question of the authorship of the fourth Gospel, allusion was made to the important question which rises upon us, if the impartial spirit of free historical inquiry should decide, as in our opinion it must ultimately decide, that this Gospel was not composed till long after the death of the apostle St. John, and cannot justly claim to be the historical embodiment of his teaching—namely, the question whether any religious value attaches to the idea that in Jesus of Nazareth was incarnate "a Divine person co-existing with God from the beginning,"‡ which can survive the shock given to the authority hitherto claimed for it from the supposed testimony of the apostle to the assertions of Jesus. To the consideration of this question we propose to devote the present article, of which it is the object to establish the religious value of this idea, on what appears to us to be the evidence of two unimpeachable witnesses—the course of human thought and the course of human history, by a discussion conducted in the spirit not of dogmatic assertion, but of scientific reasoning, which invites investigation, and is not afraid of consequences; prefacing our proper subject, however, by a few observations on what Mr. Tayler justly calls "the painful alternative of authenticity or imposture,"—an alternative which makes impossible any impartial consideration either of the authorship of the fourth Gospel or of the religious value of the

* An article upon the same subject, but treating it from a different theological point of view, will appear in the next number of the Review.—Ed. Theol. Rev.

† No. XVIII., p. 429.

‡ Tayler, p. 181.

ideas introduced by its instrumentality into Christian belief. For although error may be admitted as a providential element in the diffusion of divine truth, it is repugnant to religious feeling to assign a similar function to deception.

The outcry of imposture raised against the author of the Gospel, if he were not the apostle St. John, seems to us to involve two distinct confusions. First, it confuses the claim set up *in* the Gospel with that set up *for* the Gospel by the subsequent Christian tradition; secondly, it confuses the evidence for the doctrine taught by the Gospel, derived from the statements contained in it, with evidence that these statements express actual historical facts. From the time when the anonymous composers of that appendix to the Gospel, now forming its 21st chapter, asserted, "This is the disciple who testifieth* of these things, and wrote† these things, and *we* know that his testimony is true," down to the time when Bretschneider wrote his *Probabilia*, the fourth Gospel, with scarcely a dissentient voice, was attributed by the church to St. John. It is therefore not surprising that, when this tradition was first seriously questioned, those to whom the doctrine contained in the Gospel was dear, should vehemently assert that the tradition only expressed what the Gospel clearly implied. But the original Gospel, closing as it clearly does with the 20th chapter, lays no claim to any such authorship. No doubt in its last chapters the author brings prominently forwards some one whom he calls only "the disciple whom Jesus loved," but in whom the tradition of the church has agreed to recognize St. John, and thus puts his work, so to speak, under his protection. But we agree with Mr. Tayler that, "within the original Gospel, there is not one passage which asserts," not even one which implies, "this disciple to have been its author, and that such an interpretation would never have occurred to any one had it not been suggested by the external tradition which grew up by the side of the Gospel."‡ Nay, there is nothing implying that the Gospel was written by *any one* who witnessed what he states. One passage, indeed, refers, apparently, to the testimony of an eye-witness for one particular fact—namely, the 35th verse of chap. xix., in reference to the piercing of Christ's side and the flowing from it of

* ὁ μαρτυρῶν. † ὁ γράψας. ‡ P. 167.

"blood and water." Here we find the mysterious words, "And he that saw *bare* record, and his record *is* true; and *he knoweth* that he *saith* true, that ye might believe;"—words strangely inappropriate if they were intended to state, "*I* who give this witness saw what happened, and *I* know that I am telling the truth." But, as Mr. Tayler forcibly argues,* these words imply, by the use of the past tense, he who saw *bare* record,† that the *writer and the witness adduced by him are not the same person*, otherwise he would naturally have said, "He who saw *beareth* witness;" while the *change to the present tense*, in the *he knoweth*, expresses only the reliance of the writer on the truth of this testimony, shewn by adducing the witness as if then present and bearing record. Now we are not concerned to deny that, for the particular fact thus attested, the writer of the Gospel may have relied upon the evidence of some one, whether "in the body" or not when he wrote does not appear, whom he believed to have been present at the crucifixion of Christ. But the person thus appealed to is not identified with the "disciple whom Jesus loved." Of him we are told that he stood by the cross shortly before Jesus died, when Jesus said to him, "Behold thy mother, and from that *hour* that disciple took her to his own house;" words implying rather that he immediately withdrew the mother of Jesus from a scene so sad to her, than that he continued by the cross, and leaving us quite in the dark as to who "he who saw and bare record" may have been.

Since, then, there is an entire absence of any claim in the Gospel itself to an apostolic origin, the charge of imposture must rest solely upon the *design* apparent in it from beginning to end, as C. F. Baur originally shewed; upon the varied *evidence* for the truth of the doctrine that Jesus was the incarnate Logos with which its narratives abound, and which its author presses on our attention. But such *evidences* are only the necessary results of the mode selected by the author of the Gospel for imparting his doctrine, namely by writing a life of Christ setting forth his nature by the words and acts ascribed to him, instead of by composing a treatise asserting or discussing it. To sustain a charge of imposture upon *this* ground, there must

* Pp. 163, 164. † μεμαρτύρηκεν.

first be shewn, what no one attempts to shew, that the writer of the Gospel did not *himself believe* the doctrine he taught. To write an ideal biography of an historical person, in order to exhibit the sort of person whom the writer believed his hero to have been, by representing him to have done and said such acts and words as he naturally would do and say if he were such a person, is no *imposture*. It is only to do what Milton has done for Adam and Eve; what Shakespeare has done for the characters in those historical plays whence a great deal of the popular ideas of English history are derived; what every writer of an historical romance has done, or at least tried to do, for the historical characters introduced into it.

That the anonymous author of the fourth Gospel employed his powers of imagination to form, by aid of the hints which apparently he considered to be contained in the Synoptics, and perhaps of some other stories about the life of Jesus, such a picture of him as could satisfy his conception of what the incarnate Logos *must* have been,—and then published this life in the hope that it might lead others to share the belief which formed the key-stone of his own religious life, as every line either of the Gospel or of the anonymous Epistles,* clearly proceeding from the same author, proves, —can be no crime in the eyes of any one who judges the act by common sense, and not by theological prejudice. The charge of imposture is at bottom only a vent for the annoyance felt, by those who have founded dogmatic systems on the supposed authority of the fourth Gospel, at the discovery that for this purpose it is no authority at all. Instead of reproaching themselves for their credulity, they prefer to reproach the author of the Gospel with having deceived them. But the dust which has prevented their seeing clearly was not of his raising. It has been produced round his work, not by it. When the opinion that the fourth Gospel was not written by the apostle John has lost its alarming novelty, the charge of imposture brought against its author will, we are satisfied, be generally allowed to be one of the most unreasonable of the many unreasonable cries raised in the vain attempt to arrest the calm progress

* Remarkable as being, with exception of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the *only anonymous Epistles* in the New Testament.

of critical inquiry into the composition and character of the sacred writings, whether of Old or New Testament.*

* Those who import the moral question of alleged imposture into the historical question of the authorship of the fourth Gospel, rarely appear to consider the grave moral charges to which, by ascribing the Gospel to St. John, they expose—1st, the apostles generally; 2nd, St. John especially; 3rd, the author of the Apocalypse. 1st. If Christ spoke of himself as the fourth Gospel describes him to have done, *the doctrine that he was the Logos ought to have been prominent in all that his disciples taught.* Yet we find no trace of it in the Acts; the elder apostles do not appear to have given any intimation of it to St. Paul, though some of his later Epistles indicate that he was himself on the road to it. It is not to be found in any New-Testament writing, except the fourth Gospel and the Epistles attributed to St. John. Clearly, then, *the apostles must have suppressed their Lord's teaching.* Why? Can any motive be assigned but *fear of the Jews;* the hope of escaping the fate which the proclamation by Jesus of his divine nature had brought upon him? But what must we think of the apostles if they could have been guilty of such conduct? 2nd. It is universally admitted that the fourth Gospel was the last written. St. John, if he were the author, cannot be supposed to have been unacquainted with the other Gospels when he wrote his own. How, then, could he have been so indifferent to the truth as to have allowed the imperfect accounts and grave errors contained in the statements of the Synoptics about the life and teachings of Jesus to circulate in the church under the names of apostles or the companions of apostles, without taking any other step to prevent them from being generally accepted beyond the anonymous publication of a different account, which, as it takes no notice of the other histories, necessarily leaves their readers in the most painful uncertainty how much of the story in them is true and how much false? 3rd. If we do not accept the desperate alternative of ascribing both Gospel and Apocalypse to the same author, what are we to say of the writer of the latter, who does openly call himself, "John the servant of Jesus Christ,"—a title referred to the apostle by all those who lived at or soon after the date of the book, and who name its author, and therefore plainly adapted, and doubtless intended to produce, the belief that the book was written by him? Here is one who, if not the apostle, may well be called an impostor. True, the word "servant" is not apostle. But it is the only title used by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians; by the writers of the Epistles of James, and Jude who calls himself the brother of James,—Epistles generally ascribed to "James the son of Alphæus, and Judas of James" (Luke vi. 16); and it is associated with the title of apostle in the Epistles to the Romans, to Titus and the Second of Peter. Papias, in the description of his authorities, quoted by Eusebius, Ch. Hist. III. 39, mentions Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, with no distinctive title, while he distinguishes a second John as "the Presbyter;" whence we see that the title, "John the servant of Jesus Christ," if employed without any other epithet, would be considered to mean the apostle—as we know to have actually been the case; so that, if used by one not the apostle, it was eminently adapted to deceive.

The most plausible ground for accusing the author of the fourth Gospel, if he were not the apostle John, of an intention to pass himself off for that apostle, may be derived from the introduction to the first of those anonymous Epistles which, from its style, must be ascribed to him. "That which was from the beginning, which *we* have heard, which *we* have seen with *our* eyes, which *we* have looked upon, and *our* hands have handled, of the Word of life. For the life was manifested, and *we have* seen it, and *bear* witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto

Assuming, then, that the fourth Gospel may at least claim to express the genuine human belief of one who, if he has drawn an ideal Christ, saw in that ideal essential truth, we ask, in what position does the doctrine taught by this Gospel, of the eternal being and temporal manifestation of the Son of God in the person of Christ, stand, when deprived of the support given to it by the supposed declarations of Jesus himself attested by St. John? Must the conception be regarded as a delusion, transmitted by the first Christian centuries to their successors, to last until the clearer light of advancing knowledge could dissipate the mist, and leave by its final disappearance the great principles of religion more distinctly seen and more thoroughly appreciated than before? Such is Mr. Tayler's conclusion:

"Christianity," he says, in a beautiful passage of his concluding chapter, "in its origin and essence was a kindling in men's souls of the dormant consciousness of their personal relation to a living God, a deepening of their moral sense, a quickening of their spiritual insight—wrought through the influence of one profoundly religious nature on its contemporaries. It was an outpouring of the spirit of God through the soul of Jesus on humanity." "The Synoptical Gospels have preserved the oldest Palestinian tradition of the person and public ministry of Jesus. In the Epistles of St. Paul we get an insight into the heart of the earliest controversy to which the new religion gave rise. The

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us. That which *we have seen* and heard *declare* we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us" (1 John i. 1—3). At first sight these words appear to assert a distinct claim to a personal knowledge of Christ by the writer. But if he intended to say, "What *I* have seen and heard *I* declare to you," why, instead of employing these plain words, does he use the ambiguous *we*? In subsequent passages of the Epistle he speaks freely in the first person, ii. 1, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, v. 13, 16; as he does in the Second and Third Epistles, where he gives himself that very title of "the Presbyter" used by Papias to distinguish the second John named by him from the apostle. Why does he not employ the first person, where its employment is the most important, if the object of the introduction had been to declare that the anonymous writer of the Epistle had personally seen and touched Christ? Here is another case of ambiguity, similar to that noticed above in the only instance where the Gospel appears to appeal to personal testimony; and the reason, we apprehend, is in both cases the same, namely, that the writer was not an eye-witness, and intends to include in his "*we*" *all* true Christians, of whom, as one body in Christ, it might be said *we* have seen and handled the word of life, either by the eyes and hands of those to whom it was originally manifested, or perhaps in the Eucharistical bread and wine, which perpetually renewed the manifestation (see John vi. 32—38, xiv. 21, xvi. 17), and now invite *you*, i. e. all other men, to fellowship with us.

fourth Gospel contains the reflections of a profoundly devout and meditative spirit [probably of the church of Ephesus] on a survey of the ministry of Christ, interpreting it from his own lofty point of view, and giving it the comprehensive application which to that wider ken it seemed at once to yield." "Now this vivid and varied exhibition of the growth and expansion of a great seminal principle, is far more stimulative of the kindred action of our own spirits than the presentment of any positive doctrinal system, however precise and complete." "Christianity carries us back, through the souls of holy men, even of the holiest, that of Christ himself, to God, the sole ultimate fountain of all holiness and truth." "Its acceptance as a truth for the soul [is] independent of all those obscure and difficult critical questions on which the learning of Protestantism has so precariously based it." "Faith in Christ is trust in, reverence for, aspiration after a glorified humanity in its ultimate re-union with God. This is the *idea*, the final result of the organic operation and natural growth of the spirit brought into the world by Christ—which is developed with such wonderful power and beauty in the fourth Gospel. The spirit which had its richest opening and fullest manifestation in Christ is still flowing from its infinite source into the hearts and lives of those who truly believe in him. It is this alone which makes them really his, and unites them through him to God."*

On the other hand, says Mr. Tayler—

"The doctrine [of the personality of the Word, and of its incarnation in the man Jesus] was a metaphysical formula of the time, into which the highest thought of Christianity passed and embodied itself, and which doubtless facilitated the access of the new religion to the minds of philosophical heathens." "I acknowledge with reverence the relative value of this doctrine, as an important link assigned its place by Providence in the great chain of mental development." "It covered the place, if I may so express myself, where a truth lay hid, and would ultimately be found, the truth that humanity in its highest forms supplies the most perfect interpretation we can apprehend of the person and will of God, and that this ideal, as it is conceived by every pure and earnest mind, must be constantly aspired after, as the medium of present communion with the Father of our spirits, and condition of future endless approximation to His unattainable perfection."†

Now we are willing to concede to Mr. Tayler that this is

* Pp. 174, 176. † P. 184.

the great truth embodied in that faith in the divine nature of Christ, on which all must allow the Catholic Church to have been historically founded, which replaced, by the consciousness of the permanent presence of Christ with his church, the original expectation of his speedy coming to judge the quick and dead and inaugurate a "new heavens and a new earth." What we cannot concede is, that the means employed by Providence for introducing and familiarizing to the human mind this "great spiritual truth" has been "an intellectual error," such as that "mistaken notion of a kingdom of heaven to come with the dissolution of the present state of things before the existing generation had passed away, which accompanied in the first ages of Christianity the grand and consoling doctrine of a future life;" or those "ideas of expiation and atonement" which, "then universally current alike among Jews and Gentiles, became the vehicle of the Christian doctrine of God's absolute forgiveness of the believing and repentant sinner." We cannot assign to these three great ideas, into which Mr. Tayler* resolves the contribution of Christianity to the spiritual possessions of mankind, an equal importance. The Christian no doubt consoles himself with the hope of a continuous conscious existence beyond the tomb; but so did the Pharisee, who rejected Christ; so does the Indian, who dreams of his hunting grounds in the spirit world where game shall never fail; so does the Mahometan, who revels in the anticipation of goblets of celestial wine, to be followed by no headache, and of houris whose charms can never pall. To become the minister of true religious feeling, the hope of immortality requires to be associated with that present sense of communion with God, that present aspiration after a participation in His divine perfection, of which Mr. Tayler himself places the ideal principle in the conception of the incarnate Logos. Again: if for the progress to good of the penitent sinner, it is "the great thing to take away the despairing sense of moral helplessness which the consciousness of unforgiven sin leaves on the mind," there is no less required, for the moral progress of the large class who are only too ready to forgive themselves, a conviction that the Divine mercy to the sinner is inseparable from an uncom-

* Pp. 185, 186.

promising condemnation of the sin, and that the path by which the soul can be truly saved is narrow and steep, while "broad is the road which leadeth to [spiritual] destruction." How are these opposite convictions to be reconciled? The Catholic theory may justly say, by the doctrine that the eternal Logos took on himself our nature, in order by the example of his self-sacrificing love to kindle the fire of love in our hearts, and teach us that the Divine goodness is as lofty in the heights of excellence which it demands, as it is profound in the depths of forgiveness which it permits. Thus of the three great doctrines specified by Mr. Tayler, two really rest upon the third, whence this must assume an importance correspondingly increased in the economy of religious beliefs. It seems to be the key-stone of an arch whose withdrawal threatens the whole structure with destruction. We will endeavour to shew that this seeming is a fact.

As the advance of critical inquiry has gradually undermined that foundation of authority on which the systems of religious thought prevalent in Europe have hitherto been placed, there has grown up, among those who foresaw the coming fall without losing their religious faith, a conviction that this faith has a foundation of its own, within their own immediate consciousness, unaffected by what was being thus swept away. "What is religion," they have asked themselves, "but a spirit of reverential love to a Being whom we can feel to be present, not only in, but with, our conscience—a Being possessed of all that moral perfection, that infinite tenderness, combined with unyielding firmness, after which we strive—one on whom we may rely as an unfailing support, an ever-present guardian and guide to our spirits, under all evils or temptations which may assault or try us? This is the 'pure teaching of Jesus Christ,' buried beneath 'an accumulation of antiquated beliefs and gratuitous assumptions which obstruct access [to it],' and crush beneath their needless weight the free working of the spirit of God." And "criticism is performing, unconsciously it may be in some cases, a great reparative and conservative work, in sweeping the whole away."* We sympathize heartily in this feeling. We hold that the trust "in a living

* Tayler, p. 188.

God present to the individual soul," is the Alpha and Omega of religion, the principle essentially distinguishing it from morality; which, indeed, is a trust in a living eternal power; but a power present *in* the individual only, and not *to* it, except in the persons of other individuals. But this character, though it may afford complete satisfaction to the religious man who turns to the spirit present with himself, and feels a support which he cannot attribute to the strength of his own will, must be the source of much perplexity to the religious teacher who seeks to awaken to the sense of religion those who are disposed rather to criticise than to follow his advice. "If religion consist in trust in a conscious loving Will, ever present with the wills of men, but distinct from them, this power," the critic may reasonably urge, "ought to have left some traces of its action in the spiritual history of mankind. How can the individual look for personal support or guidance, without falling into an arrogant fanaticism, if the Being to whom he thus looks show no sign of exercising a similar function for the benefit of all mankind? Is it reasonable to suppose that one who cares for the individual will neglect the race, or that one who neglects the race can care for the individual? That man should gradually attain a conviction of what best conduces to the health of his own moral nature, by blundering into all kinds of action injurious to this health, we can understand. At least, the process is analogous to that which happens in the case of every human faculty. If morality be the end* of man's being, if his whole duty consist in appreciating and acting upon certain principles of practical conduct inherent in his own will, we do not lose our confidence in this goal from the zigzag course of successive generations in their struggles to find the true path to it. But no such blundering can be ascribed to the perfect loving Will which you assert to be present with our wills. Its action, if it be a reality, must have been clear and defined from the first beginning of our race, and ought to disclose to us its influence in some perceptible guidance of that race towards its true destination. The marks of this guidance may, indeed, resemble a path across a down, lost among the herbage in the immediate neighbourhood of the

* τέλος.

observer; this we can suppose that the freedom of man's will may occasion; but they should be visible to one who looks along the continuous track. Can you point out any such marks? and if not, what right have you to press religion upon us as a universal duty, in virtue of feelings which you must admit to be simply subjective? In whose name do you speak? In the name of a Deity present only with *your* spirits, and not also with *ours?* You repudiate the charge as a calumny. But if He be present equally with us as with you, why speak at all? Why not leave His presence to do its own work? Why take upon yourselves to be mouthpieces of your Maker? You tell us that religion will conduce to our happiness. How can we know this? Thousands have been driven mad by religion. Millions have been led by religious beliefs to deny themselves all the enjoyments for which their natural constitution contained provision, and 'made earth a hell,' that they might 'people heaven.' Leave us to our natures and their impulses, as we leave you to yours. Or, if you must teach, at least limit your teachings to matters concerning our relations to each other, and let who will busy themselves about those concerning solely man's relation to his Creator."

Such objections are nothing new. They have been made to the religious teacher, in conscious argument or by the mere instinct of mankind, in all ages; and we know how they have been answered hitherto, namely, by that appeal to the supposed *authority* of revelation, which Jews and Greeks, Indians and Arabs, Catholics and Protestants, alike have made, though differing totally as to the channel through which the divine stream flowed. How are they to be answered by the religious teacher who is convinced that *every channel* alike is marked by great errors of conception, vitiating the pure waters of truth professedly conveyed along it—that infallibility is to be found nowhere—and that if there is any objective religious truth, any science of theology possible at all, this must grow up, as all other sciences have done, by the action of the free intelligence of man, in gradually forming conceptions capable of accounting, in a manner satisfactory to itself, for the phenomena presented to it? It is our conviction that there is an answer, and that this answer is furnished by the idea of a Triune Being in God, evolved by the fourth Christian century as

the logical foundation of the Catholic faith in a divine humanity, manifested upon earth in the person of Christ by the eternal Logos. This conception we hold to be distinguished by characters which raise it from a mere creation of the imagination of man to the rank of a scientific truth, the revealer of a great reality of universal being. We will indicate the line of argument which seems to us to establish this proposition.

Critical research has swept away what have been hitherto regarded as the evidences of divine revelation. The assumed infallibility of all religious teaching alike has vanished before it, with the assumed proofs of that infallibility drawn from miracle and prophecy. What has it left which cannot be swept away, and can furnish the materials for a scientific induction of religious truth? We reply, *the recorded beliefs of mankind*, in their mutual connection. These it is possible to *know*. These, like all other facts which scientific reflection builds into consistency by its hypotheses, are present with us, always ready to be examined, and serve as tests of the conceptions whereby they are combined into unities of thought. It has been the great, though perhaps unavoidable, mistake of biblical critics, that, instead of taking their stand upon these religious beliefs themselves as the objects of examination, they have wasted their ingenuity in attempts to sift out from the concrete mass of observation, imagination, report and reflection presented by the ancient records, the sensible phenomena—what they have been pleased to call "the facts"—underlying these beliefs; as if the true "facts," the facts of real importance in the spiritual history of man, had been the phenomena irrecoverably lost in the abyss of time; while man's beliefs about the phenomena thus presented to him, and his relations to them, those permanent factors of his consciousness, which have influenced the hopes and fears and moulded the practical life of generation after generation, in times and countries far removed from the place of their birth, were valueless. But it is here, in these subtle creations of the human intelligence, and the still more refined guidance through which the Spirit of God has insensibly swayed their course—here, where scientific inquiry possesses the indispensable conditions for its work, a solid material to deal with, and an entire freedom in dealing with it—here only that we can

find what we want for the objective affirmation of our religious faith. Here, or nowhere, is our "promised land." Is there any Pisgah whence it may be surveyed?

The point of view required appears to us to be furnished by the consideration of certain peculiarities belonging to the Catholic faith in the Divinity of Christ; namely, 1, that it combined the two great modes of conception concerning God which the history of religion shews that the mind of man has a natural tendency to adopt; 2, that this union took place spontaneously, through a combination of various independent influences, slowly matured by an insensible action, which no human foresight could anticipate, no human power control, and therefore indicative of some Being manifested through the intelligence of man, but distinct from it; 3, that the conception evolved satisfies the requirements of religious trust, while it fits with remarkable precision into the results of scientific research as to the nature of the power manifested in the universe, results wholly unsuspected at the time when the conception thus adapted to them was formed, and therefore offering, by this accordance, the greater confirmation of its truth.

We will pass in brief review each of these arguments.

1. The religious conceptions formed by mankind fall, when examined critically, into two great groups, closely connected with those two great ancient families of mankind, the Semites and the Aryans, whose differences of intellectual and moral condition have exercised the profoundest influence on the history of man, and embodying the two great opposite tendencies of our mental faculties, *(a)* the emotional or practical, and *(b)* the reflective or speculative. To the Semitic races, including the Chaldees, the Jews, the Phœnicians and Arabs, the notion of God pre-eminently embodied the emotional element of our intelligence, which is directly allied with the practical will. God was to them emphatically the strong, self-subsisting, governing Being: Bel, Elohim, Jehovah Sabaoth, the Cabiri, Melech, Allah: the Being whom none can resist, the uncontrolled Regulator of everything in earth and heaven. "He spake and it was made, He commanded and it stood fast," is the typical expression for this conception of the Divine action. But since emotion is directly connected not only with strength but with goodness, which peculiarly belongs to the practical

side of our nature, God was conceived also, in the loftiest and purest forms of Semitic faith, as the essentially Good Being, the Source of all moral excellence, whose Spirit dwelt with man, to lead him in the way of perfection, and to whom the man who "walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart," might turn for guidance and assistance. Such undoubtedly was the Jewish conception of God. It meets us, though in a less perfect shape, in what we know of Chaldee and Phœnician beliefs; while, long after the general diffusion over Western Asia of the profoundest speculations upon the relations subsisting between God and the world, the Koran electrified the Arab tribes by proclaiming the one irresistible Divine Will to be the source of all existence, and devotes all its energy of command to laying down rules of conduct by which the favour of this omnipotent Being may be attained.*

To this emotional and practical character of Semitic religion, the great Aryan family of man, Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Celts and Teutons, opposed the disposition to see in God the evolving, ordering principle of the universe; the source of all law and harmony in finite being, but itself subsisting only in the law and harmony which it evolves, and in the creatures to whom by its self-evolution it gives existence. "The Vedic hymns," says Mons. Burnouf, in the interesting article already cited,† "the most ancient monuments of Aryan literature, are poems addressed to the Deity present in every natural power, and therefore in all the incidents of life, to a Divine thought realized in the world, not a Divine will separated from it. Morality is unknown to them." In its place is a devotional metaphysics, which, in the interval between the composition of the Vedas and the appearance of the great reformer Gautama Sakya or Bouddha, grew into a profound philosophical system, whence Sakya educed, for the first time in Indian history, principles of morality, applying not merely to the sacerdotal or royal caste, with whom the Institutes of Menou almost exclusively concern themselves, but to all mankind, whom he sought to guide to true wisdom by controlling their deceitful passions, and thus attaining fitness

* E. Burnouf, Revue des Deux Mondes, Dec. 15, 1864. † Ib. p. 987.

for re-union with the universal passionless being of God by the common feeling of love.*

On the opposite side of the Caucasus, the illustrious thinkers of Greece developed, along side of a purely ritual worship, a lofty system of universal morality, resting entirely on consideration of the relations subsisting between man and man from the principles immanent in his own constitution and that of the world, in which they sought the expression of an indwelling divine idea, even when they did not formally substitute this idea in the place of God.

It would require more space than we can spare to trace the evidences of the same speculative character in the other branches of the Aryan family.† Enough, we think, has been said to call attention to the fact, of the remarkable differences in the mode of apprehending the Divine Being, shewn by the course of human history to be natural to man—the one view dwelling on the conception of a creative Will, distinct from the will and intelligence of man, and merging all notions of natural action in the operations of this all-governing power; the other regarding human will and intelligence as part of a self-evolving Idea, manifested in the universe as a system of natural order, whence they endeavoured to deduce all the phenomena of existence—the one leading to a Theistic dualism, God *and* the world; the other, to a Pantheistic syncretism, God *in* the world. Each of these modes of conception has given rise to a great religious system, claiming to embrace all mankind, but embodying exclusively its own principles; the Semitic, to Mahomedanism; the Aryan, to Bouddhism. *Christianity is distinguished* by being the product of a union of both modes of conception, and of the highest form of each, in that combination of the Jewish faith in a Divine Spirit present to man, with the Platonic faith in a Divine Idea realized in man and the universe, which united round the person of Christ to produce the belief in one who, being at once true God and true man, testifies to us of a Deity present in the world, and yet not identified with it.

* Burnouf, ib.

† Even the Romans, to whom of all the Aryans speculation was the least natural, developed the great system of Equity, which constitutes their practical contribution to philosophy, out of man's natural sense of justice, not from any supposed divine sanction.

2. This is the first great peculiarity marking out Christianity from those other religious beliefs which alone can claim to enter into competition with it, because they are the only other religious beliefs claiming universality. Each of these beliefs expresses *one* only of the two great natural types of religious conception. Christianity arose out of the combination of them *both*. How was this combination brought about? Turn to the long list of independent but conspiring circumstances marshalled by the learning and sagacity of Gibbon to account for the spread of the Christian religion, yet a list far from complete; read the account given by Strauss, in his New Life of Jesus, of the state of thought and political life which prepared the way for its growth or reception; study the same subject in Renan's Apostles; add to these elements the consideration of the unique character of Christ, on which we shall touch more at length presently. If we are not prepared to deny all conscious Providential action on the earth, can we avoid recognizing it here? Is not the coming of such a seed, at the right moment of time, upon such a seed-bed, the best possible external proof that the beliefs thus fathered are beliefs marked out for our acceptance by the finger of God? This field of inquiry is, however, far too vast to be more than indicated by us: we pass on, therefore, to our third head of argument, to the suitableness of the belief thus spontaneously produced, for the spiritual necessities of mankind, and its accordance with the results of scientific research.

3. Man is endowed with a moral will—a faculty closely allied with his tenderest emotions—a faculty which looks almost exclusively to ends and purposes, and turns away with impatience from the consideration of means, as a mere restraint upon the vastness of its aspirations. But man is endowed also with a power of conception—a faculty which grasps phenomena together under the bonds of ideas, in order to deduce the effects observed from intelligible causes —a faculty to which objects, purposes, motives, seem unimportant, in comparison with the means through which the results are produced and become conceivable. Each faculty leads men to form beliefs about the Divine Being conformable to its own tendencies; the one regarding Him as essentially absolute, entirely distinct from the world of finite creatures; the other, as limited by His own nature, and

immanent in that which he produces. Each of these beliefs expresses the profound natural instinct.

> Dass jeglicher das Beste was er kennt,
> Er Gott, ja seinen Gott benennt;
> Ihm Himmel und Erden übergibt,
> Ihn fürchtet, und wo möglich liebt.*

Neither of them can have a right to ostracise the other. To satisfy the requirements of man's spiritual nature, some faith as to the Divine Being must be found which can combine each of these opposite modes of apprehending it without violence to either. Now this is substantially done by the conception that in Christ the Divine Essence manifested itself under the condition of humanity, as must, we think, be admitted by all who impartially weigh the characters belonging to that conception, in the shape taken by it within the Catholic Church. The Semitic notion of God, the belief in a conscious, ever-present Divine Will, the orderer of all finite being, attains its most perfect expression in the belief that this Will is a principle of unmixed goodness. But it is precisely in this principle that the Church placed the Divine Being manifested in Christ. We may criticise the actual character presented to us by the Synoptical tradition, or by the fourth Gospel, and declare it to fall short in this or that particular of ideal perfection; but no one can doubt that the authors of our Gospels *intended* to delineate what *they* considered to be perfect goodness, in the picture drawn by them of Christ. And as the beginning, so was the continuation. It was not the *power*, but the love and wisdom of God,—wisdom displayed in the realization of love, which the Church held to be *manifested* by Christ; whom she expected, indeed, to come again with power and great glory, but who in his actual coming had been "made perfect through suffering," that is, through the test of loving endurance; while his inherent might had been disclosed only in faint glimpses, and works done to, rather than performed by him. Now perfect goodness is quite compatible with finite, limited power. Therefore by insisting on the love of Christ as that in him which was essentially divine, the Catholic faith was able to bring the Semitic conception

* Goethe: That every man calls what he recognizes as the best, God; yea, his God: gives over to him heaven and earth; fears, and if possible loves him.

of God into complete consistency with its Aryan opposite, through the belief, equally insisted upon by the Church, that he who manifested this divine essence was yet a true man; one, who "being in the form of God, made himself of no reputation, and took on him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men;" "perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting." Put these conceptions into philosophical language, and what do they affirm, but the grand faith that the natural world, of interlinked necessities and all-pervading limitations, is not a fetter upon the spiritual world of freedom and love, but only its outside; that God is as truly present as the eternal Source of those ceaseless pressures and motions which to the eye of science constitute natural being, as He is in that inner world of conscience, those ceaseless aspirations after perfection, which disclose His supernatural being to the eye of faith?

Man is part of nature. In all that concerns his action in the world, he is subject to the condition of working out his ends by definite means. It is only in conception and purpose, in the freedom of imagination and the sense of duty, that a supernatural power appears in him. To assert that the Divine essence can be truly combined with human nature is, therefore, to assert that the condition of working out ends by definite means is not foreign to the being of God, but belongs to it; and that the supernatural in God, as in man, is to be sought only in the principle which forms purposes and combines means to effect those purposes—a principle whose action in nature scientific research is continually bringing more and more clearly to our consciousness. Thus the history of the Incarnation logically implies a principle which allies Science and Religion, and this principle the Catholic theology itself raised to the dignity of a universal truth, by deducing from the story of the Incarnation the doctrine of the Trinity. The conception of distinct hypostases united by an eternal interaction in one Triune Being, logically excludes from the idea of God the notion of arbitrary power. It implies that the Divine Will is limited by its own constitution, since otherwise one hypostasis could not possibly combine its distinct action with that of another; and therefore that it is such a will as by its action must give rise to what we call Nature. It re-

places the primitive Semitic belief in the miraculous character of Divine power, its supposed ability to work without using means, by the belief in it as the inexhaustible source of marvels—those wonders of wisdom and goodness which incite man's intelligence to study them, instead of shutting us up in stupid astonishment, as the notion of miracle necessarily does. What has Science herself to say to the conception which thus brings Religion into harmony with her conclusions? Must we not admit that she discloses to us a constitution of the universe, pointing to the same discrimination of powers mutually implying each other which the discussions of the first Christian centuries ended by recognizing in the Divine Being? Does she not reveal to us, beneath all the phenomena of Nature, an infinity of unvarying centres of force, constituting the elements of chemistry and that all-uniting æther in which they appear to be plunged? Does she not teach us to see in the endless variety of organized beings, forms built up by the action of some power dependent for the conditions of its own work upon the materials furnished to it by these primitive centres of energy, while yet it may be said to be the object for which they exist; the production of organized life being, so far as can be gathered from the history of our earth, the crown and end of that long and complicated process through which the existence of the planets whereon it is produced becomes possible? Can names be found characterizing the inner relations which must be supposed to subsist between the two powers thus outwardly connected, if they are not assumed to be unconscious of their own action, better than those names of Father and Son consecrated by the Catholic faith to denote that conception of two eternal hypostases united in a common spirit, by which it transformed the national dualistic God of the ancient Jewish faith into the universal God of Christianity?

Thus, through the belief in the incarnation of the Logos, Religion is connected with Science, and the isolation of the spiritual from the material is overcome. On the other hand, that Science may not isolate herself from Religion, by confusing it with morality or degrading it into a sentimental worship of natural force—that she may retain that faith in a living God ever present to the individual soul, whence, to use Mr. Tayler's beautiful words, "Love and Purity and

inward Peace, combined with free Thought and ever-increasing Knowledge, [may] come to be regarded as the true wealth and nobleness of human life"—she needs to hold fast the faith in the conscious personality of the Deity; and how is this faith to be held fast, if the principle of personality is not enshrined for our apprehension in the Divine essence? Now precisely this the Catholic faith does. That distinction of functions which scientific research discloses to us only in its outward aspects, the progress of religious belief reveals to be a true distinction of personal beings, between whom there can subsist in its perfection that sympathy of love which can find only an imperfect response from any finite creature. Thus the two revelations of the Divine, that made through nature and that made through man's religious history, mutually supplement and correct each other. What physical nature cannot disclose, because it offers to us only the external, has been disclosed through the internal power of conscious will connected with the nature of man; the one revelation presenting to us, in God, a Being the contemplation of whose character is as fitted to strengthen and purify our moral will as the study of His mode of action, taught us by the other, is fitted to call forth and mature our intelligence: the one, to borrow a phrase from Mr. Ruskin, revealing Him as the "God of consolation;" the other, as the "God of wisdom."*

It will perhaps be objected, that our argument imports into the ancient Catholic faith conclusions which it did not draw and would have repudiated—that the Logos, whom it had brought to earth, it again removed into the heavens, and thus left our world more destitute of a present divine reality to the consciousness of the Christian than had been the case with the Jew. But this objection is ill founded. The Catholic faith, if it removed Christ into heaven, at the same time brought him back to the earth, as an *external* divine presence beneath the ordinary forms of material nature, in the elements of the Eucharist, and as an *internal* divine agent, in the freedom from error which it supposed him to impart to his church. It is no part of our argument to maintain that the early Christian ages elaborated a faith which their successors were to receive, as they delivered it,

* Crown of Wild Olives, p. 121.

without questioning. We contend for a continuous process of Divine teaching, carried on by the instrumentality of man's powers of imagination and reflection through successive ages, until, by the gradual elimination of error, he arrives at truth. What we seek to shew is only that the thread has not been broken; that the great conceptions which nourished the Christianity of the first centuries, and were the fruit of the beliefs and speculations of previous ages, contained a solid germ of abiding truth, in which we of the present age may recognize a profound consistency with our vastly increased knowledge of natural things, whilst it supplies the wants of our own being in spiritual things. The dross of error accompanying these conceptions, "Time the corrector" has to purge away. Enough, if the process brings clearly to light the precious metal beneath. When we consider the enormous influence exercised on Christian thought by the Semitic dualism of the Jewish Scriptures—the fact that the age when the Catholic theology took shape was an age in which the dominant Neoplatonic philosophy removed God from any communication with the world, banishing Him, as the transcendent cause of all being, into a sphere entirely inaccessible to the human intelligence—and the absence of that knowledge of the actual universe and that scientific culture which, in modern times, has reduced the notion of a Deity locally separated from the world sustained by Him to absurdity—we have far more reason to be surprised that the Catholic theology should have upheld with such firmness the true Divinity of Him through whom God was brought close to men in their ordinary life, than to wonder at the partial inconsistencies which interfere in its dogmas with the logical expression of this faith.

But it may be asked, "What does this logical consistency really involve? Does the belief in the Triune Being of God, and therefore in the real presence beneath the phenomenal world of a personal loving Will, manifested not by working without means in so-called miraculous action, but by the constancy and continuity of that action through definite means traced out by science, carry with it the belief that the organizing power shewn in nature, the true Logos, once existed, as a Will conscious of its own divinity, in Jesus of Nazareth? Admitting the importance of the

ideas to which the belief in his divinity has led, why may we not carry your mode of dealing with them one step further? To preserve the substance of the Catholic faith, the belief in a living God truly present *with* our individual souls, and yet truly present *in* the universe of which we form a part, you are forced to give up to criticism all the details of the life of Jesus; you are compelled to educe from this belief spiritual results which, however logically deducible from it, were not contemplated by those who originated it. Why insist on retaining one last materialistic element to fetter the penetrating efficacy of the 'Word of God'? You appeal to the imagination of man, as the power employed by the wisdom of the Deity to create, around the person of Christ, that faith in his divine character which might afford a safe anchorage for the religious convictions of mankind, because it combined those opposite forms of conception about God which, if separated, annihilate each other: let the imagination have her perfect work. The faith in the Triune Being of God must be inseparably associated with the name of him through whose acts, it may be without his intention, it first took a definite form. But this substance, not the shell, is alone truly valuable. The life of the man Jesus belongs to the irrecoverable past. Assume him to have possessed a consciousness of divinity unknown to other men, still, with the cessation of his human life, the man must vanish for us in the God; the transitory organized form in the ever-present organizing power. Why, then, cling to an hypothesis essentially unprovable, and of no present value? It is on the idea of attraction, not on the absolute fact, that the astronomer insists. He is content to say all bodies known to us *act as if* every particle in them attracted every other with a force varying according to a certain law. He does not require us to assume that this action involves a real attraction. Why should not the theologian be similarly satisfied to insist upon the idea of the Divine Being involved in the conception of the incarnate Logos, without entangling us, by insisting upon the conscious incarnation of this Logos in the man Jesus, in a maze of perplexity, whence at best we can issue only in a—perhaps?"

What reply can we make to such an argument? Does not St. Paul say of Christ, "Then cometh the end, when he

shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father"—"that God may be all in all"? Does not the Logos of the fourth Gospel say, "*If I go not away*, the Comforter will not come to you; but if *I depart*, I will send him unto you. *He shall glorify me*, for he shall take of mine and shew it unto you"? Does he not tell his disciples, "Yet a little while and the world seeth me no more, but *ye see me*. Because I live, ye shall live also. At that day ye shall *know* that I am in the Father, and you in me, and I in you"? What we contend for is the substantial truth of the Catholic faith, that God is such a Being as the idea of the incarnation of the Logos in Christ implies, and the conception of the Triune Deity declares—a conscious Will, whose essence is Love, and whose manifestation is one with the power displayed in the universe. Whether the man Jesus had or had not the consciousness of a nature different from that of other men, is a question comparatively immaterial and entirely insoluble. If we pray to Christ, our prayer must be addressed to the ever-present organizing Deity, not to the form of flesh and blood once seen in Galilee. If we look for a "Judge of quick and dead," it is to the Spirit which "shall reprove the world of sin and righteousness and judgment" that we must look, not to such a shape as St. John describes in the Apocalypse; a shape treated by the apostle himself as a symbol, when he speaks of the "sharp two-edged sword" going out of the "mouth" of the Son of Man. If we hope "to be with Christ" in a future existence, more emphatically than in the present, it is because we may hope to be where the joy accompanying the presence of God can be more completely felt, because His love is more entirely realized. The "Lamb" of the Apocalypse is the "light" of the "city of God;" light present to all alike, not an object to whom one person can approach more closely than another. Are our conceptions of Christ to be more materialistic than the vivid personifications of the apostle who had personally known him, and could say that he saw among the candlesticks "one like unto the Son of Man"? The Catholic faith, by its grand affirmation that he whom we worship is truly present in the bread and wine which nourish our bodies, while they memorialize that event whereby the exclusive ceremonialism of the Mosaic religion was exchanged for the faith in one universal church of God, "where is neither

Greek nor Jew, Circumcision nor Uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, Bond nor Free," distorted as it has been by the monstrous assertion of a physical change produced by the prayer of consecration without any signs of physical alteration, is, nevertheless, the perpetual protest against that grosser materialism of Protestant absurdity which sees in Christ, not a Deity present with us on earth, but a God of flesh and bones taken up into a heaven above the stars to intercede with another God, who is yet one with himself, on behalf of man.* To build a religious belief on the assertion that it is impossible for the Divine Being to have been truly present in the man Jesus as a Will of perfect love, is one thing: it is a very different thing to say, "We do not venture to dogmatize about a matter which the Divine wisdom has left in impenetrable obscurity from the uncertainty attending all the accounts preserved to us either of the acts or the words of Jesus." Glimpses, indeed, the Synoptics give us of a humanity of the very highest type, a nature which, according to the profound observation of Strauss,† appears to have combined the serene, self-reposing joyousness of the Hellenic character with the religious earnestness of the Jewish; a nature which seems to have united in equal measures the authority of the masculine reason and the tenderness of female sympathy; in which perfect purity was associated with an entire absence of asceticism. That these glimpses disclose an historical reality we feel the more convinced by the fact that such fearless and diligent students of the gospel story as Gfrörer,‡ Strauss, Renan, Schenkel,§ though rejecting the divinity claimed for Christ, and differing in their view of his objects and work, nevertheless agree in the lofty uniqueness of character which they ascribe to him. But they are only glimpses, of a form divined rather than discerned, between the clouds and mists of legendary tale and individual imagination encircling it. If,

* The Catholic theology is not free from this absurdity; but since to it Christ is always truly present with his church, outwardly in the Eucharist and inwardly by his guiding spirit, the story of his ascension into heaven becomes to Catholicism little more than a dramatic phantasmagoria; whereas to Protestant orthodoxy this banishment of Jesus from earth is the substance of the faith about him.

† Neues Leben Jesu, pp. 207, 208.

‡ In his Heiligthum und Wahrheit.

§ "Character of Jesus." See Theol. Rev. XVIII. 434.

personally, we ascribe to Jesus the consciousness of self-existent being assigned to him by the Catholic faith, we must admit the mysterious chiaroscuro of the Gospels to be a clear intimation that the *raison d'être* of the local Divine manifestation is to be sought, not in itself, but in the belief to which it was intended to give rise, of the universal presence in all nature of that loving conscious Will which once for all had shewn itself on the shores of Galilee or the rocky terraces of Judæa. Not after the flesh, but after the spirit, must we know Christ, as St. Paul tells us, if we would know him truly. The Christ through whom God "reconciles the world to himself" is the eternal Son, present in all men as in all nature; present, therefore, in the man Jesus and in the events which, by the insensible operation of God's providential government, brought about through the life and death of Jesus the belief in his divine being, whether the agency employed to effect this result was his own perfect will acting under human conditions, or the will of one who, like other men, had to strive after that perfection which God is.

We, as has been said, hold the first of these alternatives to be best accordant with the place filled by Christianity in the religious education of mankind, and therefore to be the truth. Its connection with the growth of those conceptions concerning the nature of God which appear to us to express the deepest spiritual realities, lend it a probability far outweighing, in our judgment, the metaphysical difficulties attending it—difficulties of the less moment, because they relate to matters of which we are utterly ignorant; while the personal association of the Divine Being with the individual Jesus seems to us to supply a want of man's religious nature, by giving to duty the warmth of affection. Did not St. Paul feel that the thought of the love of Christ had in it a "constraining" power, such as no other religious motive furnished? And has not subsequent experience confirmed the experience of the apostle? Does not the faith that the Divine Essence was consciously present in the man Jesus, give to the belief that God truly sympathizes with man's sorrows and struggles after goodness, that the bar which excludes man from communion with God is only his own selfishness, a reality which brings the Divine close to us? What right have we to cut down the teaching of

the great procession of Time to the measure of our individual insight? Will the obscurity hanging over the actual history of Christ be urged in disproof of the claim set up for him? Nay; but here the "foolishness of God" shews itself "wiser than the wisdom of men." That such details are not *required* to give effectiveness to the faith in Christ is demonstrated by the writings of St. Paul. How little does he tell either of the acts or the words of "the Lord"! Does not his whole theology rest on the proposition that "Jesus Christ our Lord, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, [was] declared to be the Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead;"* one solitary fact, to St. Paul unquestionable, because, as he believed, Jesus had been "*seen* of him also";† but for which we may well substitute the more solid attestation given by the unfolding of that great drama of man's religious history, of which St. Paul had formed an entirely erroneous conception, and in which he was destined to fill a part quite unexpected by himself. The magic of the Divine work lies in this—that, requiring for its effective operation only the belief that He who was consciously God consented to live a life of poverty ending in crucifixion for man's good, it could leave the imagination of man free to weave around the story of Jesus a tissue of legends or dreams suited to its own ideas of what the Messiah ought to be, which might introduce the faith in his Divinity to the acceptance of mankind, and drop off when its office was performed, leaving the faith thus God-fathered in its unfettered power.

On the other hand, if, departing from the guidance of history, we seek, as many excellent and able men have recently done, to substitute for the belief in the Divinity of Christ, a belief in his authority, as that of one who had an especial insight into religious truth, we are met by the insuperable difficulty that, from the imperfection of the Gospel records, this alleged authority is necessarily reduced to an arbitrary selection, out of the sayings ascribed to him, of such as seem to us of religious value, while we reject or explain away the rest. We fall back then upon

* Rom. i. 3. Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.

† 1 Cor. xv. 8, ὤφθη κἀμοί, properly, was manifested also to me.

the ancient faith as the precious inheritance transmitted to us by the past. In religion, as in life, "the child is father of the man." The beliefs of successive ages, if they are not mere delusions, should be

Linked to each other by a natural piety.

Let not our trust in the Divinity present with ourselves make us impatient of the teachings produced by its presence aforetime. Yet our value for these teachings must not send us to grope for the *basis* of our trust among the memories of a past which can never return. "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" The words ascribed to Christ by all the Synoptics, "Why call ye *me good?* There is none good but one, God,"—words the more likely to be correctly recorded because they run counter to the prepossessions of those from whom we receive them,—contain, if we accept the Catholic faith in the divine nature of Christ, a direction from the Lord himself to dwell not on the revealer, but on Him whom he revealed.* They carry us back to that remarkable saying, which seems to bear the evidence of its authenticity in itself, and teaches us to see the marks of divine perfection where men have continually seen only a source of perplexity, namely, in that all-embracing goodness which "maketh the sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth down rain on the just and the unjust."† Important as are, in our judgment, those conceptions about the Lord to which the providence of God appears to us to have guided the church, we dare not put them above his own teaching. The truth as to his person, if it be what we believe, can stand by itself, and will commend itself to the convictions

* All the Synoptics contain these words, with the remarkable difference, masked in our translation, that whilst, in Mark x. 18 and Luke xviii. 18, the words of Christ directly refer to the epithet "good" applied to himself, in Matt. xix. 16 this epithet is applied both to him and to the thing to be done by the questioner: "Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?" So that the words τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν, may mean, *either*, "Why dost thou call me good?" *or*, "What is this good that thou speakest to me about?"—a variation of the story probably due to the reluctance of some narrator of it to allow that Jesus refused to be called good. At the same time we must observe, that the words are not inconsistent with the conscious possession of Divine goodness; since their object *may* have been only to make the questioner feel what his epithet implied: "Do you mean by calling me good to identify me with God?"

† Even Goethe could see here only the indifference of Nature. Das Göttliche, Works, II. 86. Edition of 1828.

of mankind the more fully, the more impartially it is examined. But, after all, it is the faith to which this conception leads—the faith exhibited by the Lord himself as man, the trust in the living, loving, ever-present God; in Him who combines in the perfection of His mysterious being the inflexibility of an unchanging action with the sympathy of an unwearying tenderness—the faith which can take all Science into its wide embrace, and see in Nature the continuous manifestation of His strength and wisdom, whose love it traces in the history of man, and whose presence it feels in the depths of its own consciousness—that forms the all-conquering, transforming power of true religion. If "he who was in the form of God, took on himself the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of man," it was to call forth in each of us the spirit by which we can be transformed into his likeness, and become thus true "sons of God." In the words of Bishop Berkeley, somewhat modified, we may say,

Inwards the course of Faith must take its way;
The four first acts* already past,
The fifth† the drama's secret shall display;
Time's noblest offspring is its last.

E. VANSITTART NEALE.

II.—THE PILGRIM FATHERS. A STUDY OF PURITAN HISTORY.—II.

NORTHERN America, discovered at the very close of the 15th, was yet almost uncolonized at the beginning of the 17th century. The news brought back by Columbus and Cabot, of the existence of a new and beautiful land beyond the western seas, laid a powerful hold on the imagination of Europe. England, France, Spain, Portugal, emulously fitted out expeditions to claim possession of a country which voyagers declared to be richer than the Indies and more marvellous than Cathay. Here, with its turrets glittering

* Dualism, Pantheism, Sacramentalism, Bible-worship.
† Religious Science.

in the sun upon some corn-covered plain, was the City of Gold: here, bubbling up in some hidden valley, was the fountain of perpetual Youth: were not these tales to heat to fever pitch the blood which ran riot in the veins of that adventurous generation? Each great nation seemed, by some strange chance, to lay its grasp upon that portion of the continent which afterwards became connected with its name and imbued with its spirit. Spanish enterprize centred itself in the Gulf of Mexico, where a glowing climate, an equatorial luxuriance of life, and a rich though half-barbaric civilization, fed the imaginations and roused the passions of her fierce and daring sons. France, on the contrary, made her earliest, as well as her strongest, effort of colonization on the ice-bound banks of the St. Lawrence: Quebec, not the least notable, is also among the oldest of American cities. Between the two, the long Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Carolina seemed to attract the hopes and wishes of English adventurers. Over and over again, Drake and the hardy sailors who were his comrades and successors, harried the Spanish settlements on the coasts of Central and Southern America: European peace or truce never penetrated into these western latitudes: to burn a town, to intercept a treasure fleet, to cut off a colony, was all fair on either side, no matter whether the great battle between liberty and despotism at home was temporarily lulled or the fighting at the fiercest. But there were boundaries within which the two great nations bit and tore each other, but did not attempt to colonize. England went no further south, Spain no further north, than Florida. To this day the line between those who speak the language of Shakspere and those who speak the language of Cervantes, remains almost where it was first fixed.

The history of the relations between England and Northern America in the 16th century, is a story first of excited discovery, and then of half-abortive efforts of colonization. The vision of a north-west passage—once a valid maritime hope, in our own day a mere geographical problem, but always a dream to which precious human lives have been unsparingly sacrificed—attracted seafaring men to the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, where Hudson's Bay and Frobisher's Inlet and Davis' Strait still testify to the skill and daring of Elizabethan navigators. It is impossible not

to think, as we read the narrative of their efforts and their fate, that such men were entrapped, so to speak, by the deceptive climate of North America; that, natives of an island which the temperate influence of the gulf-stream protects from extremes of heat and cold alike, they did not expect the fierce warmth of a New-England or Canadian summer to be succeeded by frosts as fierce and far more lasting. Except upon some such hypothesis as this, it is hard to understand how little companies of men, ill provided with even the necessaries of life, unable to struggle against the savage inclemency of the climate, and without any means of escape, should have confidently settled themselves down on the banks of the St. Lawrence or on the coast of Maine, to endure for a few long months the pains of cold and of starvation, and then to die. Yet such is the story of more than one of the French and English expeditions which immediately preceded the establishment of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England,—woful failures which seemed to shew that it required some higher and stronger motive than the desire of commercial gain to nerve men to successful conflict with the difficulties of this inhospitable shore. But the Puritan emigrants gained something by the fact that the desires and energies of England were so completely turned in another direction as to leave them in obscure peace to found their little commonwealth in their own way. The loadstone of hope to every adventurous spirit who longed to rebuild fallen or to raise fresh fortunes in the New World, was Virginia: Virginia, the very name of which was a tribute of loyalty paid to the great Queen by her most chivalrous servant, Sir Walter Raleigh; Virginia, whose broad fields, then smiling in their first fertility beneath a genial sky, seemed to offer welcome and wealth to whomsoever should claim them as his own. Hither, in 1585, an expedition, fitted out under Raleigh's auspices, and conducted by his friends and comrades, was sent, to return in a year's time, having passed from the airiest height of exultation to the lowest depth of shameful discouragement. A second colony, which set forth in 1587, was deserted after a few months by its governor; and when, the Armada repelled in 1588, men in England had time and heart to remember it, was found to have vanished, whither, even to this day, no one knows. Then Raleigh gave up the coloni-

zation of Virginia in despair. But in 1606, when he was already languishing in the Tower, a fresh attempt was made, with which are associated the names of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as the English promoter of the scheme, and of John Smith, as the hardy seaman to whom was committed its practical accomplishment. With the issue of this attempt, which, after many perils and difficulties, at last ended in success, we have at present little to do. A more important fact for our purpose is that the expedition sailed under the protection of a Royal patent, establishing what were known as the Virginian Companies. To these Companies, two in number—one composed of noblemen, gentlemen and merchants, in and about London; the other, of knights, gentlemen and merchants, in the west of England —were granted no fewer than twelve degrees of the American coast, from Cape Fear, between the Carolinas, northwards as far as Halifax in Nova Scotia. A single Council in England, to which local councils were subordinated, was to manage the affairs of both Companies and their projected settlements, and a royalty on all precious metals was to be paid to the King. But none of the rights of self-government were reserved to the emigrants; their single privilege was the retention of their English franchises, should they chance to return home. Whatever franchises were enjoyed by the American colonies before the Revolution, they owed, not to the wise liberality of their first founders, but partly to the 3000 miles of sea which separated them from England, and partly to the struggle for liberty carried on at home through the middle of the 17th century. Kings fighting for life and crown, however hearty their despotic desires, had no time or thought to spare for these obscure settlements in the American forests, even if they committed the unpardonable insolence of electing their own legislators and making their own laws.

The country which owes its name of New England to that Captain John Smith of whom we have already spoken, and who is best known among all other Smiths as the hero of the story of Pocahontas, was up to that time called North Virginia. It is part of a remarkable peninsula, which now includes not only the six New-England States, but a small portion of the State of New York, and the British possessions of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. This peninsula, which is cut off from the mainland by the

river St. Lawrence on the north, and the deep cleft through which flows the Hudson river on the east, is a mountainous and well-watered region, rich in harbours, yet possessing few navigable rivers; not wanting in mineral wealth, though not tempting human cupidity by its abundance; where the temperature ranges through great and often sudden extremes of heat and cold, and the soil needs all that man's industry and skill can do to bring it to a moderate fertility. The sanitary returns are warrant enough for pronouncing the climate healthy, in spite of the fierce winds and the piercing frosts; the English race thrives and multiplies there, although two hundred years have changed its type; so that the slender, dry-skinned, straight-haired, nervous New-Englander, is a being quite distinguishable from the sanguine, curly-locked, portly personage, whom tradition and habit encourage us to identify with the Englishman. The whole country, excepting the hill-tops, was in 1620 covered with native forests of every useful tree; among which wild cherries and plums and mulberries offered their small and sour fruit to the wants of the settlers. Both sea and rivers swarmed with fish, which at the very beginning of American history, as to-day, attracted an eager fleet of fishermen. The bear, the wolf and the wild cat, were the most formidable beasts of prey; the gigantic moose, now all but extinct, roamed through the woods; and the rattlesnake here and there lay hidden in the dead leaves. Wild-fowl of every sort were plentiful; while in summer the humming-bird and the oriole lent to this cold region an unexpected touch of tropical beauty. Not altogether an inviting country, especially when seen, as the Pilgrim Fathers looked at it, from the sandy shores of Massachusetts Bay; not by any means a land which needed but to be scratched into fertility, where a man might ask of Nature her amplest bounty, and asking, surely receive; but still a land where stout hearts and strong hands might compel the earth to satisfy their moderate wants, and prove that, after all, the human element of agricultural success may be more important than the geological.

What shall we truly say of the aboriginal dwellers in these forests? American fiction, claiming the Red Indian as her own, has furnished a transatlantic commentary on the line of our own poet, which tells,

"How wild in woods the noble savage ran,"

and, creating a being full of physical perfections, uniting the instinct of the brute with the reason of the man, clothed with all the virtues which civilization is supposed to impair or to destroy, and professing a simple and sublime Theism peculiar to himself, has realized in the wigwams of New England all that Rousseau dreamed of in his Parisian garret. Now, American history, admitting the undeniable fact that the Indian was first degraded, next pushed back from his ancient seats, and finally exterminated by the gradual advance of the whites, alleges in extenuation that this was but a mean, pitiful race, incapable of any less melancholy fate than that which has overtaken it. Something must be yielded to the destructive criticism; simple and sublime theologies are among the latest, not the earliest, growths of the human intellect; and there are no such civilized virtues as those which go to make up the stage portrait of the "noble savage." Still a race of men who are admitted to have been bold and ingenious in the pursuit of prey both on land and water, so that their traps and nets were imitated by the settlers,—who had fixed habitations and richly-adorned attire,—who cultivated Indian corn and were acquainted with the use of manure,—whose skill in making boats and mats and baskets and pipes was far from contemptible,—who had invented a currency and indulged in narcotics,—who, whatever else their moral deficiencies, were brave, patient and continent, in no common measure,—and of whose keenness of perception and unexampled power of endurance not even fiction, with all licence of invention, has said too much,—a race like this cannot be argued into any resemblance to such half-bestial savages as wander over the Australian plains, dead to all civilizing influence. We have not now to inquire whose was the crime or the misfortune of exterminating the Indians to make room for the whites. It is enough to say that by the settlers of New Plymouth they were treated in a large and tender spirit of justice, which promised far better things for the future relations between the races than Providence has since suffered to come to pass.

Such, then, were the shores, under the shelter of which the Mayflower cast anchor, at noon of Saturday, November 11, 1620. The passage had been long and stormy; and when, on the sixty-fourth day of the voyage, land was

sighted, it was not the part of the coast to which the ship was bound. The Pilgrims had intended to have settled at some point near the mouth of the Hudson river, not far from the spot where the greatest of American cities now stands; and a story exists that they struck the coast further to the northward, not through inadvertence, but because the skipper had been bribed by the Dutch, who had already marked the Hudson river as their own. Be this as it may, the land which first met their view was the extremity of Cape Cod, a sickle-shaped promontory, which, projecting into the sea in a thin, curved line of sand, sixty miles in length, forms the southern boundary of Massachusetts Bay. At first, without anchoring, they turned the ship's course southwards; but being caught in "perilous shoals and breakers" and deserted by the wind, they bore up again for the Cape, and, rounding its outer edge, cast anchor in what is now known as the roadstead of Provincetown. Here their first act was eminently characteristic both of their English birth and breeding and of their Puritan politics. Certain of their number "being not well affected to unity and concord, but giving some appearance of faction," a mutual agreement was drawn up, and signed by the whole party:

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, having undertaken for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony,—to which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunder subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, A.D. 1620."

This declaration, which was signed by 41 persons, repre-

senting 101 souls, has sometimes been spoken of as furnishing an actual instance of that philosophical figment, an original social compact. We cannot credit it with so high a metaphysical birth, but much rather see in it a stroke of wise policy, by which the Scrooby and Leyden church sought (not without need) to impress its own character upon the infant colony. For, with the exception of Bradford and Brewster, these are not the same men—so far, at least, as we can now discern—who endured for conscience' sake that first exile. John Carver, who for the first few months filled the place of Governor, came we know not whence. Edward Winslow, more than once Governor, and the willing agent of the colony in all its negociations with England, was a gentleman of good estate at Droitwich, in Worcestershire, who, travelling in Holland, had fallen in with the church at Leyden, and had thenceforward bound himself to its fortunes. Miles Standish—who, from the fact that he called his American home Duxbury, is believed to have been a cadet of the Lancashire family of Standish, of Duxbury—was a soldier of fortune, such as in those troubled times abounded in the Low Countries, and who seems from pure love of adventure to have thrown in his lot with the emigrants. These were gentlemen of station and character to whom we must ascribe a larger or less sympathy with the religious spirit of the colony; others, probably, who joined the expedition in England, represented only the mercantile element of the venture, and may have felt themselves ill at ease in the midst of so grave a company. And in this declaration we read the firmly expressed purpose of Bradford and Brewster, that the principles which compelled them to exchange the softly-swelling fields of Scrooby and Austerfield for the strange monotony of the Dutch levels, shall not be neglected or compromised upon the sandy shores of Cape Cod. Let God deal with this little company as He will, it shall still be a company of men who band themselves together under the sacred protection of His name, whose first motive is His glory, and who claim for themselves the right of enacting and obeying "just and equal laws."

The coast on which the Pilgrims now found themselves, had been roughly surveyed by John Smith, who in 1616 had presented a map of it to Prince Charles, with a request

that he would give names to its more remarkable points. But it is doubtful whether they had ever seen this map, which in any case was too rude to have given them much practical assistance in the choice of a site for their new settlement. Their first act was therefore to repair a shallop which they had brought from England between the decks of the Mayflower; and, while this was being re-fitted, to send out an exploring party on foot, in charge of Standish and Bradford. The details of this expedition, so full of breathless interest to the sea-worn wanderers who waited on board ship for its return, need not occupy us now. But it is characteristic of the poverty of the colony that ten bushels of Indian wheat, which were then found in a native "cache," or hiding-place, formed their only supply of seed-corn; and equally characteristic of their conscientiousness that, eight months afterwards, they found out and remunerated the owner of the little store which they had thus appropriated. A second expedition, undertaken in the shallop, was as barren of practical result as the first; but it was the good fortune of the third to be driven, one dark and stormy night, into the convenient harbour known as that of Plymouth. Here a capacious roadstead was almost land-locked by two spits of sand, which ran out like natural breakwaters into the sea; springs, brooks, and ponds of various sizes promised an abundance of fresh water; fish and fowl were alike plentiful; and one or two hills, gently rising from the beach, offered a position capable of defence. Here, therefore, the party landed on the 11th of December. The rock, on which tradition asserts the disembarkation to have been effected, is yet an object of affectionate veneration to every true son of New England; while the anniversary is still kept with all joyful honour under the endearing appellation of "Forefathers' Day."

Hither the Mayflower was brought across the bay from Cape Cod; and, after much debate, the exact site of the new colony determined on the 20th of December. The first necessary work was to disembark their goods and to provide a shelter against the inclemency of a New-England winter. By putting each of the unmarried men with some family of his own choice, the number of households was reduced to nineteen; and as many plots of land were allotted in a straight line, then and since known as Leyden Street,

on which to build the rude timber huts for which alone their poor resources sufficed. Sorely bested as they at this time were with cold and disease, which rendered it imperatively necessary that the whole community should be housed as soon as possible, they kept the Sabbath with as resolute a strictness as in their comfortable English homesteads; though their Puritan breeding no less shews itself in the fact that on Christmas-day no man rested from his labour. Yet even had not theological prejudice bidden them neglect that holiday, the urgency of their work might well have spurred them on. There was a platform to be built, on which to work their ordnance; a common house to be roofed in, to shelter those who could not always return on board the Mayflower; fresh meat to be procured, to supply the deficiency of ship's provisions; heedful watch to be kept against the Indians. And what discouragements were those under which this work was done! Unused to the inclemency of the New-England climate, the winter, which really appears to have been exceptionally mild, came upon them with unexpected severity; a series of misfortunes had delayed their arrival in America till long after the intended season; rain and snow, sleet and frost, hindered their work for days together. But a worse trouble than this was the deadly sickness which broke out. It first shewed itself at Cape Cod, where the emigrants, already weakened in health by confinement on ship-board, had to wade through a long reach of shallow water to get to the shore. Every exploring expedition increased the mischief; till at last the illness assumed the magnitude and the virulence of an epidemic. Think how the poor wretches, lying in the stifling ship, or in the hardly roofed cabins among the snow, far from all scientific help, destitute of every comfort which their state required, and seeing friends and kinsfolk carried out from them one by one,—think how they must have longed for the return of warm airs, and green leaves upon the branches, and a chance of life even in this rude country which they had gone out to possess. At one time during this terrible winter, so Bradford reports, there were but six or seven persons in sufficient health to perform the needful service to the dying and the dead. But they—and he includes among them in terms of special commendation the soldier and the elder, Miles Standish and William Brew-

ster—were all faithful to the obligations of humanity, and knew neither fear nor weariness in their eager devotion to the needs of their brethren. One hundred and one persons left England in the Mayflower; as many reached the shores of America, a death and a birth having taken place upon the sea. Of these died in December, 6; in January, 8; in February, 17; in March, 13; 44 out of the whole; 21 out of 41 who signed the first compact. When, at the beginning of April, the Mayflower sails, it is but with half her crew; and before the Fortune arrives in November, Carver and five more of his comrades are added to the list of the dead. In less than a year's time half the little band of exiles have found a Promised Land; better, yet other, than that they looked for. But the rest—though "truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned"—stood manfully to their enterprize through every circumstance of discouragement. They covered over the graves of their friends and kinsfolk, lest perchance the Indians should read there the sad story of their weakness, and set themselves to hew down the forest and to till the soil. If it were truly the Lord's work which they had come out to these savage solitudes to do, what justification for flight at the first approach of danger? And from Leyden came to them this stern consolation, not unbefitting their mood and condition: "The death of so many, our dear friends and brethren—oh, how grievous hath it been to you to bear, and to us to take knowledge of; which, if it could be mended with lamenting, could not sufficiently be bewailed; but we must go unto them, and they shall not return unto us. * * * In a battle it is not looked for but that divers should die; it is thought well for a side if it get the victory, though with the loss of divers, if not too many or too great. God, I hope, hath given you the victory, after many difficulties, for yourselves and others."

Before winter came, the sickness had passed away; and the fact that for several years no other of the first settlers died, testifies to the general healthiness of the climate. Bradford was unanimously elected Governor in Carver's place,—a post which he occupied for thirty-two of the thirty-seven succeeding years during which he survived. But the hardships of the infant colony were not yet overcome. The

first year, six acres of the common ground, painfully prepared for the seed by spade labour, were sown with barley and peas, and twenty with the Indian corn which had been so fortunately found. The latter harvest was the most abundant, and seemed to promise a sufficient sustenance till autumn came round again; fish had been especially plentiful; and wild-fowl and venison were constantly brought in. But the arrival of thirty-six fresh settlers in the Fortune, which put into Plymouth on the 9th of November, made an unexpected demand upon the scanty store of provision, and the summer of 1622 was a season of privation. In May, the colony was without bread; wild-fowl were out of season; the settlers had no sufficient fishing tackle; and their only subsistence was the clams and other shell-fish with which the beach happily abounded. By help of supplies from one quarter or another, the summer wore away without disaster; but for want of sufficient tillage, caused by their physical weakness, the sixty acres which they had sown produced but a scanty crop, a part even of which was stolen by a rabble of settlers who had fixed themselves hard by, to the great scandal and annoyance of the grave Plymouth men. In April, 1623, the colony was absolutely without corn, except such as was reserved for seed; and a terrible drought, which lasted for six weeks, seemed to destroy all future expectation of harvest, till, after a special day of humiliation and prayer, fell a plentiful rain, which revived their downcast spirits. Still, till August came, there was no resource but the clam-banks; for which Brewster, living for months on this scanty fare, could yet give thanks that "he could suck of the abundance of the seas and of the treasures hid in the sand." Tradition asserts that at this time the emigrants were once reduced to a single pint of corn, which, being divided, gave to each person five kernels, to be parched and eaten. Said Governor Bradford of the new-comers in the ship Ann, which arrived in July of this year, "The best dish we could present them with is a lobster or piece of fish, without bread or anything else but a cup of fair spring water; and the long continuance of this diet, with our labours abroad, hath somewhat abated the freshness of our complexions; but God gives us health." The worst, however, was now passed. The settlers, in contravention, it must be owned, of the original agreement with

the adventurers, had adopted the system of giving each family a piece of land to till for its own use, and the plentiful harvest testified to the increased energy of their agriculture. This year, too, Winslow, who had gone to England to sue for assistance, returned, bringing with him three heifers and a bull, the first cattle which the colony possessed. By and by we hear of Plymouth as of a place containing "about 180 persons, some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry, thirty-two dwelling-houses, and the town impaled about half-a-mile in compass." But the adventurers, discerning through the mist of their own commercial greed, the grandeur of the enterprize in which they were the unconscious partners, might well write from home to those who endured such hardships without a murmur or an attempt at escape—"Let it not be grievous to you that you have been instruments to break the ice for others who come after with less difficulty; the honour shall be yours to the world's end; we bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more who never saw your faces, who doubtless pray for your safety as their own, that the same God which hath so marvellously preserved you from seas, foes and famine, will still preserve you from all future dangers, and make you honourable among men and glorious in bliss at the last day."

Into any further details of the early history of Plymouth this is not the place to enter. The little colony, living in the midst of savage tribes, which, had they put forth their strength, must have crushed it by force of numbers, relied, not without success, on justice and courtesy, tempered by an opportune display of vigour in face of meditated treachery. A more vexatious annoyance, if not a greater danger, was occasioned by the settlement at various points of the coast of roving bands of Englishmen, who scandalized the Plymouth men by their excesses when they were supplied with food and drink, were an ungracious burden upon their charity when they had none, and at all times did what injury and insult could do to draw down an indiscriminate Indian vengeance upon all European heads. Then there were long negociations in England about their patent, which was again and again renewed as different factions bore sway at home,—a tale than which few could be more difficult to

tell or more tedious to read. For a long time the colony was without any other minister than Brewster, who, however, says his friend and comrade Bradford, "taught twice every Sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers and their comfortable edification. Yea, many were brought to God by his ministry. He did more in their behalf in a year, than many that have their hundreds a year do in all their lives." Robinson, who died in 1625, never joined the church at Plymouth; but the remnant of the Leyden people, first in 1629 and again in 1630, came out, though at a charge to the settlers of £550 for their outfit and transport, in addition to the cost of their maintenance till the next harvest but one,—"a rare example," writes Bradford, "of brotherly love and Christian care in performing their promises and covenants to their brethren,"—which, nevertheless, had its probable reward in the strength thus added to the grave and religious element of the community. Though Brewster's life and labours were prolonged till 1644, the church, after many unhappy experiments, found in 1629 their first settled minister in a Mr. Ralph Smith, who exercised his office for seven years, and was succeeded by many learned and painful divines. With the death of Winslow in 1655, of Standish in 1656, and of Bradford in 1657, the first generation of the founders of Plymouth may be held to have had its natural termination. In 1643, the colony entered into a federal union with the three other communities of New England, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Newhaven; in 1692, the line of Governors, which began with Carver and Bradford, came to an end, on the absorption of Plymouth, under a charter of William and Mary, into the new province of Massachusetts Bay.

Let us endeavour, before we finally leave the little settlement in order that we may very briefly dwell upon the larger results of the enterprize, to call up before our imaginations the outer aspect of the men and the scene. In December, 1621, about the end of the first year at Plymouth, a sermon, which a happy chance has preserved to our own day, was preached to the emigrants. The preacher was that Robert Cushman who had negociated the terms of the first patent, who, with twenty-five others, had been left behind by the failure of the Speedwell, and who had just arrived

in the Fortune. If tradition is to be trusted, the sermon was preached in the common house of the plantation, a rude log-hut somewhat larger than the private dwellings of the settlers. His hearers, even were the whole colony gathered together, could hardly have been more than eighty-five in number; above thirty of whom had newly come with himself, expecting to find some rough yet comfortable homestead, furnished with needful provision, and who were suddenly made aware that they were themselves a forlorn hope, struggling for life with pestilence and famine. In front stretched the quiet waters of the bay, sheltered from vexing winds by island and natural piers of sand; but beyond, the Atlantic waves rose and fell angrily; while, far as the eye could reach, a dim white line shewed the roadstead of Cape Cod, in which the Mayflower had found her first refuge. Behind was the hill, soon to be crowned by the needful fort; since that time the burying-place of these Pilgrims' sons and their sons' sons; farther inland still, the deep forest, clothing the sides and rising to the summit of the mountain range which closes the view. And hard by the shore, overhanging the rock on which the Pilgrims' feet had first rested, lay the low ridge, unmarked by any memorial, yet, doubt it not, with its every blade of grass accurately registered in the remembrance of love,—the ridge where *they* slept whose pilgrimage had soon led them to a better country, even a heavenly. Is the scene hard to recall? A company of grave men, graver even than their wont, whether their mind dwell in retrospect or in forethought—corsleted perhaps, and with weapons near, in case of some sudden incursion of a savage foe, yet all intent upon the preacher's strong exhortation;—of toilworn women, hardly rising, it may be, to the height of so stern an enthusiasm, and with minds often wandering to the pestilence which might any day break out again, or the poor store of corn on which their little ones were to be fed the winter through. One cannot but wonder whether, as Brewster listened, his thoughts went back to the time when he rode in the train of an ambassador and was trusted with the secrets of princes; whether Bradford remembered the church at Babworth, and the old manor-house of Scrooby, and the lingering walk through the meadows, in which he first laid hold on the truths which were now his strength and his life; whether Standish, loyal

to his Leyden friends, and honouring the fiery zeal which yet he did not quite understand, may not have suffered his martial thoughts to lead him to the hill where the ordnance was in its place, and thence to many a stricken field and stout leaguer beyond the sea, in which he had himself borne a manful part. To all, be sure, there was compensation for much hardship in the thought, that the psalm, however rude and halting its music, was raised within hearing of neither traitor nor spy,—that the prayer, if uttered beneath an unconsecrated roof, was no compelled form of words, but the simple, direct message of the heart to God. And then the sermon:

"Now, brethren, I pray you, remember yourselves, and know that you are not in a retired, monastical course, but have given your names and promises one to another, and covenanted here to cleave together in the service of God and the King. What then must you do? May you live as retired hermits, and look after nobody? Nay, you must seek still the wealth of one another, and inquire, as David, How liveth such a man? How is he clad? How is he fed? He is my brother, my associate; we ventured our lives together here, and had a hard brunt of it, and we are in league together. Is his labour harder than mine? Surely I will ease him. Hath he no bed to lie on? Why, I have two; I'll lend him one. Hath he no apparel? Why, I have two suits; I'll give him one of them. Eats he coarse fare —bread and water—and I have better? Why, surely we will part stakes. He is as good a man as I, and we are bound each to other; so that his wants must be my wants, his sorrows my sorrows, his sickness my sickness, his welfare my welfare, for I am as he is. And such a sweet sympathy were excellent, comfortable, yea, heavenly—and is the only maker and conserver of churches and commonwealths; and when this is wanting, ruin comes on quickly."

Surely a stern smile must have gleamed over Bradford's face as, hearing this, he thought of the "six or seven sound men" who a few months before had boldly stood between the little commonwealth and destruction, and who, if God spared them, would yet do some great thing for Him.

How vessel after vessel followed in the wake of the Mayflower—how goodlier towns than Plymouth were quickly built and richer fields subjected to the plough—how, one by one, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New

Hampshire, Vermont, consolidated themselves into distinct commonwealths, and all, in greater or less degree, received and retained the Puritan impress—is not for us to tell now. Yet, as the Puritan Fathers, the story of whose exile we have narrated, are commonly accepted as the type of the original settlers of New England, our readers may justly ask of us some brief, though necessarily imperfect, estimate of this element of American life. And we may note, in the first place, that the Puritanism of New is the Puritanism of Old England, suffered to develop itself under no conditions of restraint, but such as naturally arose out of the circumstances of an unsettled and half-savage country. For Puritanism at home grew up under the pressure of many hostile forces, by the law of reaction from which, it was in part moulded: who can doubt that the Book of Sports extinguished its last gleam of joyousness, that the ritualism of Laud helped to make more severe the simplicity of its worship? Even in its triumphant days half the nation murmured against it in their hearts; in every parish the godly preacher had his thorn in the flesh in the squire who would not be dissuaded from keeping Christmas-day with plum-porridge, or the light-heeled lads who persisted in rearing the May-pole. But in New England the strength and weakness of the principle were freely developed and grew to their natural result. The unfertile soil, the inclement sky, the perils of life amid warlike and treacherous savages, drew out and fostered the settlers' sturdy virtues. When the link which bound them to the venerable churches and stately cathedrals of their home was once snapped, they learned to love as well as to approve the rude meeting-houses of heaped-up logs and the rough music of their own untaught voices. As year by year the number of those who had been born upon New-England soil, and had no other memories than it could give, increased, the distinctive Puritanism of the people hardened and narrowed. No church puts forth its noblest strength in its moment of triumph; the time at which the heathen chiefly noted the virtues of the primitive Christians was their time of persecution. If we turn to the rock upon the Plymouth beach to call up our loftiest memories of Puritan courage and patience, we must go to Boston and to Salem to learn how Puritan intolerance can erect the whipping-post and the gallows—how

Puritan superstition can be maddened into an agony of cruel cowardice.

The founders of New England were at least true to the political lessons which had been inculcated upon them at home. From the very first, their communities enjoyed a measure of self-government which James or Charles would have hastened to crush, had the opportunity or the means been given to either. From year to year they elected their own governors and legislators. They divided the whole country into little municipalities, which claimed the right of self-rule and self-taxation. While diplomatists and courtiers at home were intriguing as to the terms of this patent or the limits of that grant, the emigrants, protected by the breadth of the Atlantic, managed their own affairs, and moulded their social life into what form they would. It is only of late years that the restrictions which were at first imposed upon the exercise of the elective franchise in the several States of New England, have been swept away by the levelling tide of American democracy; in the foundations of its polity, the Massachusetts of George Washington was the Massachusetts of Endicott and Winthrop. And New England is Puritan still in the spontaneous liberality of its provision for religion and sound learning. The Pilgrim Fathers had grasped the essentially Protestant idea, that an untaught cannot be a truly religious people. Nor is there anything finer in the history of any infant commonwealth, than the act of Massachusetts in setting aside, in the seventh year of its existence as a chartered colony, a sum equal to the whole of one year's taxes for the foundation of a university.

But social life in New England was leavened through and through by the peculiar Puritan theory of the relation between the State and the Church. For, in opposition to the common hypothesis that the Church is really co-extensive with the State, how wide soever the latter may be, they asserted that the true Christian State ought not to be wider than the Church, however narrow its limits. We find, in fact, that a condition of citizenship laid down in many of the earlier public documents of these colonies is, that the intending citizen shall be a true Christian man. A noble theory, penetrated and vivified by the deepest religious earnestness; a theory which raises their attempt to

found a city of God to a far higher level than any merely political efforts of colonization; yet tainted with this fatal practical error, that the worth of a man's religion cannot be surely tested by any outward signs, and that only God Himself knows who are truly His. So, resolved not only to found, but to govern the State in accordance with this idea—and taking pattern, not unnaturally, by the Mosaic legislation—the Puritan lawgivers lost sight of the distinction between crimes and sins, and included in the same enactments offences against society and breaches of the moral law. The civil magistrate was held to occupy the place of a father, whose duty it is to check, to rebuke, to punish all the evil passions of his children, whether or not they issue in action directly harmful to others. And there is ample proof of the necessary gloom and sourness of life under such an administration of justice as this; how youth lost the fragrance of its unconscious joyousness, and age the finer graces of cheerful courtesy; how vice often hid itself beneath the cloak of hypocrisy, and the features of goodness grew fixed in the mask of spiritual pride; yet, moreover, how gross sins were effectually discouraged, and idleness was shamed into decent industry, and a grave religious earnestness settled upon the hearts and faces of the people. We have reason to believe that the so-called "Blue Laws of Connecticut," by which a mother who kissed her child on Sunday was declared to have broken the sabbath and to have subjected herself to necessary punishment, are a book-maker's figment. But the following extracts, culled from the annals of Plymouth, are, in the utter misapprehension which they shew of the true function of legislation, unspeakably grotesque and yet sad: "Francis Sprague, for drinking over-much, fined 10*s.* Francis Billingham and John Phillips, for smoking tobacco on the highway, 12*s.* each. Stephen Hopkins, presented for selling beer at two-pence per quart which was worth but one penny. John Barnes, for sabbath-breaking, was fined 30*s.*, and set one hour in the stocks. Thomas Clarke, for selling a pair of boots and spurs for 15*s.* which cost him but 10*s.*, fined 30*s.* William Adey, for working on Sunday, was severely whipped at the post." Ladies who have used their tongues a little too freely are put in the stocks, with a label affixed to them declaring the offence; card-players are fined 50*s.*; a single absence

from public worship costs 10s.; all who deny that the Scriptures are a rule of life are to suffer corporal punishment. And so we might go on, through innumerable items more, shewing how, in the interests of public morality, it is possible to make life unbearable; how good men, with good intentions, can degrade Religion by transforming her into an inquisitor and a spy.

To the same theory we must charge the offences which New England has committed in the name of religion against religious liberty. If the Church is to be the State, the limits of the Church must be defined. But to define them is of no practical use, except there be a power of shutting out the wilful intruder; the secular arm is straightway invoked against the heathen and the heretic, and persecution is justified by the simplest of syllogisms. To those who have traced, as we have, the founders of New England from the English home, which they so nobly left for conscience' sake, to their willing exile in Holland, and then to these inhospitable shores—whose hearts have answered to their resolute defiance of spiritual tyranny, and throbbed the faster for their lavish self-sacrifice for freedom to worship God in their own way—it is woful, indeed, to read of Baptists whipped and banished, of Quakers mutilated and put to death, in free Massachusetts. Why should Higginson's and Brewster's glory be these poor wretches' crime? And yet it is but the old story, that men need frequent lessons of persecution ere they can learn, not only its pain, but its wickedness, and that toleration is the fruit, not merely of one, but of many tribulations. New England, left to itself, and passing through no such agonies of alternate triumph and defeat as were the lot of every religious party in England between 1625 and 1689, learned the lesson very slowly. For it was in the year 1691 that that strange madness seized upon the people of Massachusetts which bade them believe in the ubiquitous presence of evil spirits in the land; which, filling every heart with superstitious horror, divided towns and villages and families against themselves, each man suspecting his neighbour of secret league with the powers of darkness; which seized in equal intensity upon the judge, the divine, the scholar, and the rudest tiller of the soil; which hurried out of life twenty miserable creatures, and fastened the guilt of perjury and murder upon innumerable

more who had borne false witness against them; and which at last departed as suddenly as it had come, yielding to passionate shame and repentance. Yet, if New England has learned the lesson of perfect religious liberty slowly, we must own that in these later years she has mastered it thoroughly. And to Rhode Island belongs the singular honour of never having enacted a persecuting law, nor committed an offence against the largest toleration.

We may figure to ourselves life in New England from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 18th century, as grave and quiet, perhaps almost sombre,—as if men had too close a vision of the realities of a world to come, to deal with the concerns of this in any but a spirit of severe dutifulness. In the first part of this period, the figures upon the scene which chiefly attract our notice have an air of high-strung resolve about them, the result of their English trials and struggles; and there is such unconscious heroism in their port as becomes the founders of a great nation. Little by little this wears away, to give place to a seriousness which sits not ungracefully upon men who are daily engaged in the work of clearing the wilderness, and drawing its hidden wealth from a cold and stormy sea, and planting Christian cities upon a heathen shore, and building up a church and a commonwealth not undeserving the Divine favour. They are not without their contentions: now, each with the other; now, with rulers at home; now, with the Governors sent out from England to tame their unruly independence, and, if it may be, to curtail their franchises; but they cling firmly to their municipal and provincial rights, and effectually preserve the power of self-government. Their cities are but so many streets of rude log-houses; their churches a little larger and more carefully built than their barns; but like many whom a sense of religious duty shuts out from some of the refinements and nearly all the amusements of life, they are "diligent in business," and the solid comfort of their homes bears witness that their ships are upon every sea. But when the hour of public worship comes, the humble meeting-house is crowded in every part; the painful preacher speaks to upturned faces and understanding minds; and the things of which he discourses are not merely matters of one day's intellectual exercise, but of the week's careful meditation. Now and then arises some

servant of the church who, with bolder self-denial than his fellows, ventures into the woods which still close the little plantations round, and returns with strange tales of the Indian's willingness to serve the Christian's God; oftener the pride of race silently asserts its strength, and the unhappy tribes are slowly pushed back, till, rising in revolt to recover their lost hunting-grounds, justice is forgotten in the excitement of revenge, and they are borne down by the arm of civilized warfare. Still the inevitable axe cuts its path through the forest, and prepares a way for the plough; still the cottage rises by the brook, from which the inhabitants of the wigwam once drew water; still the corn is bidden to grow where the deer browsed, and the wild turkey was flushed in the underwood. The towns by the coast gather strength, and put on a homely beauty; the harbours are filled with more abundant masts; men strike deep the roots of their affections into a land than which they and their fathers and their fathers' fathers have known no other; till at last, upon the bare anticipation of tyranny, the old Puritan spirit wakes once more, and those who have proved, during a dependent existence of 150 years, that they deserved independence, stretch forth their hands in God's name, and take it.

And now, what is to be the final issue in the affairs of men of the Mayflower's voyage, none can tell, so vast are the interests, so noble the hopes, which have become involved with it. A continent almost immeasurable in extent, rich in all the possibilities of agricultural and mineral wealth, and offering abundant sustenance to millions of fugitives from the over-crowded East, and millions more of their descendants, is being claimed by man with unexampled rapidity. And though its settlers are of mixed race and varied language, the regal nationality, that which subdues the rest to its own likeness, and imposes upon them its speech, and teaches them to live under its institutions, is still the English. But the English of what type? Let the answer to this question be sought not only in the political institutions of the United States, which are universally framed upon the New-England model,—in their literature, which draws all its force and freshness from northern founts of inspiration,—in their power of expansion, which is exerted from a northern centre,—but in that terrible clash of civil contention, which

was in its essence a struggle for victory between the spirit of Massachusetts and the spirit of Carolina, and which has ended in making the former predominant in the future development of the American nationality. It is now settled, beyond the possibility of further disturbance, that over the whole of this new sphere of human activity, so vast as to involve no small part of the destiny of the race, the principles of self-government, of equality of all citizens before the law, of free thought, free speech and free worship, are to prevail, and that whatever a people can do in the direction of self-development shall be fearlessly attempted. Nor whatever be the hindrances from without or the weaknesses within which for a time may seem to retard the progress of this great experiment, can any who believe in the gradual education of humanity by the hand of God doubt of its final success. And comparing even the America of to-day, with its mixed accomplishment and shortcoming—much more the America of the future, towards which every lover of his race looks with the noblest hope—with the little company of separatists at Scrooby or the sorely discouraged church of Leyden, what better proof can there be of the worldwide value of even the obscurest faithfulness, of the indestructible vitality of all work truly done for God?

CHARLES BEARD.

III.—THE GOSPEL OF MARK.

I. *Notices of the person to whom it is attributed.*

It is probable that the Mark to whom the second Gospel is commonly assigned, is the same who is also called John (Acts xiii. 5, 13) and John Mark (Acts xii. 12, 25, xv. 37). If so, he was a native of Jerusalem, the son of Mary, and a decided friend of the Christians there. In the Epistle to the Colossians he is styled the cousin of Barnabas; whence it has been arbitrarily assumed that he was of the tribe of Levi and the priestly line. He accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey, leaving them at Perga, in Pamphylia, and returning to Jerusalem. While Paul was on his second missionary tour, Mark accompanied

Barnabas to Cyprus. But though the Apostle of the Gentiles had been dissatisfied with his conduct, and refused to have him for an associate on his second journey, they were afterwards reconciled; for when Paul was prisoner at Rome, he writes to Timothy to bring Mark with him, expressing his confidence in him. Hence he is styled the *fellow-worker* of the Apostle to the Gentiles (Coloss. iv. 11). Nothing certain is known of the remainder of his life, as the traditional accounts of early ecclesiastical writers cannot be relied on. Eusebius says he was with the apostle Peter in Rome. After Peter's death he went to Egypt, founded several churches there, especially at Alexandria, and, according to Jerome, died in the eighth year of Nero's reign, A.D. 61.

If the Mark mentioned in 1 Peter v. 13 be identical with John Mark, we have a plain intimation of the friendship existing between him and the apostle Peter. In that case, Mark was converted by the latter, and was with him in Babylon when the first Epistle was written. But some, with Bengel, take *son* in the passage literally, and the epithet συνεκλεκτὴ as denoting Peter's wife. It is more probable, however, that son means *spiritual son;* though we must allow that τέκνον, not υἱὸς, is the usual term for *convert* in St. Paul's writings; and that συνεκλεκτὴ refers to the church at Babylon, rather than Peter's wife. No example of a salutation from the writer's wife occurs in any Epistle; whereas salutations are sent from churches.

At what time Mark attached himself permanently to Peter cannot be ascertained. It was after Paul's second missionary journey. The New Testament furnishes little information on the point. In the Acts of the Apostles it is hardly intimated, although it would not have been out of place there. But tradition often alludes to the association of the two, furnishing distinct and unequivocal notices of companionship between them which could hardly have originated in 1 Peter v. 13, or have been derived from Acts xii. 12.

The tradition respecting Mark's close connection with Peter is embodied in the following passages:

Papias, or John the presbyter according to the relation of Papias, says: "Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote exactly whatever he remembered; but he did not write in order the things which were spoken or done by Christ. For he was neither a hearer nor a follower of the

Lord; but afterwards, as I said, followed Peter, who made his discourses to suit what was required, without the view of giving a connected digest of the discourses of our Lord. Mark therefore committed no mistake when he wrote down circumstances as he recollected them. For he was very careful of one thing, to omit nothing of what he heard, and to say nothing false in what he related. Thus Papias writes of Mark."*

Irenæus says: "Matthew wrote a Gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding a church there. And after their decease, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter."†

Clement of Alexandria, in Eusebius, states: "In the same books Clement has given a tradition concerning the order of the Gospels which he had received from presbyters of old, and which is to this effect: he says that the Gospels containing the genealogies were written first; that the occasion of writing the Gospel according to Mark was this; Peter having publicly preached the word at Rome, and having spoken the gospel by the spirit, many present exhorted Mark to write the things which had been spoken, since he had long accompanied Peter and remembered what he had said; and that when he had composed the Gospel, he delivered it to them who had asked it of him. Which, when Peter knew, he neither forbad nor encouraged it."‡

Tertullian affirms that "the Gospel published by Mark may be called Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was;"§ and Origen states that "Mark wrote it as Peter directed him."‖

Eusebius speaks at length respecting the origin of the Gospel, saying that Peter's hearers prevailed upon Mark, *Peter's follower*, to write down the oral teachings, and that the apostle authorized it to be read in the churches. This account is derived from Clement and Papias, with something of the historian's own.¶

In another work, Eusebius attributes the fact of Peter's not writing a Gospel to excessive modesty."**

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* Euseb. H. E. iii. 39. † Adv. Hæres. iii. 1. ‡ H. E. vi. 14.

§ Licet et Marcus quod edidit evangelium, Petri affirmatur, cujus interpres Marcus, etc. Adv. Marcion. iv. 5.

‖ ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσαατο αὐτῷ, ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25.

¶ H. E. ii. 15. ** Demonstr. Evang. iii. 15.

Jerome's testimony is similar to the preceding. He calls Mark the *disciple* and *interpreter* of Peter, says that he wrote a short Gospel at the request of the brethren at Rome, and that Peter himself both sanctioned it and authorized its use in the churches. Elsewhere, Jerome, calling Mark Peter's interpreter, as before, says that the apostle dictated and the other wrote.*

What meaning did these ancient Fathers apply to the word *interpreter?* Is it that Mark put into Greek Peter's discourses in Aramæan? or is it nearly equivalent to *secretary*, as if Mark developed and put into style the oral communications of St. Peter? The latter is the more probable.

II. *Relation of Mark to the second Gospel.*

The statement of John the presbyter, as preserved by Papias and recorded in Eusebius's history, is important in settling the present point. It is to the effect that Mark did not write *in order* (τάξει) the things spoken or done by Christ. The most obvious meaning of the expression is *arrangement* generally, whether chronological succession or concatenation and grouping. The opposite is σύνταξις. If this be so, the statement is not applicable to the present Gospel, which has the same arrangement as Matthew's or Luke's. Nor has any attempt to shew its adaptation to the character of the canonical Greek Gospel been successful. Οὐ τάξει (not in order) means more than ἔνια γράψας (writing some things) in the subsequent context, i.e. than isolated facts. What reason could there have been for saying that Mark wrote only *some parts* of the evangelical history or an incomplete Gospel so far, when Matthew himself did nothing else? It is impossible to refer the οὐ τάξει to isolated facts, anecdotes, adversaria, facts loosely linked together; for the matter of the Gospel is as well digested as that of Matthew or Luke. Nor is Meyer's ingenious assumption of a twofold writing being indicated in the fragment of Papias tenable,—the one, immediately after Mark heard the discourses of Peter, which was οὐ τάξει; the other, the writing of the Gospel proper, a part of which only (ἔνια) is excused and justified as not exhibiting arrangement (τάξις).† This meaning was not thought of by Papias or John the presbyter. Kenrick also conjectures that Mark wrote the materials of

* De Viris illustr. cap. 8.

† Evangelium des Matthæus, Einleit. pp. 31, 32.

his Gospel twice; but abstains from any attempt to find an evidence of it in Papias's words.*

The result of a careful examination of Papias's testimony is, that it does not relate to our second Gospel, nor bring Mark into connection with it as its author. All we learn from it is that Mark wrote the substance of a Gospel, or a Gospel which was not our present canonical one. To escape from this conclusion, it may be said that John the presbyter was not infallible, and therefore we are at liberty to differ from his opinions whenever there is good reason. So with Papias. The judgments of both may be wrong. In the present instance it may be asserted that the presbyter was mistaken in supposing that Mark did not write τάξει. But the statement is not so much a matter of opinion as of fact; for every one sees that Mark *did* write a σύνταξις, like Matthew's and Luke's. The difficulty of reconciling the testimony of the presbyter with the condition of the present Gospel is palpable; and the witness is important from being the oldest. No solid reason can be given for despising him, except the perplexity in which he involves those who believe him to speak of the present Gospel. If he speaks of a prior document written by Mark, his testimony is natural and intelligible. What is the conclusion it leads to? That a later writer composed the present Gospel of Mark. How, then, did it come to be attributed to one that did not write it? If there was originally an authentic document of Mark different from our Gospel, how did the latter come into the place of the former without the slightest historical notice of the mutual relation between the two works? The writings of the Fathers usually quoted respecting the origin of the Gospels speak of one and the same work, as Baur expressly allows; and if the document of which Papias speaks were not our present Gospel of Mark, how could this older writing have passed at once into oblivion, and the present Gospel, originating suddenly in its stead, be reckoned the work of Mark? It is difficult to answer these questions. It does not seem likely that John the presbyter spoke of a proper Gospel, but rather a work in the same style with the Clementine Homilies, a κήρυγμα Πέτρου, in which Mark wrote down sayings, narratives and teachings of the apostle Peter.

* Biblical Essays, p. 66.

But Papias and the succeeding Fathers already knew the present Gospel, of which they speak as though it were Mark's Petrine document. Before their day, during the process of Gospel production and literature, another had supplanted that equivocal document written by Mark himself; and to it they carried over the origin assigned to the latter. The transference seems to have been effected silently, without the observation or opposition which it would have elicited in a critical age. It must be admitted that there is no proper historical trace of such substitution; and that the Fathers speak only of our present Gospel of Mark. It may be observed, however, that Irenæus, though well acquainted with the four Gospels, does not call the second a *Gospel*, but *what was preached by Peter;** as if the one work had been substituted for the other imperceptibly, and therefore it were fitting to speak of the one in terms properly applicable to the other. The Fathers, being uncritical and credulous, would not scruple much, if at all, to accept a later Gospel as Mark's, especially as the tradition of its connection with Peter facilitated the substitution. The Fathers always meant one and the same work. Their testimony would have passed unchallenged, had we not the account of John the presbyter and internal evidence leading to a more correct conclusion. The original composition of Mark should be carefully distinguished from a proper Gospel, or even a document representing faithfully and fully the teachings of St. Peter. It was an ambiguous production, written, after the death of the apostle, from recollections which must often have been vague or erroneous, having only the name of Peter to recommend it. After the Gospels of Matthew and of Luke appeared, we can suppose the facility with which the canonical Mark would supplant these unconnected anecdotical notes. It may be also allowed that the writer of the canonical Gospel used the Mark-document, though, we should imagine, very sparingly. That the latter was the primary basis of the former—the document from which the greater part of the present Gospel was taken—cannot be maintained, except at the cost of rejecting more probable views.

That Mark was not the writer of the present Gospel may

* Τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα.

be inferred from the fact that it is not copious or remarkable in particulars relative to Peter. Thus, while Peter is introduced in Matt. xv. 15, requesting the explanation of a parable, Mark has *the disciples* generally. The fact of Peter's walking on the sea is omitted; and the remarkable blessing pronounced upon him by Christ is only in Matthew (xvi.). The promise made to the apostles in answer to a question put by Peter is unnoticed (Matt. xix. 28). Although he was one of the two sent to prepare for the paschal supper, Mark does not give his name. The intensity of his repentance, expressed by *bitterly* (πικρῶς) in Matthew and Luke, is omitted. Nor is the honourable name *Peter* employed by Mark till it was bestowed upon him by Jesus. Some account for these omissions by the modesty of Peter, who did not wish in his teachings to introduce circumstances seeming to exalt himself. This might be more probable if it could be shewn that Mark wrote when Peter was alive, and with his sanction. But Irenæus says that Peter was dead at the time; and his statement is more credible than those of Clement, Origen, Eusebius and Jerome. If this were so, it sets aside the alleged modesty of Peter as a reason for omissions respecting his personal history. Peter is more conspicuous in Matthew's Gospel than in the second. The latter assigns him no special prominence.

If these observations be correct, the canonical Gospel cannot have been the production which Mark wrote from reminiscences of Peter's oral teachings and narratives. It has therefore no relation to the apostle, and derives no sanction from his name. The author is unknown. External evidence on the subject is unsatisfactory and unreliable. It does not prove Mark's authorship of our Gospel; neither does it shew that it is an echo more or less complete of the apostle Peter's teachings. Internal evidence is a better test, and yields more satisfaction. If appeal be made to the contents of the Gospel itself, it will not be fruitless.

III. *Analysis of contents.*

The Gospel may be divided into three parts:

1. Transactions preparatory to the public ministry of Jesus (i. 1—13).

2. His ministry in Galilee (i. 14—x.).

3. His last journey to Jerusalem, with the events that transpired in the city (xi.—xvi.).

1. The first two verses are the commencement of the Gospel, which is followed by the appearance and ministry of John the Baptist, with the baptism and temptation of Jesus. Here the evangelist follows Matthew and Luke, the former more than the latter.

2. This section commences with Christ's appearance in Galilee and the calling of four apostles, abridged from Matthew. The healing of a demoniac in Capernaum, of Peter's wife's mother, a leper, a palsied person, the call of Levi, the banquet at his house, and the conversation with the scribes and Pharisees arising out of it, the plucking of the ears of corn by his disciples on the sabbath-day, and the cure of the man with the withered hand, follow in immediate succession. Verses 1, 14—20, follow Matthew. But at i. 21, the evangelist passes at once from Matthew to Luke, because he omits the Sermon on the Mount. But though he leaves Matthew's order for that of Luke, he does not abandon his mode of narration, but follows both it and Luke's in varying proportions. The event described in Luke v. 1—11 is omitted, because of Mark i. 16—20.

In iii. 7—35, Mark relates how the multitudes followed Jesus, his choice of twelve apostles, the blasphemy of the Pharisees that he was in league with Beelzebub, his reply, and the visit of his mother and brethren. At the commencement of this section, Mark leaves Luke and returns to Matthew at the place where he had left him before, viz., Matt. xii. 15. Verses 7—12 are an enlargement of Matthew xii. 15, 16. But the choosing of the twelve follows Luke vi. 12—16; after which the writer returns to Matthew, passing over the long discourses in Matt. xii. 33—45.

Ch. iv. 1—34. A series of parables is now introduced: the Sower, the Seed growing secretly, and the Mustard-seed. The first is parallel with Matthew xiii. 3—23. Verses 21—25 are taken from Luke viii. 16—18, but verses 26—29 are peculiar to the evangelist. The parable of the Mustard-seed (30—32) is from Matthew, not without reference to Luke, as the 30th verse, compared with Luke xiii. 18, shews. The 34th verse is from Matthew.

In iv. 35—v. 43, are related the stilling of the storm on the sea of Galilee, the healing of the demoniac in the country of the Gadarenes, Jesus's return to the other side

of the lake, the cure of Jairus's daughter, and of the woman having an issue of blood. Here the evangelist follows Luke viii. 22—56. Hence he differs from Matthew in describing but one possessed with a devil, and calling him a Gadarene; whereas the first evangelist has two demoniacs, who were *Gergesenes*, not Gadarenes; as well as in giving the name Jairus, which is absent from the first Gospel.

In vi. 1—6, it is related how Jesus teaches in Nazareth and is contemned by his countrymen. Here the evangelist returns to Matthew, to the passage where the parables ended in the latter, Matthew xiii. 53—58.

The section, vi. 7—44, relates how the twelve were sent forth on their mission, Herod's opinion of Jesus, the execution of John the Baptist, the disciples' return, and the miraculous feeding of the multitude. Here Luke is followed more than Matthew; though the latter is not unregarded, especially in verses 32 and 34, which are chiefly from him.

The section, vi. 45—viii. 21, contains an account of Jesus walking on the sea, the discourse relative to the washing of hands, the journey into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon where the daughter of a Canaanite woman is healed, the cure of a person deaf and dumb, another miraculous feeding of multitudes, the demand of the Pharisees for a sign, and a warning against the leaven of the Pharisees. All this is parallel with Matthew xiv. 22—xvi. 12. But the paragraph, vii. 32—37, is peculiar to Mark, having been suggested apparently by Matthew xv. 30, where the general statement occurs: "And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus's feet, and he healed them." As Matthew did not relate any individual case of a deaf man being healed, Mark selected one for circumstantial detail. Mark omits Matthew's words (xvi. 2, 3) in viii. 10—13, and xvi. 11, 12, at viii. 21.

The healing of a blind man at Bethsaida (viii. 22—26) is peculiar to St. Mark.

The section, viii. 27—ix. 50, relates Peter's confession, the transfiguration, the cure of a lunatic, the announcement by Jesus of his suffering, and the dispute among the disciples respecting precedence. It is parallel with both synoptists, Matthew xvi. 15—xviii. 9, and Luke ix. 18—51, but has more agreement with the former. Sometimes the evan-

gelist has from Matthew particulars wanting in Luke, as viii. 32, 33, ix. 9, ix. 42—47. On the other hand, he has particulars from Luke which are not in Matthew, as viii. 38, ix. 38—41. With Luke, he omits what Matthew has in xvi. 17—19, 27, xvii. 6, 7, 13, 20, 24—27; and again, with Matthew, he omits what Luke has in ix. 31—33.

The paragraph, x. 1—12, treats of divorce, arising out of a question by the Pharisees. Here the evangelist follows Matthew. Ch. x. 13—16, in which Jesus blesses little children, is from Matthew and Luke; as is also x. 17—31, where he answers the rich young man. The passage in which Jesus foretells his death, x. 32—34, is also from both. The request of Zebedee's sons, x. 35—45, is from Matthew xx. 20—27; and the cure of the blind man near Jericho, x. 46—52, from Matthew and Luke. The principal source of the whole chapter is apparently St. Matthew, with the occasional use of St. Luke. It is worthy of remark that Mark follows Luke in making only one blind man be cured at Jericho, not two, as Matthew states. But he agrees with Matthew that the cure took place as he went out of Jericho, whereas Luke says it was as he entered the town.

3. The 11th chapter describes Jesus's triumphant entry into Jerusalem, the cursing of the fig-tree, the expulsion of traders from the temple, and a conversation with the Sanhedrists. Here both Matthew and Luke are freely used, except in relation to the withered fig-tree, which is not in the latter evangelist. Mark differs from Matthew in dividing the particulars respecting the fig-tree, and in placing the expulsion of the traders in a different position. Matthew relates that Jesus went into the temple on the evening of the day he entered Jerusalem, and expelled the traders thence; afterwards going to Bethany to pass the night there. As he returned the next morning he cursed the fig-tree, which instantly withered. But Mark makes Jesus go into the temple in the evening of the day he arrived in the city, and go out to Bethany the same evening. The next morning as he returned he cursed the fig-tree, went into the temple and expelled the traders. On the evening of that day he retired again from the city, into which as he went the next morning, Peter directed attention to the withered state of the fig-tree.

The 12th and 13th chapters are occupied with parables

and discourses, contrary to the manner of the evangelist. The parable of the Vineyard, Jesus's answer to the entangling question of the Pharisees and Herodians about paying tribute, his refutation of the Sadducees respecting marriage in the resurrection-period, his explanation of the highest precepts of the law, his inquiry put to the scribes respecting Christ being the son of David, his reproof of the vainglory of the scribes and Pharisees, the account of the widow's mite, together with the eschatological discourse in the 13th chapter, shew more or less parallelism with Matthew and Luke. Thus, xii. 1—12 is taken from Matthew xxi. 33—46, and Luke xx. 9—19; xii. 13—27 follows the two synoptists also. But xii. 28—34 is after Matthew, and not closely; xii. 35—37 follows both; but 38—40 is from Luke alone, as is also 41—44. The 13th chapter is much more from Luke xxi. 5—36; though it is occasionally filled out with notices from Matthew xxiv.

The 14th chapter commences with the statement that the chief priests and scribes conspired against Jesus. To this are subjoined the statements that he was anointed by a woman at Bethany and betrayed by Judas (1—11). Here Matthew is chiefly followed. This is succeeded by the preparation for the last supper (12—16), where Matthew and Luke are combined. The supper itself is described (17—25), their going to the Mount of Olives (26—28,) the prediction of Peter's denial (29—31), Jesus's agony in the Garden of Gethsemane (32—42), his betrayal and apprehension (43—52), his accusation before the high-priest (53—65), and Peter's denial (66—72). Of all this Matthew is the source.

The 15th chapter relates how Jesus was brought before Pilate, whose desire was to liberate him, his condemnation and shameful treatment, and his being led away to Golgotha (1—23), taken from Matthew. Mark omits the dream of Pilate's wife, and the act of washing his hands publicly. The crucifixion (24—37) is from the same evangelist. Like Matthew, he states that both the malefactors who were crucified with Jesus reviled him. The occurrences which happened at the time of his decease (38—40), the account of the women that stood to look on (40, 41), with that of the entombment (42—47), are chiefly from the same evangelist but not exclusively, for xv. 42 has relation to Luke also.

The 16th chapter, containing a record of the resurrection, is from Matthew and Luke, the former being followed up to the 9th verse, and the latter being abridged from that verse onward.

The analysis just given embodies the idea that the Gospel before us is later than those of Matthew and Luke—an idea not accepted by many critics, among whom are Wilke, Weisse, Lachmann, Weiss, Meyer, Ewald, Ritschl, Holtzmann and Kenrick, who maintain that it is in substance the *protevangelium*, or primitive Gospel, containing the earliest and most original narrative of the evangelical history, without necessarily supposing that it was written before the canonical Matthew; for most of these critics go no farther than to believe that the documents used by the second evangelist were apostolic ones, proceeding from persons who were either eye-witnesses or derived their knowledge from credible sources. Cautious critics see that their opinion cannot stand the test if it be put forward in the shape which Kenrick gives it, viz., that the canonical Mark preceded the other synoptists as an original Gospel, or the protevangelium. Hence they wisely confine themselves to the hypothesis that Mark is directly taken from original documents which embodied authentic narratives, on which account it has a fair claim to the title protevangelium. As to the number of such documents, there is a difference of opinion. It is perplexing to find that the same data are appealed to as evidence for conclusions directly opposite. We proceed to consider the subject somewhat minutely.

IV. *Relation of Mark to Matthew and Luke.*

At an early period Augustine thought that Mark was "the attendant, as it were, and abbreviator" (tanquam pedissequus et breviator),* of Matthew. This opinion cannot be defended. It must either be enlarged and modified, or abandoned. More probable is the view which Griesbach was the first to recommend by good arguments, that the Gospel was taken from those of Matthew and Luke, mostly by abridgment but in part by combination.† Had the able critic admitted another written source besides these two, his hypothesis would have been impregnable. Yet his essay

* De consensu Evangeliorum, lib. i. cap. 2.

† In Griesbach's Opuscula academica, Vol. II. p. 358, &c.

was an epoch-making one: and the substance of it will maintain its validity, notwithstanding all attempts to overthrow it. The following positions appear to be safe:

1. There are frequent examples of verbal agreement between Matthew and Mark, some of them long and remarkable:

Matthew xiii.	Mark iv.
3. Ἰδοὺ, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν.	3. Ἰδοὺ, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπεῖραι.
4. Καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν ἃ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, καὶ ἦλθεν τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτά.	4. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν ὃ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἦλθεν τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό.
5. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλὴν, καὶ εὐθέως ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς.	5. Ἄλλο δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πετρῶδες, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν καὶ εὐθέως ἐξανέτειλεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς.
6. Ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυματίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη.	6. Ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυματίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη.
7. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας· καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι καὶ ἀπέπνιξαν αὐτά.	7. Καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας· καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι καὶ συνεπνίξαν αὐτό, καὶ καρπὸν οὐκ ἔδωκεν.
8, 9. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου καρπόν. ὃ μὲν ἑκατόν, ὃ δὲ ἑξήκοντα ὃ δὲ τριάκοντα. ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.	8, 9. Καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου καρπὸν. ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ αὐξανόμενον καὶ ἔφερεν εἰς τριάκοντα καὶ εἰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ εἰς ἑκατόν. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.
22. Καὶ ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου συμπνίγει τὸν λόγον καὶ ἄκαρπος γίνεται.	19. Καὶ αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου συμπνίγουσιν τὸν λόγον καὶ ἄκαρπος γίνεται.

Similar verbal coincidences are found in Matthew xvi. 13—28 and Mark viii. 27—ix. 1; in Matthew xvii. 1—10, and Mark ix. 2—9.

2. There are also frequent examples of verbal coincidence between Luke and Mark:

Mark x.	Luke xviii.
14. Ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς μέ, καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά, τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.	16. Ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς μὲ καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτὰ, τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
15. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὃς ἐὰν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς παιδίον, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν.	17. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὃς ἐὰν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς παιδίον, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν.
17. Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσω ἵνα ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;	18. Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;
18. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός.	19. Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός.
19. Τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας μὴ μοιχεύσῃς μὴ φονεύσῃς μὴ κλέψῃς μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα.	20. Τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας μὴ μοιχεύσῃς μὴ φονεύσῃς μὴ κλέψῃς μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου.

Compare also Mark iii. 4, 5 with Luke vi. 9, 10; Mark i. 24, 25 with Luke iv. 34, 35.

3. In several sections Mark's text agrees partly with Matthew and partly with Luke, so that it seems a compound of both.

Matthew viii. 2—4.	Mark i. 40—44.	Luke v. 12—16.
Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus put forth his hand and touched him, saying, I will; be thou clean. And immediately his leprosy was cleansed.	If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus, moved with compassion, put forth his hand and touched him, and saith to him, I will; be thou clean. And as soon as he had spoken, immediately the leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed. [Ver. 43 not contained either in Matthew	Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And he put forth his hand and touched him, saying, I will; be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.

Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
And Jesus saith to him, See thou speak to no man; but go thy way, shew thyself to the priest, and offer the gift which Moses commanded for a testimony unto them.	or Luke.] And saith to him, See thou say nothing to any man; but go thy way, shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing those things which Moses commanded for a testimony unto them.	And he charged him to speak to no man; but go, shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.

Compare also Mark ii. 13—22, with Matthew ix. 9—17, and Luke v. 27—39.

4. The whole of Mark's Gospel, except twenty-four verses, is contained either in Matthew's or Luke's, which, coupled with the preceding propositions, leads to the conclusion that it is probably compiled from the two.

5. Mark's arrangement is always the same either with that of Matthew or Luke.

6. It is not likely that, if Mark had written without the aid of the other Gospels, he would have limited the choice of his facts almost wholly to those which Matthew and Luke recorded.

But it is said that Mark may have written his Gospel first, and the synoptists have used it, enlarging its contents and filling it out with new matter. To this we reply, that all ancient historical testimony is to the effect that Matthew wrote first. The portion of the Gospel traditions which would be committed to writing in the first instance would be the sayings of Christ, either single discourses or collections. Events and incidents could be retained in the memory longer, and would not need to be put into writing. Now Mark has but few of these discourses in comparison with Matthew. He narrates events, and miracles especially, rather than the sayings of Jesus. This fact militates against the priority of his Gospel, and agrees with the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, that Mark was the latest of the synoptists. It is very improbable also that a Roman Gospel should have preceded a Palestinian one like Matthew's. And the earliest Gospel citations from extra-canonical writings such as the Gospel of the Hebrews, presuppose the existence of Matthew's and Luke's, but

never that of Mark's exclusively. Indeed, they never agree with the latter, though often with the former. Internal evidence shews that Mark's Gospel is condensed from the others, instead of the others arising by amplification from it. There are also instances of incompleteness which are hardly compatible with the idea of its preceding the other Gospels. In his desire for brevity, the writer has examples of occasional obscurity, so that it is necessary to consult the others to perceive his meaning. This obscurity has not arisen from Mark being the first evangelist who put the oral gospel into writing, though brevity and incompleteness might attach to the earliest record; for it amounts to incorrectness at times, arising from haste or oversight in employing written gospels as the source of an eclectic one. If this can be shewn, the argument that Mark, having two other Gospels before him, would have avoided incongruities and made his own document more perspicuous and unexceptionable than they, will fall to the ground. Thus in the account of the man possessed with a legion of devils, Mark states that the people of the district, hearing of his cure, came and saw him *clothed*,—an expression which receives its explanation from Luke viii. 27, which says that he "ware no clothes." In xiii. 4, the phrase "*all* these things," is difficult, for the context specifies the destruction of the temple only. It is borrowed from Matthew xxiv. 6, presupposing what he gives and what explains it; for the evangelist represents the disciples as asking Jesus not only about the destruction of the temple, but about his coming and the end of the world. The temptation of Jesus (i. 13) is despatched in a sentence, so briefly as to be inadequately apprehended by itself. No mention is made of fasting forty days and nights; though the expression, "angels ministered to him," presupposes and explains it. But Mark adds the new feature, "he was with the wild beasts," which savours of a later time, when superstitious circumstances gathered around the fact, or at least when the evangelist could add such a trait to make the picture more graphic. In vi. 54, we read, "When they were come out of the ship, *they* knew him." It is not said who knew him; and none but the disciples are previously mentioned. The first Gospel shews that it was "the men of that place" (xiv. 35).

In xv. 39, the centurion's inference that Jesus was the Son of God because he yielded up the ghost after a great cry, is not reasonable or natural. Some other ground must have led him to the conclusion, that given being insufficient. The parallel passage in Matthew places the matter in a right view. It is related there that the earth quaked and the rocks rent and the graves were opened. After seeing these convulsions of nature, the centurion and those with him were greatly afraid, saying, *Truly this was the Son of God.* The evangelist follows Luke in omitting the earthquake and the opening of the graves; but instead of making the centurion say, as he does in the third Gospel, "Certainly this was a righteous man," he follows Matthew, "Truly this was the Son of God," and creates incongruity.

Again, the evangelist has incorrectnesses arising from a process combining Matthew and Luke, or from the insertion of additional particulars. Thus, in the history of the transfiguration, it is stated that Peter did not know what he said, *for they were sore afraid* (ix. 6). The cause of this fear is not given. But in Matthew, the corresponding phrase stands in its right place, i.e. after the appearance of a bright overshadowing cloud, and the utterance of a voice from the cloud, causing the disciples to fall on their faces (Matthew xvii. 6).

In iv. 13, the reproof which Jesus administers to the disciples is out of place: "Know ye not this parable, and how then will ye know all parables?" This arose from the idea of the evangelist that the disciples were praised in the preceding context for their understanding the sense of parables which was hidden from others. But as that was inconsistent with the fact that Jesus explains the meaning of the parable to them which he had just delivered, Mark introduces the explanation by the reproof conveyed in the 13th verse. Jesus did not act in this manner. When his disciples asked the meaning of a parable, he willingly gave it, because inquiry was a hopeful sign which he encouraged. After the explanation of the parable, the 24th verse runs thus: "And he saith unto them, Take heed what ye hear: *with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you;* and unto you that hear shall more be given." Here the connection is less suitable than that of Luke, from whom the words are taken. "And he

saith unto them," is less appropriate than Luke's connecting οὖν; while the words in italics are too general and vague to suit their immediate context.

In ix. 35—37, where Luke is followed, who also omits Matthew xviii. 3, 4, Mark has given an imperfect and obscure representation. In opposition to the ambition of the disciples, Jesus recommends humility by setting the example of children before them; as we see from Matthew. But Mark's words contain an exhortation to receive and cherish children; so that the true import of the passage is unintelligible without Matthew xviii. 3, 4.

In vi. 14—16, Herod is introduced as saying twice nearly the same thing. In the former case (verse 14), Matthew is followed; in the latter (verse 16), Luke. Hence the repetition. The verb *heard* has no object as it has in Matthew, the abridging process obliterating it, though the parenthesis, in the 14th verse, necessarily implies its antecedence. The title *king* Herod is improper. It should be *tetrarch*, as in Matthew and Luke. As to the reading ἔλεγον *(they* said), which Lachmann and Fritzsche have adopted after some authorities, it is obviously a correction, to make the 14th and 16th verses consistent.

In x. 2—12, the proper question is not given by Mark, in consequence of his omitting the phrase, "for every cause," i.e. for any fault which the husband may consider a sufficient cause. How could the Pharisees tempt Jesus by asking him merely, "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?"

In xiv. 53—65, we observe the later and less original form in which the circumstances are narrated. The paragraph is taken from Matthew; but when the witnesses represent Jesus as having said, "I will destroy this temple *made with hands* (χειροποίητον), and I will build another *made without hands* (ἀχειροποίητον)," later reflectiveness is observable. Mark also abridges, by omitting the difficult expression *hereafter* (ἀπ' ἄρτι), Matthew xxvi. 64, and by retaining the word *prophesy* alone without its necessary context, "Who is he that smote thee?" (Matthew xxvi. 68).

The secondary character of Mark's Gospel throughout appears from the additions which are made to the parallel accounts of Matthew and Luke. The pictorial power by which the evangelist is characterized has often been adduced

as a mark of originality, as if the writer had either been an eye-witness of the scenes he describes, or had drawn his details from the oral communications of any eye-witness like Peter. But this hypothesis is incorrect, since many passages shew that the graphic colouring and vivid details are due to the writer himself. Thus in the historical narratives, when Christ feeding five thousand with five loaves and two fishes, the evangelist says, "He commanded them to make all sit down by companies upon the *green* grass. And they sat down in ranks by hundreds and by fifties" (vi. 39, 40); in the transfiguration, "Jesus' raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow, *so as no fuller on earth can white them*" (ix. 3); in the description of the place where the disciples found the colt, "they found the colt tied *by the door without, in a place where two ways met*" (xi. 4); in the way in which the paralytic person was set before Jesus, "they uncovered the roof where he was, *and when they had broken it up*, they let down the bed," &c. (ii. 4); such features as these evince the intention of the writer to infuse life into his descriptions. The small additions also, *with the hired servants* (i. 20); looking round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts (iii. 5); beholding (x. 21); taking up in his arms (ix. 36, x. 16); sitting down (ix. 35, xii. 41); beneath the table (vii. 28); laid upon a bed (vii. 30); sighing deeply in his spirit (viii. 12); was much displeased (x. 14); in the hinder part of the ship asleep on a pillow (iv. 38); and they had a few small fishes, and he blessed and commanded to set them also before them (viii. 6); and looked upon his disciples, he rebuked Peter (viii. 33); Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here! (xiii. 1); and the high-priest stood up *in the midst*, and asked Jesus, saying (xiv. 60); there cometh a maid *of the high-priest*, and when she saw Peter warming himself (xiv. 66); when the centurion that stood by saw that he so cried out and gave up the ghost, &c. (xv. 39); and when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away, for it was great (xvi. 4);—are pictorial, such as the writer could easily insert of himself; and their recurrence proves that they belong to the author's manner. The same feature appears in the sayings and discourses, as well as the narratives. Thus Mark makes John the Baptist say, "I am not worthy *to stoop* and loose the latchet of his

sandals" (i. 7); and to the expression, *yielded fruit*, he adds, "springing up and increasing" (iv. 8). So, too, he throws into the description of the mustard plant, "shooteth out great branches" (iv. 32).

That these pictorial amplifications do not belong to the fresh originality of the materials, but to the subjectivity of the evangelist, is still more apparent from the mode in which the sententiousness of Christ's sayings is expanded, so that they lose much of their forcible, incisive brevity, and assume a prosaic form. This is done by introducing reasons, by explanatory or amplifying adjuncts, and by changing figurative expressions into common ones. Thus, when Matthew makes Jesus express the idea that meats cannot defile a man by "Whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly and is cast out into the draught," Mark has, "Meat entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, purging all meats," by which scrupulous exactness the idea may be clearer to the understanding, though it loses the pregnant force of the original in Matthew. In ix. 39, an additional reason is introduced for allowing a person to cast out devils in the name of Jesus, "There is no man that shall do a miracle in my name who can speak evil of me lightly," which makes the general proposition following, "He that is not against us is for us," clearer; but the reply of Jesus becomes less emphatic and forcible by the motive adduced. In a similar way, the threat of hell-fire against those who will not put off selfishness is enforced by the reason, "Every one shall be salted with fire," or purified by the fire of trial in the judgment; and this again gives rise to a reference to sacrifices which could not be offered without salt: "Salt is good, but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another" (ix. 49, 50). Here the reasons for avoiding hell-fire are appended to the original words, without adding to their strength or even to their lucidity. In like manner, when we read in xiv. 7, "For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good," compared with the same in Matthew xxvi. 11, "For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always," it is plain that the unnecessary addition, "*whensoever ye will ye may do them good*," flattens the statement. In xiv. 8, the phrase, "she did it for my burial," in

Matthew, is altered into the literal but weaker, "she hath come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying." So too in iv. 19, the concrete sententiousness of Christ's expressions loses its power so far by the addition, *the lusts of other things entering in.* "Cares and riches and pleasures," which Luke has, bears the stamp of originality, rather than the enlarged form of the phrase in Mark. The same remark applies to the "many other such like things" of vii. 8 and 13. In vii. 22, the enumeration of the things which defile man is drawn out into a complete register of individual sins, as if such logical fulness were necessary on the lips of Christ.

The evangelical narrative exhibits similar evidence of designed modifications or amplifications of the primitive record. Thus in xi. 13, the cause of Jesus's not finding fruit on the fig-tree is said to be, "it was not the time of figs;" an inappropriate reason, because it increases the difficulty attaching to the cursing of the tree. In viii. 3, where the second miraculous feeding of the multitude is related, the danger of their fainting by the way should they be sent away hungry is accounted for by the fact that "diverse of them come from far."

These observations and examples serve to prove that the pictorial delineations of the Gospel have not the character of originality. They are graphic, no doubt, in many cases, and the colouring is fresh; but native simplicity is absent. Epic, objective simplicity is not prominent. The pragmatism of the writer is apparent. Design is perceptible, which not unfrequently aims at clearness and vividness of detail by artificial means. Reflectiveness, indicating a later stage of gospel-writing, betrays the non-originality of the document. The older a writing, it is generally more rugged and simple; whereas the Gospel of Mark presents a diffuseness and circumstantiality of detail which savours of a later period. Had the evangelist been occupied with the original oral traditions, he would not have bestowed so much care on subordinate details. The body of the materials would have claimed his attention. It is evident that the main contents of the evangelical history had been already put together when the evangelist began to write; but it remained to set individual events and circumstances in a clearer light, and to place them in the position of cause and effect by

bringing a little philosophy to bear upon them. The evangelist is too much of an eclectic to have been one of the first Gospel writers. He is more intent upon picturesque details than on arranging and combining the body of the history in order to present it as complete as possible.

Again, the nature of his historical and archæological explanations accords with a later time, and shews the secondary rather than the original character of the Gospel. They are often unimportant and prosaic, or unsuitable and trifling. Thus the addition, *in the days of Abiathar* (ii. 26); the number of the swine (v. 13); *Dalmanutha*, for *the coasts of Magdala* (viii. 10); *a Greek woman, a Syro-phenician by birth*, for *a Canaanitish woman* (vii. 26); *Bartimeus*, the name of the blind man at Jericho (x. 46); the minute play of numbers, "before the cock crow *twice* thou shalt deny me *thrice*," in harmony with which three denials are given, whereas the first crowing, reminding Peter of the words of Jesus, must have prevented a second denial (xv. 68—72); the *green* grass (vi. 39); the paralytic *borne of four* (ii. 3),—are trifling details, the first of which at least is incorrect. Nor can it escape the reader's notice that words of Jesus which sound somewhat hard or severe are softened, so as to yield a less objectionable sense. Thus, in x. 23, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God" is modified into, "How hard is it for them that *trust in* riches to enter into the kingdom of God." The same cause has operated in the sentence, "He shall receive an hundred-fold *now in this time, houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and lands, with persecutions*," where Luke's words, themselves a later development of Matthew's, are expanded and made more acceptable. For a like reason, the passage in Matthew respecting men making themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, is left out (Matthew xix. 12). The words of Jesus addressed to the Canaanitish woman, preserved by Matthew in their original form, are modified, so that before "it is not meet to take the children's bread and to cast it to the dogs," the clause, "let the children first be filled," is inserted.

We have no fear that our conclusion will be seriously disturbed on the ground of Mark's having the phrase, *not even the Son* (xiii. 32), shewing, as has been alleged, that the evangelist puts the dignity of Christ's person lower than

Matthew, and therefore that he wrote earlier. A calm consideration of the three synoptists in their mutual relations, favours the view that the Son is placed higher in Mark than in Matthew or Luke. In the passage referred to, he is said, by implication, to know what is hidden from the angels themselves: "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son (*οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς*), but the Father." Hence a superhuman nature is attributed to the Son during his abode on earth. He is a being intermediate between the Father and the angels. This is a view of his person later than that of the first and third Gospels; for they present him as *a man elevated to divine dignity.* Omniscience they do not attribute to him, even in such passages as Luke x. 22; Matthew xi. 27, and xxviii. 18. The last place, indeed, cannot be compared with Mark xiii. 32, because it sets forth the words of *the risen* Saviour. Thus the Christology of Mark xiii. 32, so far from shewing the priority of his Gospel to that of Matthew or Luke, favours the opposite view, since the person of Christ stands higher, and his knowledge is greater in it than in the other synoptists.

In like manner, the peculiar stress which Mark's Gospel lays upon the expulsion of demons from the possessed, bespeaks a later period than Matthew's. The main purpose of the Messiah is represented to be the destruction of evil spirits as a necessary condition of establishing his divine kingdom in the world. And the conflict of Jesus with the powers of darkness is put in a still stronger light by Mark than it is by Luke. Hence our Gospel proceeds at once to a case of demon subjugation (i. 23), and gives all that are related in Matthew and Luke together.

It has been already said that the original writing of Mark was superseded by the present Gospel, of which it formed the basis. A Petrine Gospel, as we infer from Papias and others, proceeded from Mark himself. That it was used by the writer of the canonical Gospel is probable. It may have been one of his written sources, in addition to the synoptists Matthew and Luke. This fact, for such we reckon it, should be remembered in considering the portions, larger or smaller, peculiar to the second Gospel. The evangelist was not confined to Matthew and Luke for his information. Nor can all his details be explained by refer-

ring them to his own subjectivity. But we do not believe, with Holtzmann and others, that the primitive Mark (or Petrine Gospel) was the most copious source of the present Gospel, much less that it was the common basis of the three synoptists. It is not needed to explain the composition of the canonical Mark, because the latter is accounted for by its secondary relation to our first and third Gospels.

Care should be taken to distinguish the traits that proceed from the evangelist himself and fill out the narrative in his own way, from such as were derived from a written source. All the peculiarities of the Gospel are not the writer's own composition. While its secondary character can hardly be mistaken by the critic, some features are drawn from a written source; and some original modes of representation give the preference to Mark over Matthew and Luke. It is probably on the basis of these, that various scholars claim for the second Gospel priority in time and genuineness, believing that it presents the original oral account in a purer state than the other synoptists; though they are in reality fewer and less important than such as shew its secondary aspect—exceptions rather than the rule. Thus in i. 36, the notice that Simon and they who were with him followed Jesus to bring him back to Capernaum, must have come to the evangelist as part of a written work, because he usually abstains from singling out Peter from the rest of the disciples, or giving him a peculiar prominence. The same remark applies to the narrative of the young man in Gethsemane who followed Jesus (xiv. 51); to the notice that Jesus would not suffer any man to carry a vessel through the temple (xi. 16); the designation of James as *the Less* (xv. 40); the observation about Pilate wondering that Jesus was dead so soon (xv. 44, 45); the mention of Bethsaida (vi. 45); the works of Jesus in Decapolis (vii. 31); and the declaration respecting the sabbath (ii. 27). In like manner, the statement that Herod was a willing hearer of John the Baptist's, and did many things the prophet recommended (vi. 20), points to an original source, which even the remark in Matthew about Herod's sorrow at Herodias's request implies. But it is less original and probable in Mark that he makes James and John prefer their own ambitious request, than their mother, as Matthew does; since the former evangelist had just said before of the apos-

tles that *they were amazed and afraid* as they followed their Master (x. 35). Matthew does not therefore soften down Mark's narrative in this place, as Kenrick supposes. The examples adduced in favour of Mark being the prot-evangelium are appropriate in some cases, but are wholly insufficient to outweigh the mass of evidence to the contrary. It is easy, for example, to quote passages in which Mark is not the epitomizer of Matthew or Luke; in which he puts things in a more original form or is also fuller and more circumstantial; but *the general character* of his Gospel remains the same. It is still a dependent one, briefer in contents, eclectic, yet with graphic details which give life and colouring to the description.

V. *Characteristics.*

1. The Gospel is catholic, undoctrinal and neutral. Hence it is without those Judaic elements which are so abundant in Matthew. Such expressions as, "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel;" "It is not lawful to take the children's bread;" "the holy place," for the temple, are wanting. The house of prayer is said to be "for all the nations;" and the external, literal observance of the sabbath is reproved. The universal destination of Christianity, which is termed *new doctrine* (i. 27), is declared (xiii. 10). In conformity with this, great stress is laid upon the power of faith to save (v. 34, ix. 23, x. 52, and especially xvi. 6). But no direct opposition to Judaism is expressed. The Jewish nation generally is not the subject of severe rebukes; on the contrary, with the exception of the Sanhedrists, Pharisees, Herodians, and his own relatives and countrymen, Jesus obtains a favourable reception, and has his divine authority admitted. The denunciations of John the Baptist addressed to the Jewish people, the allusion to the Ninevites, the threatenings of the unbelieving cities, and such like, which appear in Matthew and Luke, are absent. The dogmatic element also disappears, probably because certain dogmas were not yet elevated into importance enough to become criteria of ecclesiastical orthodoxy. Accordingly, the Gospel has nothing of the supernatural birth of Jesus, though it must have been believed in the writer's day. He does not introduce it into the evangelical history, because he was probably desirous that it should not become a distinctive or prominent part of it, to the detriment of

Christian peace. He contents himself with giving prominence to the indwelling of the *Spirit* (πνεῦμα) in the person of Jesus. The absence in Mark of that history which records the conception, birth and childhood of Christ, should not be adduced as a presumption of the Gospel's early origin, as it is by some critics, because it can be explained more satisfactorily on other grounds. The conciliatory tendency of the work is a sufficient reason for the omission. And were it not so, it is impossible to put the Gospel in a time early enough to preclude all knowledge of those wonderful things. Besides, does not the term *the carpenter*, not *the son of the carpenter*, imply the evangelist's belief of the miraculous conception? Was this phraseology chosen because of Mark's catholic, Jewish standpoint—because he wrote a Gospel intended to be neither docetic nor anti-docetic, neither Ebionite nor Pauline? The other evangelists who narrate the miraculous birth could freely use the phrase, *Son of Joseph*; Mark, who does not narrate the birth and infancy, speaks otherwise. This is confirmed by the fact that the oldest evangelical document, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, had the story of the birth of Jesus; for Hegesippus, who used it only, mentions Herod and his hostility to Christianity. We conclude, therefore, that the writer of Mark's Gospel *omitted* that portion of the evangelical tradition.

2. The Gospel presents Christ as a divine person, not so much in his discourses as in the mighty works and miracles he performed. Indeed, the former are a subordinate feature. His divine nature is not spoken of, but the acts that shew him divine. The extraordinary and superhuman influence he wielded has special prominence. Hence his power over demons is held up to view more emphatically than in any of the synoptists; and the thronging crowds that press upon him on every side give a vivid picture of the effect he produced upon them. The figure of the Redeemer is a commanding one, overawing and dazzling. The doubts of the Baptist respecting him are not mentioned; *he calls unto him whom he would* (iii. 13); and the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is resolved into calumny against his person (iii. 30). The very incapacity of the disciples to recognize the Messiah in him, and to apprehend the object of his ministry, is described more strongly in order to shew the

greatness and majesty of his person. Thus he does not appear as a teacher, but rather as the founder of a divine kingdom; shewing forth the marvellous manifestations of the higher power that dwelt in and enabled him to vanquish spiritual as well as human adversaries. The teacher is subordinate to the doer of mighty deeds; the mild, persuasive, authoritative instructor, such as he appears in the Sermon on the Mount, becomes a mighty personage who sets up an imperishable kingdom by the overwhelming power of his acts.

3. We observe in the Gospel a tendency to separate the discourses addressed to the disciples from those meant for such as were *without;* or, in other words, a distinction is drawn between his esoteric and exoteric teaching. Thus, in vii. 17, we read, "When he was entered into the house from the people, his disciples asked him concerning the parable." So in x. 10, his disciples asked him about the subject of marriage "*in the house.*" And in iv. 34, after saying that Jesus spoke to the people only in parables, it is added, "when they were alone he expounded all things to his disciples." Another example is in iv. 10, 11, where it is specified that when Jesus was alone he was asked the meaning of a parable by his disciples, who are expressly separated from the *οἱ ἔξω (those without).* The same peculiarity belongs to Matthew and Luke, though they do not give it so much prominence.

4. The vivid description and graphic details of Mark have been already spoken of. In this respect he forms a striking contrast to Matthew. He shews a decided preference for the present tense, and introduces persons themselves as speakers, where the other synoptists employ the third person. His striving after vivid minuteness has led to the specification of persons (i. 20; iii. 6, 17, 32, 34; iv. 11; v. 32, 37, 40; vi. 40, 48; vii, 1, 25, 26; viii. 10, 27; ix. 15, 36; x. 16, 23, 35, 46; xi. 21, 27; xiii. 1, 3; xiv. 20, 37, 65; xv. 7, 21, 40, 47; xvi. 7); places (i. 28; iv. 1, 38; v. 11, 20; vi. 55; vii. 31; viii. 10, 27; ix. 30; xii. 41; xv. 16, 39; xvi. 5); and time (i. 32, 35; ii. 1, 26; iv. 35; vi. 2; xi. 11, 19, 20; xiv. 1, 12, 17, 30, 68, 72; xv. 1, 25, 33, 34, 42; xvi. 1, 2).

But vividness of description, which Mark usually effects by inserting details unknown to Matthew and Luke, does

not necessarily imply an eye-witness or greater originality than the other synoptists. On this point many critics have been misled, because they did not fairly consider *the character* of the delineations supposed to indicate priority of time to those of Mark and Luke. It has been argued that the manner in which our evangelist represents the performance of miracles, shews an earlier form of the Gospel tradition. We are reminded of the fact that Mark recognizes the use of natural means in several instances (vi. 5, 13, vii. 32). But surely this indicates a later reflectiveness, uniting the natural with the supernatural. Had it been the common belief from the beginning that the miracles were within the compass of natural causes, we might suppose that Mark represents an earlier form of the tradition than the evangelists who omit all notice of the natural; but as that is incorrect, the natural element is the creation of a later period, not a remnant of the earliest.

In like manner, the relations of Mark respecting the expulsion of demons by Jesus, while more emphatic and more frequent than in the other synoptists, have some peculiarities which consign them to a later period. Thus the gradual development of Jesus's Messianic consciousness is a phenomenon commonly admitted by critics to lie in the second Gospel, yet the persons possessed by demons whom he dispossessed are said to know him as the Son of God. There is only one case of such knowledge in Matthew, viz., that of the possessed Gadarenes; in Mark and Luke the peculiarity is usual. The demoniacs knew Jesus to be the Messiah at a time when his immediate disciples seem to have been ignorant of it. Surely this trait in Mark's narratives of the possessed argues a doctrinal point of view later than Matthew's. The peculiar prominence given to the healing of demoniacs in the second Gospel, coupled with the pictorial circumstances which add life to the description, are in character with the vigorous method of the evangelist, and his leading desire to set forth the power of Christ over demons. The details that partly constitute the prominence and make the narratives graphic, are not an evidence of historical originality, but of the reverse. Thus, in the cure of the lunatic boy, Matthew has (xvii. 17), "Bring him hither to me;" and Jesus rebuked the demon, which came out of the sufferer, so that the boy was healed forthwith. But

Mark represents Christ as questioning the father about the duration of the malady, describes the violence of the paroxysm following the command addressed to the evil spirit to come out, leaving the boy to all appearance dead, till Jesus took him by the hand and raised him up (Mark ix. 20, &c.). The additional features of Mark's narrative obviously shew the writer's object to set the power of Jesus in a more striking light by contrast with the violence of the demon. Nor does this detract from the instantaneousness of the cure as described by Matthew. The wonder is increased in the second Gospel, which favours the view that it represents a later standpoint. When Mr. Kenrick asserts, in relation to such miracles, that Mark wrote simply to record, Matthew and Luke to impress and convince, he mistakes the genius both of the first and second Gospels. The desire of Mark *to impress* is apparent throughout; while *simple recording* is obvious in Matthew. The wish *to impress* the reader accounts for many characteristics of the second Gospel, and for the absence of particulars contained in the first. It even leads to a few exaggerations, such as in xi. 10, where, after "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," it is added, apparently to strengthen the preceding, "Blessed is the coming kingdom of our father David." The two miracles of healing which are peculiar to Mark, viz., vii. 32—36, viii. 22—26, have something singular about them which betray a later type. In both cases Jesus is said to have *spit* on the patients. Had Mark written first, it is unlikely that later evangelists would have omitted this circumstance or the miracles themselves. But if he succeeded Matthew and Luke, it is easy to account for the two by supposing him to have taken them from another source. Hence their peculiar character.

VI. *Time and place of writing.*

It is impossible to ascertain the precise time when the Gospel was written. The Paschal chronicle and other authorities place it A.D. 40; Eusebius, in his Chronicon, in the third year of Claudius, i.e. 43. The two most ancient testimonies, those of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, are irreconcilable; the former stating that the Gospel was composed after Peter's death; the latter, while he was alive. But they agree in this, that it was written in Rome, after Peter's arrival there; that is, after the beginning of 63.

External testimony on the point is worthless. We must have recourse to internal evidence. Taking for granted at present the integrity of the Gospel, the 20th verse of the 16th chapter shews that the apostles had left Judea and preached in many places before the evangelist wrote. We also see, from comparing ix. 1 with Matthew xvi. 28, that the writer saw it necessary to put the coming of the Son of Man to set up his kingdom farther forward than Matthew, *till they see the kingdom of God coming with power;* i.e. till they see its powerful effects upon earth. It may appear, indeed, to some that the eschatological discourse in Mark presupposes the near approach of the destruction of Jerusalem, not that it was past; but he follows the prophecy of Matthew, and is indisposed to interpose a long interval between the destruction of Jerusalem and the coming of Christ. The fact that εὐαγγέλιον, in i. 1, is used in the sense of gospel history argues a late period; and the expression, in xvi. 16, "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," savours of a time when greater efficacy was attributed to baptism than it was intended to have. Probably καὶ βαπτισθείς was taken from Matthew xxviii. 19, but a different turn is given to it. Yet the recollection implied in the notice that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus, prevents the Gospel from being put too late into the second century. That it belongs to this century must be inferred, not only from the priority of Matthew and Luke, but from the fact that it was not known to Papias, and probably not much outside Rome. The first known writer who shews he was acquainted with it is Clement (125 A.D.), in the fifteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Corinthians. Hermas also used it (130—135 A.D.). And Justin Martyr must also have known, though it cannot be said that he ever quotes it, for the one passage in which some find a verbal use of the Gospel is taken from the "Memoirs" or Gospel of Peter, as Justin himself says.* Probably we shall not be far wrong in putting it about 120 A.D.

The weight of ancient testimony is in favour of Rome as the place of composition. Irenæus, Clement of Alex-

* Dialogue with Trypho, p. 333, ed. Colon. Comp. Mark iii. 17. We take the αὐτοῦ (ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ) to refer to Peter, not to Χριστὸς; according to Justin's usual method of citation.

andria, Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, &c., assign it to that place. In favour of this, Latinisms have been adduced, σπεκουλάτωρ, κεντυρίων, ξέστης, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι (satisfacere), ἐσχάτως ἔχειν (in extremis esse), συμβούλιον διδόναι (consilium dare), and the custom of explaining Greek expressions by Roman ones. But πραιτώριον κοδράντης, δηνάριον, κῆνσος, λεγεών, φραγελλόω, appear in Matthew and Luke also. It was also natural, if the evangelist wrote at Rome, to state that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus; for one of these persons at least seems to have resided there (Romans xvi. 13).

VII. *Integrity.*

The last eleven verses of the Gospel have been thought not to belong to it, or at least to have been written by another person than the evangelist. External and internal arguments are adduced in favour of this view. Let us notice them very briefly.

1. The portion is wanting in B, ℵ, k, and marked with an asterisk in 137, 138. L., with 274 in the margin, and the margin of the later Syriac, state that more ancient copies had a very different ending; the same, in fact, as in k or the Cod. Bobbiensis of the old Latin. The scholia of numerous MSS. mentioned by Griesbach mention that it was absent from many copies, though it existed in others. Scholia belonging to the MSS. 22, 15, 1, 206, 209, 20, 300, and others, say that the more ancient and accurate copies terminated the Gospel with the 9th verse. This is confirmed by Eusebius, Jerome, Victor of Antioch, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Severus of Antioch, and others.

In like manner, the passage is not recognized by the Ammonian canons of Eusebius in AULΔΓ, as well as 127, 129, 132, 133, 134, 137, 169, 186, 188, 195, 371, and others. Epiphanius and Cæsarius attest the same thing. In the catenæ on Mark the section is not explained. It is also absent from some old MSS. of the Armenian version, and from an Arabic version in the Vatican which Scholz examined in a few places. Nor is there any trace of acquaintance with it on the part of Clement of Rome or Clement of Alexandria.

On the other side, it is affirmed that all Greek MSS., except B and ℵ, have the paragraph, ACDEGHKLMSUVXΓΔ; all evangelistaria and all synaxaria. The ancient versions,

too, including several copies of the old Italic, the Vulgate, the Peshito, the later Syriac, the Curetonian and the Jerusalem Syriac, have it. It is sanctioned by Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tatian, the author of the Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and others. Nestorius* quotes the 20th verse.

Among internal considerations, it is alleged against the passage that there is—

1. An incoherence between the 9th verse and what precedes. The words πρωὶ πρώτῃ σαββάτου naturally belong to the participle ἀναστὰς, since the writer, in describing the appearances of Jesus, has no regard to time or place (comp. 12, 14, 15, 19). Thus Jesus is said to have risen *early*, although the women who visited the sepulchre *very early* learned that he had risen *before* their visit (verse 4).

Again, πρῶτον connected with ἐφάνη is unsuitable, because the appearance to Mary Magdalene was not the first. It is beside the mark to say with Robinson† that πρῶτον is put *relatively*, not *absolutely*, the first of the three appearances narrated by Mark.

2. The phraseology and style of the section are unfavourable to its authenticity. Phrases and words are introduced which Mark never uses; or terms, instead of which he employs others. Thus for πρώτῃ σαββάτου (verse 9), Mark has the plural σαββάτων (xvi. 2); never the singular. But Luke has the singular (xviii. 2). The phrase, *out of whom he had cast seven devils*, is attached to the name of Mary Magdalene, though she had been mentioned three times before without such appendix. It seems to have been taken from Luke viii. 2. Instead of ἐκβάλλειν ἀπό, Mark uses ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ (vii. 26). In the 10th and 14th verses there are sentences without a copulative; whereas Mark has always the copulative in such cases, particularly καί. The use of ἐκεῖνος, in verses 10, 11, 13, synonymously with ὁ δέ (comp. Mark iv. 11, vii. 15, 20, xii. 4, 5, xiv. 21), is peculiar. The verb πορεύεσθαι occurs three times in the section, though the evangelist never employs it elsewhere. Θεᾶσθαι is also unknown to Mark (ii. 14). So also ἀπιστεῖν (ii. 16). Μετὰ ταῦτα (12) is never employed by the evangelist. Μὲν and δὲ correspond

* Ap. Cyril Alex. vi. 46.

† Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek, p. 232.

in two members of a sentence (19, 20), which is but once in the Gospel (xiv. 38), where the words of another person are cited. Ὁ κύριος (19, 20) is unknown to Mark; so also are ἕτερος (12), παρακολουθέω, βλάπτω, πανταχοῦ, ἐπακολουθέω, συνεργέω, βεβαιόω. πᾶσα κτίσις is Pauline; and κόσμον ἅπαντα is peculiar. Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι (17), for ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι (comp. ix. 37, 41, xiii. 6), and χεῖρας ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τινὰ, instead of τινὶ (comp. v. 23, vi. 5, vii. 32, viii. 23), deserve attention. Other peculiarities and ἅπαξ λεγόμενα may be accounted for by the new subject, e.g., γλώσσαις καιναῖς λάλειν, ὄφεις αἴρειν, θανάσι μον πίνειν, καλῶς ἔχειν, φανεροῦσθαι, μορφή, ὕστερον.

The style is abrupt and sententious, not graphic, resembling that of brief notices extracted from larger accounts and loosely combined.

3. The 17th and 18th verses contain suspicious circumstances—an excessive love of the miraculous. Miracles and the power of performing them are attributed to *all believers*. The handling of deadly serpents and the drinking of deadly poison with impunity, savour of superstition. The phrase, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" (16), is also of a late type.

4. A new section begins with the 9th verse, as is shewn by the note of time prefixed; but a note of time had been already introduced at the 2nd verse of the chapter. The events recorded in the 9th and subsequent verses require no new section or note of time.

5. It is strange that when Mark had said that Jesus should appear to the disciples in Galilee (xiv. 28, and xvi. 7), he makes no allusion to the fulfilment of the promise. Verses 15—18 refer to his appearance at Jerusalem.

6. The section contains parallels to passages in Luke and John, and is an excerpt from those Gospels. This must be restricted in any case to verses 9—14.

It is difficult to decide between this conflicting evidence. The fact that Irenæus,* and probably Justin Martyr,† had the portion before them in their copies of the Gospel, is sufficient to outweigh the evidence of all MSS. that omit it, because they reach up to a much earlier time. Besides Irenæus's attestation of the 19th verse, we have a still earlier one in the "Acts of Pilate," incorporated in the

* Adv. Hæres. iii. 10, 6. † Apol. i. 45.

"Gospel of Nicodemus," for verses 15—19.* But the relation of the *Acts* now known to the early work which Justin and Tertullian had, is too uncertain to admit of an argument being built upon it. That the piece in the Gospel of Nicodemus was really found in the Acts of Pilate, is shewn by Tertullian in his Apologeticus (21). Celsus also shews acquaintance with the paragraph when he says, "Who saw this? A demented woman, as ye say,"—referring to Mary Magdalene, to whom Jesus first appeared, and out of whom he had cast seven demons (xvi. 9), not xvi. 8, as Olshausen supposes. The phraseology certainly differs from that of the rest of the Gospel, not very much, yet perceptibly. But the difference may be accounted for by the use of another source, which the evangelist chose to follow here much more than Matthew or Luke,—the Petrine narrative of St. Mark, to which Papias refers. It is difficult to believe that the writer could stop with *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*. No evangelist would do so; and therefore those who impugn the authenticity have recourse to some sudden accident which prevented the evangelist from finishing properly. Such conjectures are gratuitous. The reason why the paragraph was omitted in many copies is hinted at by Jerome,† Eusebius‡ and others. Exegetical reasons led to it, since the difficulty of reconciling xvi. 9, with Matthew xxviii. 1, was palpable. The time in the 2nd verse does not suit that of the 9th, nor do the 17th and 18th verses agree with Matt. xxviii. 16—20. Such difficulties, as far as we can judge, led to its exclusion from many copies, especially Greek ones. That so many authorities, including the old Italic and Vulgate, have it, is good evidence that it was an original part of the Gospel. The very difficulties inherent in it did not prevail to exclude it. If Eusebius and Jerome really believed that it is spurious, why did they resort to another method of solving the difficulties arising from the time of the resurrection specified there? Besides saying that it was absent from

* See Tischendorf's Evangelia Apocrypha, p. 243.

† Omnibus Græciæ libris pene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus, præsertim cum diversa atque contraria evangelistis cæteris narrare videatur.—Ad Hedibiam Quæst. ii.

‡ Τὰ δὲ ἑξῆς (the verses in question) *σπανίως ἔν τισιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι φερόμενα περιττὰ ἂν εἴη, καὶ μάλιστα εἴπερ ἔχοιεν ἀντιλογίαν τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν μαρτυρίᾳ.* Quæst. i. ad Marinum.

some or many copies, both give an additional solution, consisting in an alteration of the punctuation. But the one is sufficient, viz., that the paragraph is no part of the Gospel. By resting in this, they would have saved themselves trouble and shewn their true conviction. As it is, we can hardly tell what they actually believed. On the whole, the evidence is scarcely sufficient to prove the non-authenticity of the paragraph. This is true of the external and internal considered separately as well as conjointly. Great respect is due to the opinion of textual critics like Griesbach and Tischendorf, who are against the authenticity of the verses. But it cannot be denied that *the weight* of external evidence is on the other side. And as to the *internal*, it would certainly preponderate against Mark's own authorship. But when we consider that the Gospel was not written till the second century, internal evidence loses much of its force against the authenticity. How persons who believe that the verses did not form a part of the original Gospel of Mark, but were added afterwards, can say that they have a good claim to be received as an authentic or genuine part of the second Gospel, that is, a portion of canonical Scripture, passes comprehension, except they are inconsistent with themselves. If an unknown writer appended to Mark's Gospel a section containing difficulties which make its agreement with Mark's own statements all but impossible, how can he have been *plenarily inspired* as Mark himself is said to have been? What becomes of his plenary inspiration in any case? Does the fact of his adding a portion to a Gospel shew his possession of the gift? Does it not rather shew the reverse? It does not depend on the writer's being known that what he composes should be a proper part of the Word of God. So some affirm. On what then *does* it depend? Either on the inspiration of the writer or of what is written. How is the inspiration of the writer shewn? Only by what he writes. In the present case, the later author, as some believe, must have been inspired. Is that proved by the character of this portion? Is it proved by the fact, that whereas Mark, an inspired evangelist, wrote i.—xvi. 9, a subsequent individual wrote a few verses at the end in an inferior style? Certainly not. Every view of the case shews the untenable position of maintaining that the verses before us are an authentic part of the Gospel, equally

authoritative with the rest of it, and yet believe that they proceeded from a different author.

VIII. *Persons for whom the evangelist wrote, and his object in compiling a Gospel.*

The work is the production of a Jew, or of one intimately acquainted with Judea, and was intended for Gentile believers. Hence localities in Palestine, as also Jewish usages and rites, are explained. Thus, in i. 5, "And there went out unto him all the land of Judea and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptized of him in *the river of* Jordan, confessing their sins;" for which the first Gospel has, "and were baptized of him *in Jordan*, confessing their sins" (iii. 6).

"*And the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast;* and they come and say unto him, Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast?" (ii. 18). Matthew wants the explanatory clause at the commencement.

"For the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders" (vii. 3). Compare this with Matthew's words, "Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? for they wash not their hands when they eat bread" (xv. 2).

"Then come unto him the Sadducees, *which say there is no resurrection;* and they asked him, saying," &c. (xii. 18).

"And the first day of unleavened bread, *when they killed the passover*, his disciples," &c. (xiv. 12).

"Now at that feast he released unto them one prisoner, whomsoever they desired" (xv. 6).

No passages are quoted in proof of the writer's position or to shew the fulfilment of prophecy, except they be unavoidably introduced into the discourses of Jesus. Hence *νόμος, the law of Moses*, does not occur.

In the charge to the disciples, the words, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles" (Matthew x. 5, 6), are omitted. In accordance with this view, explanations of words which would otherwise be unintelligible to Gentiles are given, as *Talitha cumi, Boanerges, Corban, Bartimeus, Eloi lama sabacthani, Gehenna* (ix. 43).

Thus it appears that the Gentiles were the class of readers for whom the Gospel was written. Both plan and structure harmonize with that.

The object of the evangelist does not seem to have been

a specific one, farther than it was conciliatory and neutral. He meant to instruct Gentile converts in the leading facts of Jesus's life on earth by giving, as far as possible, such a selection as might be acceptable, and avoiding doctrinal or controversial ground. Hence he has neither the narrow Jewish elements to be found in the Gospel of Matthew, nor the specific Pauline elements of Luke's. His Christology, indeed, has a tendency towards Docetism, but not a decided one. Only once does he apply the expression *Son of David* to Jesus. Epiphanius says, with what truth we cannot determine, that the Docetæ preferred the second Gospel to the rest.* Credner has correctly put the Clementines by the side of Mark; for although the Homilies never quote it, there are several points of contact between the two productions.

IX. *Style and diction.*

The style is forcible, concise, abrupt.

1. Πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον occurs eleven times; Luke uses it six times, and Matthew twice. The latter prefers phrases with δαιμονιζόμενος.

2. Diminutives are frequent, as θυγάτριον, κοράσιον, κυνάριον, ὠτάριον, πλοιάριον, παιδίον, ἰχθύδιον.

3. Συμβούλιον ποιεῖν, iii. 6, xv. 1. Matthew has συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν.

4. Ἐπερωτᾷν occurs twenty-five times; Matthew has it eight times, and Luke eighteen.

5. Διαστέλλεσθαι five times; only once in Matthew.

6. Εἰσπορεύεσθαι eight times; Luke has it four times, and Matthew once.

7. Ἐκπορεύεσθαι eleven times; Matthew has it six times, and Luke three.

8. Παραπορεύεσθαι four times; Matthew once.

9. Εὐαγγέλιον occurs eight times; in Matthew four times.

10. Περιβλέπεσθαι six times; once in Luke.

11. Πρωΐ six times; twice in Matthew.

12. Φέρειν fourteen times; in Matthew and Luke four times each.

13. Μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, referring to the future resurrection

* Adv. Hæres. iii. 11, 7.

of Christ (viii. 31, ix. 34 (?), x. 34); Matthew has it but once. He and Luke use instead τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

14. Βλέπετε ἀπό, viii. 15, xii. 38; Matthew and Luke have instead προσέχετε ἀπό.

15. Ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐκ is the prevailing usage of Mark. Only in two places has he ἀπό, the latter preposition being the most frequent one in Matthew, and perpetual in Luke with two exceptions (ii. 1, vi. 19).

16. Ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης, vi. 14; Matthew and Luke have Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης.

17. Mark accumulates negatives, as οὐδείς, twice, xvi. 8; οὐκέτι οὐ μή, xiv. 25; μηδεπὶ μηδέν, i. 44; οὐκ οὐδείς, iii. 27, v. 37, vi. 5, xii. 14, xiv. 60, 61, xv. 4; μηκέτι μηδέ, ii. 2; οὐκέτι οὐδείς, v. 3, vii. 12, ix. 8; μηκέτι μηδείς, xi. 14; μὴ μηδέ, iii. 20.

18. He uses synonymous or tautological expressions, as in i. 42, ii. 19, 25, iii. 7, 8, iv. 6, 30, 39, 40, v. 12, 19, 23, 33, vi. 55, 56, &c. &c.

19. Mark strengthens expressions by appending their opposites, as in ii. 27, iii. 26, 29, &c. &c.

20. Pleonastic explanations or turns of expression are frequent, including the union of a compound verb with a simple one, i. 29, vi. 1, xiv. 16, 45; or two compounds from the same stem, i. 35, ii. 15, vi. 33; ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐξ, i. 25, 26, and ἔξω, xiv. 68; ἐξήγαγεν ἔξω, viii. 23; ἐκπορεύειν ἔξω, xi. 19; τότε ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ii. 20, &c.; οὗτος οὕτως, ii. 7; οἷα τοιαύτη, xiii. 19; ἧς αὐτῆς, vii. 25; ἐκ παιδιόθεν, ix. 21; ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, v. 6, 8, 13, &c.

21. In transitions εὐθέως is often employed, or εὐθύς which Tischendorf substitutes for it in many cases, i. 18, 21, 31, &c. Luke has the word but eight times, and sometimes employs παραχρῆμα instead.

22. The sentences are loosely connected by καὶ or πάλιν, as καὶ ἔλεγεν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν, καὶ εἰσῆλθε πάλιν, κ. τ. λ.

23. Mark interchanges the descriptive imperfect of narrative style for the historical present. The other evangelists use the aorist instead, or ἰδού, *behold*, i. 12, 40, ii. 3, 5, &c.

24. The following are peculiar to Mark among the synoptists: ἀβλαβῆ, ἀγρεύειν, ἀκάνθινος, ἀλαλάζειν, ἄλαλος, ἀλεκτοροφωνία, ἀμφιβάλλειν, ἄμφοδος, ἁμάρτημα, ἀναθεματίζειν, ἄναλος, ἀναπηδᾶν, ἀναπτενάζειν, ἀποβάλλειν, ἀπόδημος, ἀπιπλανᾶν, ἀποστηγάζειν, ἀσφαλῶς, ἀριμοῦν, αὐτόματος, ἀφρίζειν, ἀφροσύνη, βαπτισμὸς, βυαν-

ἐργήs, γναφεύs, δαμάζειν, διαγίνεσθαι, διασπᾷν, λέγειν ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ, δύσκολος, δωρεῖσθαι, εἰ in swearing, εἰς καθ' εἷς, ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, ἐκπερισσῶς, ἔκφοβος, ἐλαύνειν, ἐλωΐ, ἑλληνίς, ἐναγκαλίζεσθαι, ἐνειλεῖν, ἔννυχον, ἐνταφιασμός, ἑξάπινα, ἑξαυτῆς, ἐξορύττειν, ἐξουδενεῖν, ἐξουδενοῦν, ἐπιβάλλειν neuter, ἐπιλύειν, ἐπιῤῥάπτειν, ἐπισυντρέχειν, ἐσχάτως, εὔκαιρος, εὐκαίρως, εὐσχήμων, ἐφφαθά, ἠδέως, ἤφιεν (i. 34), θαμβεῖν, θαυμάζειν διὰ, θερμαίνεσθαι, θυγάτριον, θωρωρός, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, κακεῖθεν, κακολογεῖν, κατάβα, καταβαρύνειν ?, καταδιώκειν, κατακύπτειν, καταριθέναι, κατευλογεῖν ?, κατοίκησις, κεντυρίων, κεφαλαιοῦν, κοῦμι, κράββατος, ἀπ' ἀρχῆs κτίσεως, κυλίεσθαι, κύπτειν, κωμόπολις, λευκαίνειν, μᾶλλον before a comparative, μεθόρια ?, μελετᾶν, μεγιστᾶνες, μηκύνειν, μισθωτὸς, μογιλάλος, μορφή, μυρίζειν, νάρδος, νουνεχῶs, ξέστης, ἐξηραμμένος, ὁδοποιεῖν, ὁλοκαύτωμα, ὅσπερ, ὅστις interrogative, ix. 11 ?, οὐά, ὄψιος an adjective, παιδιόθεν, πάμπολυς ?, πανταχόθεν, παραβάλλειν, παραδιδόναι neuter, παρόμοιος, περιτρέχειν, πιστικός, πλοιάριον, πρασιά, προαύλιον, προλαμβάνειν, προμεριμνᾶν, προσάββατον ?, προσεγγίζειν ?, προσκαρτερεῖν, προσκεφάλαιον, προσορμίζεσθαι, προσπορεύεσθαι, προστρέχειν, πρύμνα, πτύειν, πυγμῇ, ῥαββουνί, ῥάπισμα, σκάνδαλον, σκώληξ, σμυρνίζειν, σπᾶσθαι, σπεκουλάτωρ, στασιαστής, στιβάς, στίλβειν, συγκαθῆσθαι, συλλυπεῖσθαι, συμπόσιον, συναναβαίνειν, συνθλίβειν, συροφοινίκισσα, σύσσημον, συστασιαστής, ταλιθά, ταραχή, τηλαυγῶs, τρίζειν, τρυμαλιά ?, ὑπερηφάνια, ὑπερπερισσῶs, ὑπολήνιον, ὑστέρησις, χαλκίον, ὥρα meaning hour of the day, ὡτάριον.*

On the whole, the diction of Mark possesses a more Aramaic colouring than Luke's, and approaches nearer that of St. Matthew; for while he has forty-five words in common with the latter, he has only eighteen with the former.

X. *Quotations from the Old Testament.*

i. 2, 3	Malachi iii. 1; Isaiah xl. 3.
ii. 25, 26	1 Sam. xxi. 6.
iv. 12	Isaiah vi. 9.
vii. 6, 7	Isaiah xxix. 13.
vii. 10	Exodus xx. 12, xxi. 17.
ix. 44	Isaiah lxvi. 24.
x. 6	Genesis i. 27.
x. 7, 8	Genesis ii. 24.
x. 19	Exodus xx. 12—15.
xi. 9	Psalm cxviii. 25, 26.
xi. 17	Isaiah lvi. 7; Jerem. vii. 11.
xii. 10, 11	Psalm cxviii. 22, 23.

* See Zeller's Theologische Jahrbücher, Vol. II. p. 448, et seq.

xii. 19.....Deut. xxv. 5.
xii. 26.....Exodus iii. 6.
xii. 29, 30 .....Deut. vi. 4.
xii. 31.....Levit. xix. 18.
xii. 36.....Psalm cx. 1.
xiii. 14 .....Daniel ix. 27.
xiv. 27 .....Zechariah xiii. 7.

General references are in the following:

i. 44 .....Levit. xiv. 2.
x. 4 .....Deut. xxiv. 1.
xiii. 24 .....Isaiah xiii. 10.
xiv. 62 .....Daniel vii. 13.
xv. 34.....Psalm xxii. 1.

Seventeen of these quotations are common to Matthew and Mark, ten of which agree verbally. Four differ but little, viz. Mark vii. 10 = Matt. xv. 4; Mark x. 7, 8 = Matt. xix. 5; Mark xii. 29, 30 = Matt. xxii. 37; Mark xv. 34 = Matt. xxvii. 46. Three differ considerably—Mark iv. 12 = Matt. xiii. 14, 15; Mark x. 19 = Matt. xix. 18, 19; Mark xii. 19 = Matt. xxii. 24. The evangelist's citations are all context ones, to speak after the rule of Bleek; i.e. they are not made by himself, but form portions of his narrative, and occur either in Christ's words or the words of persons addressing him. They are, therefore, from the LXX. Ch. i. 2 is from the Hebrew, which corresponds to the canon of Bleek. But i. 3 is from the Greek, which is against it. There is a difficulty in the quotation or quotations in i. 2, 3, that prevents the critic from speaking confidently, because the one is from Malachi iii. 1, though introduced by "written in Isaiah the prophet;" and the other from Isaiah xl. 3. But the former citation is also in Matthew xi. 10, and Luke vii. 27, whence Mark may have taken it, inserting "the prophet Isaiah" by mistake. As to the interpretation, we do not approve of Lachmann's long parenthesis from *as it is written* to *his paths* inclusive, because it is unwarranted to say that "John was the beginning of the gospel." The first verse is an independent sentence, meaning "the beginning of the gospel history of Jesus Christ the Son of God."

SAMUEL DAVIDSON.

IV.—MORALITY AND CREEDS.

It can scarcely be supposed that any human being has ever attempted, or even wished, to accomplish so hopeless a task as the destruction of all creeds. A creed is neither more nor less than the verbal expression of a belief. Some belief or other—which is also of course capable of verbal expression—is at the root of all action and of all abstinence from action. To do nothing is the effect of believing that no one course of conduct is better than another; and even to destroy a creed is the effect of believing some other truth or set of truths which that creed is supposed to contradict. A *universal* scepticism is wholly impossible, because it implies at any rate that there is no doubt whatever about the uncertainty of all things.

The creeds of the Christian church are no doubt exceedingly complex, containing, in fact, some relics of almost all philosophies and almost all religions; but, after all, the great wonder is, not that Christian people believe so much, but that, compared with what they affirm, they believe so little. How much they do believe is determined by their actions; and so tested, the creed of Christendom too often sinks into very insignificant proportions. To what, for instance, does the belief in the efficacy of prayer really amount? The majority of Christian people profess to believe that prayer can somehow direct even the operations of Almighty God; and produce effects, not only on the human spirit, but even on external nature, which would not otherwise have been produced. Thus they imagine that they can bring about the conversion of a sinner or the cure of a disease—cholera, for instance, or cattle plague. At "revival" prayer-meetings letters are read imploring the prayers of the congregation for the salvation of individuals separately named; and archbishops, having first duly ascertained that an epidemic is the expression of the direct will of God, compose forms of prayer to be read in all churches for the purpose of bringing the epidemic to an end. Even the Orphans' Home near Bristol, under the management of Mr. Müller—an institution upon whose prosperity the happiness, and one might almost say the lives, of hundreds of innocent children depend—is said to be supported entirely by the

believing prayers of its managers. But in spite of such examples of belief, or apparent belief, in the common doctrine of the efficacy of prayer, there is scarcely anybody who has really sufficient belief in it to make it the guiding principle of his life. The Orphan Home at Bristol is simply the best advertised institution in all England; that is to say, it is advertised in the best possible way, namely, by the disavowal of all advertisements. It appeals also to that great host of Christian people who, feeling that faith is dying out of their own hearts, are more thankful than words can express to find in somebody else a kind of vicarious believer; and they feel under a sort of personal obligation to Mr. Müller for shewing them that their own vanishing creed is still capable of being realized. But even in Bristol prayer limps very slowly after the necessities of men and the supposed promises of God. It can, indeed, provide the funds for buying meat, but why not also provide *for the butchers* without compelling them to kill meat at all? And above all, though it can provide education and a home for orphan children, why can it not prevent their orphanhood? There is no reason whatever to suspect that there is any taint of fraud in the management of the Orphan House at Bristol; but every one of the miracles which constitute its history can be explained by the natural operation of the commonest causes.

Meanwhile, people believe, not according to their theory of prayer, but according to their experience of what prayer really is. They often ask God for certain gifts, but they never expect to receive them. Indeed, when it is plainly put to them, they would distinctly refuse to ask God for any one specific gift, if they were quite certain that *at all events*, whether good for them or not, God would give it to them. A very large portion both of private and public prayer is wholly baseless; and the only wonder is that withered leaves can hang so long after the vital sap has ceased to flow into them. But prayer does most certainly unburden the heart; helps men to realize the actual presence of a living God; expresses at once confidence in His wisdom and trust in the gentleness of His power; it is the very utterance of the spirit of adoption,—nay, the very voice of God Himself in the heart of His children.

To destroy one form of belief concerning prayer could

only be the effect of the over-mastering power of some other belief; and the changed creed, while possibly leaving a mass of liturgies to perish, would strengthen all that is true and vital in prayer itself.

The common theory of the efficacy of prayer is but one example of the way in which many different creeds may all lie together under the same covering; and almost any Christian doctrine would have furnished an equally good example. But the fact to be noted is, that there is some positive belief at the root of all true life; that no worthy action can be the fruit of mere denials; that even sincere denial itself is but another form of equally sincere affirmation. A man without a creed must assuredly be either without intellect or without honesty, or at best a man limp and strengthless.

It is, indeed, notorious that the most earnest men, even though they have been the broadest-minded and most charitable, have been most fully persuaded in their own minds. And why not? It is those who doubt the force of truth, not those who believe it, who feel bound to persecute. Those who best know the great advantage of search, inquiry, controversy, contradiction,—who know how well it is that they should be questioned over and over again, especially on those subjects which are most surely believed by them,—these are the very last people in the world either to forbid inquiry or unduly to precipitate its result. But the fact that they have had to seek far and long; that they have questioned others and been questioned themselves; that they have subjected their belief to every test that they knew how to apply;—this has given them a more sure conviction of the truth of all that which nothing has been able to shake. Often, therefore, they are at once the most dogmatic and the most liberal of men; the most confident of the truth of their own, and the most tolerant of everybody else's creed. Moreover, inasmuch as belief always has relation to action, it will very often happen that the only test of the truth of a creed will be its practical application. Often, therefore, even to those about whose error we have no sort of doubt, we have nothing more to say than this: "We cannot prove that you are wrong; you must try for yourself; the end of your thinking must be the beginning of your doing; if your creed is true, you are sure

to find that it will work; and if you cannot live by it, you may be quite sure that it is not true."

While, therefore, there are many creeds in Christendom, and, above all, many ways of imposing creeds upon others which outrage morality, the destruction of all creeds would be a far grosser outrage still. The flippancy that makes a boast of having no belief is perhaps the most dangerous, though far from being the most disreputable, kind of dishonesty. It is possible, indeed, to arrive at the conclusion that the knowledge of God—even the knowledge that there is a God—is beyond the reach of the human faculties; but those who unhappily have arrived at this conclusion are very rarely of the flippant sort. Even that belief, however, obviously demands the widest tolerance, and is wholly incompatible with any sort of denial in the region of theology. If a man knows *nothing whatever* about God, he can no more deny "the Trinity" than he can affirm the Unity. He may, indeed, repel all attacks upon himself, and calmly demonstrate, at least to his own satisfaction, the purely hypothetical basis of every theology. But after all, and in every case, his worst judgment must be that a proposition is "not proven." Unhappily, the mass of unbelievers are not philosophers nor even men of science; they are the sort of people who tell us that there is so much difference of opinion that they do not know who is right and who is wrong; they cannot choose among innumerable contradictory creeds; they have no time for solving difficult problems in history; they know nothing about the canons of literary criticism; least of all have they cared to trouble themselves with the subtle mysteries of metaphysics. They will therefore wait, doing meanwhile nothing; they will join no church, take their part in no religious service, conform to no rules of godly discipline. When anybody brings to them a convincing truth, they will act accordingly.

It can scarcely be doubted that this state of mind is just now exceedingly common; and for very obvious reasons. This is a time of transition; old faiths are breaking up, new faiths are forming. But neither has the old gone nor the new come. There is, indeed, a temporary reaction—and a very strong reaction too—in favour of authority as against liberty. Doctrinal tests are springing up where we had every right to believe that they had been for ever extirpated.

Orthodoxy, even among the Dissenting sects, is seeking protection more and more in the Court of Chancery. In the Established Church, the very name Protestant is boldly repudiated; and large numbers of persons, not caring to stroll for ever along a *via media* leading no-whither, have returned to the old Roman fold and submitted themselves to a Church which at any rate claims infallibility and authority. But to thoughtful minds, even the very violence of this reaction may not unreasonably appear a symptom of unsettled conviction. Vehement assertion is the result equally of a strong faith and of a weak faith; and, if we may be guided by history, we shall perhaps conclude that the assertion is loudest where the faith is weakest. It is at any rate impossible to doubt that there is just now in England an enormous amount, not so much of disbelief, as of unbelief. The spread of the Positive philosophy has severed from almost every form of Christian faith a very large section of the men of science. But far more the schisms that have arisen in the Established Church, the increase in the number of the sects, the full discussion of even the gravest theological and ecclesiastical questions in the courts of law, endless newspaper criticisms, and an enormous energy expended on making proselytes,—all this has broken up for ever the fond imagination that there is but one true church, and an orthodox doctrine which has been believed everywhere and always and by all. There is not a creed in England which in one part or another is not flatly contradicted by an enormous majority of Englishmen.

It is therefore necessary to call attention to the immorality of being without a creed, even though for awhile our creed may be no more than this—"I believe that I must seek for truth until I find it." The existence of very many doctrinal formularies is not only compatible with the grossest ignorance of theology, but is a producing cause of that ignorance. Meanwhile, at any rate, the ignorance exists; and hosts of Christian people imagine that they are treated very hardly when they are questioned about their belief, and asked to express their faith in plain English. "They know what they mean, but they can't exactly say." Moreover, is not religion confessedly mysterious? "If I could *understand* my religion," one often hears people say—and not without a glimmer of truth, too—"it would cease to be a religion

for me; I should have passed beyond it, and included it in myself as the smaller in the greater." Expressed in the more pretentious language of a dominant philosophy, this abdication of the highest rights of man takes the form of a denial that we can know "the Infinite." Except as a kind of mental gymnastic, few controversies have been more fruitless, at least in its application to theology, than the controversy on "the unconditioned." If we cannot know a thing at all without knowing the whole of it, through the whole reach of its being, it is quite certain that we are as incapable of knowing man as we are of knowing God. Even the name *animal*, apart from rationality, connotes properties and phenomena and laws of their co-existence and succession so innumerable and obscure, that mere animal life passes knowledge. But whether expressed in the language of philosophers or in the language of common people, the mystery of theology, including even the infinity of God, is quite compatible, not only with a reasonable belief, but also with an intelligible creed.

But a mystery is one thing, and an absurdity is another; and it is by no means allowable to rush into all manner of irrational folly, and shirk inquiry by the plea of mystery. Least of all are we excused from clearness of thought and definiteness of expression in that region of theology which lies on the bright side of mystery. *Something* must be plain, and in fact *the greater part* must be plain, to justify our partial and provisional acceptance of what is not plain. Ignorance and uncertainty are far too dense a medium for the life of the human spirit; we escape from them as soon as we can, just as we escape from darkness or stifling vapours. If, indeed, we delay our escape too long, our faculties themselves become benumbed as by the poison of a narcotic gas. So far as it goes, then, our creed must be simple and intelligible; expressing what we actually *do* believe, and not merely suggesting what, under totally different conditions of thought and life, we *might* believe. But because we might with other faculties and in another world have a larger knowledge, and therefore a larger belief, finding expression in a more comprehensive creed, hosts of good people disregard the necessity, and fail to perceive the duty, of ascertaining *how much exactly* they know *now*, and what is its fitting relation to their ordinary conduct. They forget

that while *the whole of a subject* may be too vast for any creed, a very small creed may often express with the utmost completeness *the whole of what we know about it.*

Plainly enough, the first teachers of Christianity believed that what they taught was intelligible, and even easily intelligible. It was not the mystery of the lesson, but the prejudices of the learners, which they expected would retard the progress of Christ's religion. The *flesh*, and not the intellect, was their worst foe. The apostles, however, are scarcely laid in their graves before we find the faith a mystery and baptism an initiation, with a *disciplina arcani*, and a long period of catechetical instruction. The truth is to be *concealed*, not made known,—the real fruit of the nut being hidden by a thick shell of pious artifice. The true wisdom was not for all, but only for the perfect. The nature of God, the glory of the Word, the redemption from sin, the true human life, this was to be explained, not to every human being on the ground that he needed it, but to a select few on the ground that they could be trusted with it. Hence, almost from the beginning, everything most real and of deepest practical importance in the Christian truth, was enveloped in a cloud of mystery, a cloud that has never been dispersed. The nature and the purpose of truth were so habitually misrepresented that they were speedily forgotten; and instead of learning the truth in order that they might be made good and free, men were taught that they must first become good and free in order that they might be worthy to receive the precious gift of truth. The creed was the reward of piety, not the rule of life; and so quite easily "the faithful" began to regard it as a mystic symbol of superiority, even as a charm that might be muttered like any other incantation; above all, as far too sacred to be examined and understood.

And into this inheritance of mystery and unreality we also have come; and only by a revolution which is not always admitted even yet to have given us "belligerent rights," have we won the liberty to understand in order that we may believe. Yet it is not too much to say that of all this mystery, this glory of incomprehensibleness, this profanity of clear thought and definite expression, there is not the faintest trace in the apostolic writings. So far from supposing that no human language was capable of express-

ing divine truth, St. Paul believed no human language to be *in*capable of expressing it. The objections of men to the doctrine of Christ—that it was to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness—was the very reason for his urging it upon their acceptance with the utmost earnestness of persuasion and force of logic and clearness of illustration. He seems never to have dreamed that what to him were simple facts, level to everybody's understanding and useless till they were understood, would in after ages become bewildering puzzles to be believed without being known. When he said that "we behold God's glory in the face of Jesus Christ," he was plainly speaking of his own experience; affirming, what millions of people have been able to affirm since, that he himself really had so seen the glory of God. How little he thought that Jesus Christ was "*veiling* the Godhead," and giving us the stones of metaphysical abstraction—trinity, unity, substance, person, divinity, humanity—instead of the bread of life which comes down from heaven! How hard, again, would it have been for the evangelist who told of the woman who was a sinner and loved much, bathing the Saviour's feet with tears and wiping them with the hairs of her head—how much harder for the woman herself—to realize that we may not really, cannot acceptably, approach him until we have perceived and confessed that "he is God and man, yet not two, but one Christ"! And yet the belief of the first disciples was, at least, as strong as ours, as fruitful of noble, gentle deeds, as capable of simple verbal expression.

If we have really no creed, it must be because we have no belief, or because we hold our belief loosely, carelessly, unwisely. The springs of action should be guarded with all diligence; and the man has no true estimate of his own personal responsibility, or of the complicated difficulties of life and its need of safeguards, who does not examine and test and bring out into the clearest light the facts and principles upon which his whole life is founded.

How, then, should we set about constructing our creed, or, which is the very same thing, putting into words *what we really do believe* concerning God and our relations to Him, and all that results from those relations? For it is plainly necessary that we should *construct* our creed, not merely accept it from somebody else, or too hastily sign our

name to some existing formulary. The one foremost condition, *sine qua non*, of the moral worth or even innocence of a creed is, that it shall be sincere. Many formularies may express what other people think we might, could, would or should believe; but that is not the question. We may need their aid hereafter in seeking for truth; but, to begin with, "know thyself." There is only too little probability that we shall be too original, too independent of what other people believe or expect us to believe.

Let us suppose, then, that a stranger gets hold of us some Sunday night as we are coming out of a church or chapel, and begins a dialogue of this sort.

He. Excuse my taking the liberty of asking you, but what is that place you have just come from? It seems a sort of place meant for the public; at least, I noticed crowds of people coming out. And yet I'm so stupidly shy, that I never like going even into a public place without knowing just a little about it.

I. Why, my dear sir, you need never hesitate to go into a place of that sort; everybody is welcome there; that's a church.

He. A church! thank you; but I'm really as much at sea as ever. Would you mind telling me what a church is?

I. A church—why a church is ——. Really, sir, you quite surprise me. I could scarcely have believed that any one did not know what a church is.

He. Unfortunately, there are only too many things that I know nothing whatever about; but *you* know all about a church, don't you? so if it is not troubling you too much ——

I. Well, really, my good sir, you are quite a stranger to me, and discussion on these matters is not exactly in my way; if you will just step inside and ask the beadle, you will get every information you want.

He. The beadle! but do you then mean that you won't tell me what that place is for—what the people do who go there in such crowds—and why it is I should be so very welcome if I went there myself?

I. Oh dear, no! Pardon me; I don't at all mean to be uncivil; but it's really such an odd question. That's a church, and people go there to worship God, to say prayers, and hear a sermon; and all that sort of thing.

He. To worship God; what is that?

I. Why, worshipping God,—why, we say prayers, and we sing, and there's the sacrament, and ——

He. Ah! yes; is your God very fond of singing? Who told you that He liked that sort of thing? And, by the way, what God is it that people sing for in that church?

I. What God? why *God* of course. How many Gods do you think there are?

He. Don't be angry with me, my dear sir; if you only knew what a horrible muddle I've got into, you would be only too glad to help me out. I *used* to think there was only one God; but not long ago I was passing a place not much unlike this, and over the doorway was written in large letters, "Trinity Chapel." The people were just coming out, and I got hold of the most goodnatured-looking man I could see, and I said to him, "Would you mind telling me what place this is?" "Oh! yes," he said; "this is a chapel." "Yes, so I see," I said; "but (pointing to the big letters over the door) '*Trinity* Chapel,'—what's *Trinity* Chapel?" He looked almost as surprised when I asked him this question as you did a minute ago; and he said to me very kindly—indeed, he was evidently very sorry for me—"We call this 'Trinity Chapel,' my friend, because in these days that great mystery of our religion, the Trinity, is denied even by many who call themselves Christians." "I'm afraid I'm troubling you," I said; "and yet you will not object, I am sure, to tell me what you know on a matter which seems to you so important. I scarcely like to ask you the question, you will think me so dreadfully ignorant—but what *is* the Trinity?" He looked more sorry for me than I can tell you, and then he went on in the kindest possible way to answer my question. "We mean by the Trinity," he said, "the three Persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost." "And is each of these three, then, God?" I asked. "Yes," he answered; "co-eternal, equal in power and glory, three Persons in one God." I was rather bewildered; so much so, in fact, that I didn't like to ask him anything more. But I was very far from understanding what he said to me; and at any rate that's what made me ask you which God you worshipped.

I. Well, my dear sir, of course we worship the Trinity.

He. I'm uncommonly glad to hear it, because I can ask

you the questions that occurred to me the very moment I parted from that other gentleman. I didn't quite understand whether he worshipped three Gods or only one, or one superior God and three inferior Gods.

I. Oh dear, no; we don't worship three Gods, only one. But when we say *one* God, we don't mean exactly the same as when we say *one* man. God is one, but then he is also three—three Persons, but one Substance.

He. Now that seems uncommonly easy to you, my dear friend; these terms are quite familiar to you; but would you mind explaining to me the word *Person?*

But why continue a dialogue of this sort? Anything may set us upon constructing a creed; any accident may compel us to put into our own words what until that time we had been in the habit of expressing in other people's words. And whenever this happens, we are almost certain to find ourselves most baffled by what we had all along considered most simple. People, for instance, who are in the habit of using the words, Trinity, Person, Substance, Godhead, are quite certain in their own minds that these words have a definite meaning; and yet almost a single question may convince them that, instead of knowing the meaning, they have been simply contenting themselves with regarding the whole subject as an inexplicable mystery. A man honestly examining himself will be compelled to translate the technical terms of theology into the common language of everyday life. It matters nothing to him that the terms Person and Substance are relics of an old philosophy in which they were once significant. The question for him will be, not what used to be significant *centuries ago*, nor yet what is significant now *to other people;* but "will such and such words express, as nearly as I am able to express it, what I myself do at this moment believe?"

The search for our real belief will first of all be made in the region of our ordinary religious actions. Why do I worship God? How do I know there is any God? What do I really believe about His character? What relation does He sustain to me; and is it a relation only between God and me, or between God and *man?* How much of the language I have been continually using do I *know* to be true? Why do I pray, and what really comes of prayer?

Why do I call myself a Christian; and wherein does Christ's religion differ from every other? The man who has never asked himself some such questions as these and obtained an answer to them, is little better, when "rehearsing the articles of his belief," than a parrot; and yet, simple as they are, and close as they lie to the foundation of a godly life, they are only too often unasked. It is in this way that the ordinary creeds are a producing cause of ignorance in theology; they cheat us into the belief that we know what we have never realized, nor even made a distinct object of thought.

It would be well for every man, avoiding the express words of any existing formulary, *to write down* in his own words what he really believes. He would find, likely enough, that his creed was very meagre; and yet there would be a consolation in the fact that it would be far less exclusive than the elaborate formularies by which "orthodoxy" is determined. To be damned for not believing the Athanasian Creed, is one thing; to be damned for not believing as much of the Athanasian Creed as we can honestly affirm that we really understand and do certainly know to be true, is an exceedingly different thing. But what will our own creed, full or meagre, really be? It will be the expression of our belief at one particular moment, *and it will be nothing more.* It will have no special sanctity, no necessary truth; its value will be almost exclusively personal and, in a manner, autobiographical. Other people will care little whether my creed expresses my belief; if they care at all on the matter, it will be whether that which I believe is *true;* true for them, therefore, as well as for me.

Our creed, being formed, will remain for some time without re-examination. For its construction we shall have availed ourselves of all the facts and experiences at the time within our reach; we shall, in fact, have exhausted our materials; and the careful examination and accurate expressson of our belief will have strengthened the belief itself. Our conduct, therefore, will probably acquire a greater consistency; it is likely enough that if we try to instruct others, we shall seem to be more dogmatic than we used to be, more dogmatic even than other people are. In fact, we *shall* be far more confident and unhesitating; for we shall be affirming what, after due investigation, we really do believe.

But the dogmatism of a man who has constructed his own creed is essentially tolerant; tolerant of the dissent of other people, because he will find himself compelled to tolerate the dissent of *his own present* from *his own past*. For a creed is not a statement *of the truth*, but only of what the credent *believes to be the truth*. He may be in error; but his creed may nevertheless be true; that is, a true statement of his wrong belief. He may pass from error to truth; and then, unless his creed be changed, it will become false. A creed is a mere landmark, a report of progress up to a certain time. Years afterwards we look back upon it with amazement, wondering what can have so distorted our vision and warped our judgment. And if this be true of the creed of an individual, how much more obviously true must it be of the creed of a church! Such a formulary must report, not the maximum, but the minimum progress; not what all believe, but what none deny. Its validity will be destroyed, not only by the changes in the knowledge and experience of some one credent, but by any of the changes that may take place in all the credents. What twenty people believed yesterday will not be what those twenty people believe to-day, if even one only out of the twenty has changed his mind. Nor is any fact more certain than that the most earnest and impartial inquirers are precisely those who change their minds oftenest—not, indeed, backwards and forwards; there may be steady progress, but progress itself is change.

The Creeds of the Church, especially the Apostles' and the Nicene, are exceedingly valuable materials of the history of doctrines. If everybody who uses them had realized their meaning, had compared them with his own creed, and used them because he found them to correspond with or be equivalent to that creed, they would also be a true and most convenient index of the belief of the present day. As such, they would possess a kind of authority. Indicating what millions of human beings, honestly and impartially contemplating the same subjects, *believe* to be true, they would indicate also what probably *is* true. But when men habitually refuse or neglect to construct a creed of their own, with which the Church creeds may be compared, the *authority* of the Church creeds wholly vanishes. Having, to begin with, no more infallibility than the resolutions of a public

meeting more or less "packed," they can only become anything greater by taking into themselves the consent of independent thinkers. While, therefore, the good they can do is at best inconsiderable, they may easily become demoralizing, and that in the most sacred region of human life.

For suppose a man, having carefully examined his own belief, should not only construct a creed expressive of that belief, but should also pledge himself *never to believe otherwise! This*, indeed, is scarcely possible. A man who has at all carefully examined himself must *know* that he can make no promises about what he will believe in future. But any one who is taught that the Church creeds are the expression of what all people *ought to believe*, and that everybody should use them whether he *does* believe them *or not*, such a person will be bound to fortify his "orthodoxy" by all manner of defences. First of all he must promise *not to examine*. If, anyhow, he is pledged to use a formulary, examination of its fitness for use becomes superfluous. Hence the ignorance of uninquiring orthodoxy. "What do you believe?" "I believe the Creeds." "Why?" "I don't know." Inquiry is highly dangerous. The Roman Church, by a long experience of spiritual despotism, has arrived at the *only* means of securing submission—namely, to forbid all intellectual and spiritual freedom. Nobody can promise never to change his belief *if* he inquires; but anybody can promise to use a certain formulary instead of constructing a creed for himself, and never to inquire into the truth at all. On such terms the unanimous assent of all Christendom would be utterly worthless—except, indeed, as a dreadful proof that all Christendom had become demoralized.

But by far the best safeguard of pre-determined orthodoxy is to surround it with all manner of vested interests, to bind it up with a man's fortune and with his children's bread. An honest man, *being* "orthodox," may unsuspectingly commit himself to some such arrangement; and a dishonest man, intellectually dishonest, capable of selling his spiritual birthright for a mess of pottage, though incapable of stealing spoons, such a man will *be* nothing, and therefore all the more easily *profess* anything. It is, however, no small evil that a premium should be offered to insincerity; and it is a much greater evil that so efficient an instrument should

be devised for perverting sincerity. The manner in which orthodoxy is protected, pecuniarily and by vested interests, is by some form or other of trust-deed, some legal instrument determining the *doctrinal* conditions upon which certain lands and goods shall be enjoyed. The effect of such a deed is well worth considering; and the effect is (at least) threefold—on the congregation, on the trustees, and on the minister.

As to the congregation, the effect of a doctrinal trust-deed is in direct proportion to what may perhaps be called the intellectual conscientiousness of the people. If they care nothing whatever about the truth, one deed will be just as good as another; and possibly no deed whatever would do them any serious injury. At any rate, it would do them no harm until they began to be in earnest; though, on the other hand, it might prevent their ever becoming in earnest. Making use of a church which is vested in trustees for certain purposes without caring to inquire what those purposes are, is a sort of conduct that does not commend itself to a strictly sensitive conscience. It is something like living in a house, not only without paying any rent, but without even ascertaining the name of the landlord or the conditions of the tenancy. Of course in the Church of England, and in other communions where the doctrinal formula, or at least the principal creeds, are included in the liturgy and continually rehearsed, the congregation become, as it were, parties to a contract, and virtually agree that they will not enjoy the privileges of the society with which they are connected, if they should become unable to assent to its doctrinal formularies; but in the Dissenting sects, for the most part, there is no public confession of faith, and the congregations scarcely ever know what it is precisely which they are supposed to believe. It may of course be urged that people pay their pew-rents, and occupy their seats until some one having authority turns them out; and that therefore the whole responsibility rests with the trustees. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that, among Protestants at any rate, Christian people attend churches and chapels not only for the purpose of worshipping God, but also that they may receive instruction. They therefore take it for granted, or have a right to take it for granted, unless they have express notice to the contrary,

that the instruction they receive shall be perfectly free and unbiassed. The ministers of religion are supposed to be well-educated men, of active literary habits, employing a very considerable portion of their long leisure between Sunday and Sunday in such reading and intercourse with others as shall keep them well acquainted with all that is most profoundly interesting to people about them. Above all, they are expected to make themselves familiar, not only with the mere details of any political, moral or spiritual controversy, but far rather with those fundamental principles which the details of a controversy almost always conceal from careless observers. As they themselves expect that other people shall be always open to conviction, always ready to receive truth, however new or strange it may seem to them to be, much more will simple loyalty to truth be expected from themselves. It is wholly impossible that, in an age like this, even what is most surely believed should retain exactly its old place. It may ascend into some higher rank, or it may fall into a lower; but any how its *relative* value is sure to alter. What would be the profound astonishment of a congregation of intelligent people, if they were to discover that the man who is perpetually imploring them to receive new light into their minds, has pledged himself at the mature age of twenty-one never to receive new light into his own! What congregation would endure to listen to a man, if they happened to remember that he had solemnly promised never to teach them anything which should be inconsistent with any proposition out of one or two hundred on the most abstruse and difficult questions in theology and metaphysics? Of course doctrinal trust-deeds are for the most part a dead letter; they only come to life for the purpose of doing mischief; and when the mischief they do becomes intolerable, they are certain to get killed. This, at least, is the very best that can be said of them. But surely there are shams enough in what is called secular life; and though religious people may have very slender pretensions to be considered better than their neighbours, it would be simply fatal to all hope of progress or amendment if religion itself were degraded to the level of its professors. The uncertainty of English law is equally proverbial and disgraceful; and it is exceedingly discreditable either to the honour or the acuteness of our law-makers,

that even the instruments by which property is conveyed can be made so ambiguous that the very purpose of the conveyance can be completely defeated. But the scandal is immeasurably increased when this ambiguity is introduced into religious formularies, and when the status of the men who have to teach honesty and straightforwardness to their fellow-creatures depends upon the cleverness with which a skilful lawyer can drive the familiar "coach-and-six" through an Act of Parliament. It is simply demoralizing that Christian people, in the very region of their religious life, should be bound in law, and much more in honour, by certain conditions, the nature and effect of which they neither know nor care to know.

But if congregations fettered by doctrinal trust-deeds are what one may call passively unfortunate, the trustees themselves, and much more the ministers of religion, so fettered, must often be acutely miserable and perfectly bewildered as to their own duty. When, for example, is a trustee to interfere with the minister or his teaching? It is some time before a very gradual divergence from the legally determined line of orthodoxy becomes apparent. Is the trustee to be perpetually watching for the first step to the right hand or to the left, or is he rather to wait until the heresy of his minister is forced upon his attention? And what if the apparent heresy be apparent only,—be, in fact, another form of the legally determined orthodoxy? Must the trustee be fined the costs of a suit in Chancery, as his reward for the faithful discharge of his duties? or must a minister of religion and a whole congregation be at the mercy of every passing doubt or even personal dislike of the trustee? And when one remembers that the trustee is almost always, to begin with, a member of the congregation meeting in the church of which he is a legal proprietor—when we reflect that he has become a member of that congregation because he believed that its minister was competent to instruct him —while, on the other hand, his duties as trustee imply that he is able and bound to instruct his minister, and even to stop his mouth if he should venture to affirm anything inconsistent with the trust-deed—the "irony of the situation" becomes complete.

As to the minister himself, his situation can scarcely fail to be, excepting perhaps at the very first, either miserable

or dishonourable. The dishonour, indeed, will not be very marked, and will unquestionably involve no social disgrace. It will, in fact, be justified by all the customs of society and even by the letter of the law. But what are ministers of religion for, if they are not to examine and pass judgment upon the customs of society and even the law itself? So, at any rate, the apostles thought. "Whether it be right to obey man rather than God, judge ye; we cannot but speak the things we have seen and heard." A minister of religion might say, "I shall keep my place here until I am turned out. I may safely take it for granted that I am legally right until somebody proves that I am wrong. The trust-deed determines not my duties, but the duties of the trustees. When they interfere, I shall be of course compelled to protect myself as far as the law allows; and they must at any rate submit to the annoyance and expense of legal proceedings before they can remove me." This may be very good in law, but what shall we say of it in morality? When a minister of religion retains a position, with its pecuniary and other advantages, in direct opposition to what he well knows are the intentions of those who have the legal right to appoint him—if he holds his place for the purpose of doing what he knows they appointed him to prevent, and to perpetuate what he knows they appointed him to destroy—wherein is he morally better than a man who keeps wrongful possession of a house after his term of years has expired, and in direct opposition to the will of his landlord, simply because he knows that his landlord is not likely to be able to afford the cost and vexation of ejecting him? But if, on the other hand, the minister fettered by a trust-deed should be sensitively honourable, his position will be one of acute and incessant misery. He will feel, or at any rate he very easily may feel, that every penny he receives from his congregation, if he departs even by a single hair's-breadth from the legally determined orthodoxy, is, in plain English, stolen. If he be an honest man, with an active mind, and keeping himself as much as may be on the level of the literature of the day, he will know perfectly well that every new thought and every new book will bring him into the utmost peril. If, indeed, the schedule of doctrines in his trust-deed were simply his own creed—that is to say, a provisional statement of what at a given time he believed,

subject of course to revision and alteration as his belief might change—then he would feel at liberty to interpret such an instrument as a mere fragment of autobiography. But he will know full well that a legal instrument must *have* a definite meaning, whether that meaning has been ascertained or not; and he will know also that his conduct must be determined by what the meaning *really is*, and not by what he would like it to be. He will therefore in all likelihood be morbidly anxious to ascertain its meaning. He will very likely, knowing how many temptations he has to decide hastily in his own favour, hurry away into the other extreme, and decide with equal unfairness against himself. When he has determined what his trust-deed means, it will haunt him perpetually; every new view of truth will dreadfully bewilder him, until he has ascertained that it is not inconsistent with the formularies to which he has already pledged himself. Possibly he may be for a short time in doubt; for a mere moment his old belief may be shaken, and he may be uncertain what will be the issue of fresh inquiry. He will not be out of harmony with his formularies, but he will be afraid that he is no longer *in* harmony with them. Meanwhile, what is he to do? The formularies themselves admit of no compromise or delay; they have a positive as well as a negative significance. Is a minister of religion, then, to resign his position every time the shadow of a doubt crosses his mind—every time he finds himself, not indeed able to deny, but unable heartily to affirm, the whole of that to which he has pledged himself? No doubt a man haunted by such scruples might be ridiculously weak-minded; but it is hard to see how he could get more "strength" without at the same time losing something of his honesty.

All this may well be regarded as the mere alphabet of the morality of creeds, and it might reasonably have been supposed that the necessity for repeating these truisms had passed away for ever. If it has, so much the better; and as to this repetition of the old lesson, one may say, "To me, indeed, it is not grievous, and for you it is safe." If, on the other hand, the necessity for the old truth be still as great as ever—if, indeed, it has become for a while greater than it once was—perhaps this repetition of what everybody knows may not be wholly useless.

WILLIAM KIRKUS.

V.—THE ORGANIZATION OF CHARITY.

1. *Social Duties considered with reference to the Organization of Effort in Works of Benevolence and Public Utility.* By a Man of Business. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.
2. *London Pauperism amongst Jews and Christians: an Inquiry into the Principles and Practice of Out-door Relief in the Metropolis.* By J. H. Stallard, M.B. Lond., &c. London: Saunders, Otley and Co. 1867.

THE charities of England stop at a very unfortunate point. They are insufficient effectually to cure, or even to relieve, the sufferings of a vast number of poor. They are sufficient to encourage improvidence, and to create in the minds of the lower class the habit of dependence. We neither deal with want and sickness in such thorough fashion as should stop the plague of pauperism and heal disease as securely as human means are competent to do; nor yet do we leave idleness and intemperance and improvidence to bring their own salutary punishment, and sickness to form a bond of kindness between members of an afflicted family. Our Poor Laws in many of their workings perpetuate and even create hereditary pauperism. They bring up children degraded by the pauper brand. They allow the innocent to be morally contaminated by those who follow their parents for months into haunts of vice. They dole out just so much out-door relief as tempts widows to bring up their families with insufficient nourishment to give them vigour for labour. They leave their sick with such low medical aid, such stint of drugs, such want of nursing and all appliances of recovery, that the disease of a month frequently becomes the illness of a year, and the source of incapacitating weakness for the remainder of life. They accustom the whole labouring class to look on the workhouse as the legitimate and rightful asylum of old age, which it is rather a special favour to escape than a special disgrace to accept. And while our Poor Laws act thus perversely, our Voluntary Charities hardly do better. There are just enough hospitals to lead all the poorer classes to expect to be cared for gratuitously when sick, and to make them deem it useless to lay up provision for such an event, and a hardship to be called on to nurse their own parents, brothers or children. But there are not enough

hospitals,—general hospitals, hospitals for incurables, or hospitals for convalescents,—to meet the necessities of even half the persons who have been tempted into relying on such aid. As to our private charity, with its indiscriminate street-almsgiving, its intrusive district-visiting and tract-distributing, its perpetual inventions of new schemes for clothing, housing, feeding, teaching and amusing the poor, as if they were so many children,—what is it all but a huge blundering effort of goodwill, whereby results of a most mixed description are produced, physical relief going almost invariably hand in hand with some degree of moral deterioration, and imposture and hypocrisy being set at a premium, even while portentous real misery is left untouched and unknown? Truly, could we forget the benefit it brings to the hearts of the givers (and, we must also hope, in a measure to the hearts of the receivers), the charity of England is a matter of very mixed advantage. He who should maintain that, so far as the poor are concerned, it would be better that half of it were done away with, would have no lack of good argument on his side. Certain it is that the towns and parishes where the greatest multiplication of charities exist, where there are almshouses and widows' houses and asylums, and funds for Christmas distributions, and coal and blanket gifts, and lying-in charities, and over them all a wealthy Lady Bountiful, or a tribe of busy and rival district visitors,—in these localities there is actually more of want, as well as tenfold more of demoralization, than in the places which enjoy "a little wholesome neglect."

Are we, then, in view of this disheartening picture, to commence a crusade against public and private charities, and shut up our hearts and snap our porte-monnaies in the face of destitution? The idea would be at once wicked and absurd. What we have got to do, what *must* sooner or later be done, is to find out how to treat the evils of poverty scientifically, and then abolish as rapidly as possible all past mistakes. We must learn how not to keep on that track of the "smallest utility combined with the greatest demoralization," whereon we have hitherto cheerfully proceeded. We must learn not to *meddle* with pauperism unless to *cure* it.

One clear task lies before us. It is the extirpation of Regular Pauperism, of the hereditary and permanent class of

men, women and children, dependent on charity. Few can doubt that, if we applied the proper machinery, the work would be within the power of the freest and wealthiest of nations. Occasional want, accidental poverty, we must for ever expect to see; but a Pauper Class ought to be abolished with all the vigour of a national resolution. That a Christian community has accepted the existence of such a class as inevitable, while the Jews dwelling in their midst have already wiped out the blot,* is a disgrace for which we may perhaps thank the mediæval theory of society,—the belief, still latent amongst us, that poverty is a *natural* condition of existence here below, and that it leads, either by its intrinsic meritoriousness or through the virtues it engenders, to a special portion of beatitude hereafter. Not yet has even Protestant England half recognized the opposite truth, that pauperism is the offspring of one class of sins and the prolific parent of another. If in old time the Kingdom of Heaven were more easily attained from a Syrian peasant's tent than from a Sadducee's palace, it is at all events in these days far harder to reach from the crowded dens of a London lodging-house than from a home of decency and competence.

Let us clearly face the matter. There are poor whom we must have "always with us." There are other poor who ought not to exist as such for a day in a civilized land. The poor whose presence must be perpetual are the Incapables and those whom accident or disease have deprived of the means of gaining a livelihood. The poor who ought not to be poor are those who are perfectly capable by nature of earning their bread and taking their independent place in the community, but who fail to do so from some artificial obstacle or from vice. Each class deserves a moment's consideration here.

The Incapables are the burden of the world, the deadweight which, under every amended mechanism, must still attach to the wheels of human society. We are not speaking specially of the deformed, the lame, the deaf or the blind. Many of these, even in our imperfect state of civilization, are no burdens at all, but benefactors of the community; and in a more perfect order of things would probably

* See Dr. Stallard's *London Pauperism*, of which we shall speak hereafter.

all find a task in the great workshop of life. But the Incapable of whom we speak may possess or lose all the bodily faculties, while his incapacity remains very much the same. He is not enough madman or idiot to be shut up in an asylum; but he is silly, weak, timid, or else stupid, dogged, rash, in a degree which renders him unable to keep his place in the jostling thoroughfares of western life. He slips down, or is thrown down, into the mire, not because his neighbours are cruel, but because, in pushing their own way, they push him over. If he belong to the wealthier classes, he is perhaps again and again picked up by friends and relatives and set on his feet, only to make, after brief interval, a new bankruptcy of purse or reputation. Or if he be enrolled in some such stern organization as that of the army or one of the Romish religious orders, he may be kept up by the pressure of the compact body in which he stands. But if, on the other hand, the hapless Incapable belong to the humbler ranks, and be left at large in the midst of a modern English town, then there is absolutely no hope of escape. He *must*, sooner or later, become dependent on public charity. Especially does all this refer to women. The number of female incapables wandering helplessly about the world is something incredible to those who have not attempted to help such Societies as the excellent one for the Employment of Women. Of course the wretched education of ordinary middle-class women, and their reluctance to engage in the sole occupations (videlicet, menial ones) wherein they have any chance of success, add to their inevitable misery. That "sweet dependence" of spirit, that feebleness of body and vacillation of will, which seem so charming when belonging to youth and beauty,—no language can tell how pitiful they are when witnessed in a score of poor old penniless ladies, all craving for employment to keep them out of the workhouse, and all equally incapable of performing any one office of utility to the community! These are, indeed, "poor who will be with us," at least till woman's condition be altogether altered. For them, assuredly, all compassion is demanded.

Secondly, it is obvious that accidents of fire and flood, commercial failures, disease and such causes, may always be expected to reduce a certain number of persons from competence to destitution. Little can be done to prevent such

disasters, and all rules of charity demand they should be met by prompt assistance. Thus the naturally Incapable and the accidentally Incapacitated form two classses of poor who will be "always with us." They bear, in truth, to Regular Pauperism the relation which mischievous fools, and men and women suddenly tempted to rob or murder, bear to regular crime. Good legislation ought to be strong enough to eradicate both Regular Pauperism and Regular Crime, but must necessarily fail to reach Accidental Pauperism and Occasional Crime. A permanent class of paupers, a permanent class of thieves, ought to be things unheard-of in our land. They are as disgraceful in our jails and workhouses as scurvy in our ships.

The author of the very excellent treatise on *Social Duties* devotes all his work, except the last chapter, to the part which belongs to Voluntary Charity in the systematic treatment of poverty. Hitherto the volunteers of the noble army of philanthropists have invaded the territories of misery without much order or discipline. They have rushed, singly or in small bands, hither and thither over a half-explored region, now leaving whole districts unvisited, now beating over the same ground a dozen times, and yet again running foul of one another. It is for every reason imperative that this irregular warfare should give place to orderly and well-combined efforts, and that some general plan of attack should be resolved on and carried out.

Mr. Rathbone* begins by remarking that the changes of modern habits have revolutionized the relations of rich and poor, and rendered a wholly new system of assistance for the latter indispensable. Employers are now *locally* separated from the employed to an extent never paralleled in former times. English Dives in Belgravia or Bayswater, and English Lazarus in Spitalfields or Bethnal Green, have a "great gulf" fixed between them; and though ten thousand carts, cabs, carriages and omnibuses pass backwards and forwards over it all day long, the severance between Gehenna and Abraham's bosom was not more complete, so far as the interchange of

* Mr. Wm. Rathbone, Jun., has not put his name on the title-page of his book, but states in a preliminary note that he is "responsible for the facts and opinions stated" therein, though he has accepted assistance in preparing the work for the press.

kindly offices is concerned. Lazarus cannot lie at Dives' gate, and Dives, not seeing him there, sends him no crumbs and goes his way with a clear conscience. This separation of local habitation, of mode of life, of entire existence, in short, is bad physically for Lazarus, bad morally for Dives, and generally injurious to the whole community. How is it to be remedied? Everything is tending to increase the gulf—nothing to narrow it. Nobles will never again dine with their retainers, nor merchants live over their warehouses in the midst of their clerks. The streets and squares appropriated to the rich are built further and further away from the habitations of the poor. Will the existing charitable institutions of England effect a re-union? There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of such institutions. We are accustomed to speak of them as magnificent. But, after all, they leave much undone which imperatively needs to be done; and this multifarious subscribing and almsgiving hardly fills up a chink of the gulf we are speaking of between rich and poor. Like the old one in the Roman Forum, it yawns wider and wider while gold and silver are thrown into it. Something of more precious sort, even human life and devotion, is needed.

Briefly, the charities of England are of three orders, and none of them are perfect. There are, first, the State Charities or Poor Laws, whose defects are familiar to us all. Second, Voluntary Public Charities, which deal with the sufferings of the poor *en masse* in hospitals, almshouses, blind, deaf, idiot and orphan asylums, &c. These are, indeed, on an enormous scale, but yet inadequate to the demands upon them; the incurables, convalescents, and many other distressed persons having no provision, or none adequate, for their needs. Third, Voluntary Private Charities. These are the most valuable of all, yet beset with greater difficulties than any. Mr. Rathbone's book aims mainly at removing such difficulties, and pointing to the introduction of a method by which all the good of direct personal intercourse between giver and receiver may be retained, and the evil of continual mistakes, ignorance, over-doing in one quarter and neglect in another, may be obviated. This method, in one important department (that of nursing), has been for some time in action in Liverpool on a sufficient scale to test its soundness; and we may, therefore, follow Mr. Rath-

bone in his remarks, not as a mere theorist, but as a man who gives us the result of his practical experience. Every page of his book is so full of valuable observations, that it is hard to select those which are most needful to convey his full meaning. We must endeavour, however, to condense some of the specially important passages in the chapter on "The Method of Co-operation."

"It is only through organization that the energies and resources of private persons can be fully utilized. It is only through personal energy and devotion that organized associations can really cope with existing evils or reach the wants and hearts of the poor. . . . All *direct* intercourse with the objects of charity . . . is the office of personal benevolence. The more immediately and freely the benefit conferred comes from the heart, pocket and hand of the giver to the receiver, the better. On the other hand, it is one of the first functions of organization to divide the work among the volunteers who offer to undertake it. It can divide the town into districts and the offices of charity into departments, marking the boundaries of each so as to prevent collision, overlapping, waste or neglect. . . . . The great obstacle to charitable effort would be swept away when a central society existed, by application to which a volunteer could be told what others are doing, what posts of usefulness are vacant, and how and where he could do service the most needed and the most suitable to his own powers. . . . . But the uses of organization do not end here. . . . It would be another most useful function of the central authority to collect the experience of the different volunteers, and record and communicate it for the assistance of others. . . . . And (lastly) the central body would be a medium through which those who have means, but neither knowledge nor leisure, may give what they feel to be due, in the assurance that it will be well employed. And the control of such a fund for distribution could not fail to add weight to the counsels of the central body and enhance its influence."

Such would be, such *are*, the advantages of organizing voluntary charity, not in a rigid and despotic form, still less in the shape of monastic institutions, but simply in connection with machinery sufficient to give unity and order to what, without it, is but a chaos. While schemes of sisterhoods and deaconesses involve collateral evils, counterbalancing to the full their advantages, in Mr. Rathbone's plan of free lay co-operation (very similar to that of Miss Sieveking in Hamburg), we see the lawful escape from the

dilemma in which the friends of the Church machinery would fain leave us—"Either accept our Sisters or Deaconesses, or let the poor continue to lack the benefits which only organized charity can accomplish." The organization for all *good* purposes may be accomplished, as it *is* accomplished at Liverpool, while the multifarious evils of the Church systems may be altogether escaped. Nay, not only are the narrowing influences of religious Orders escaped by lay organization, but a special collateral benefit arises from it. The members of different churches, instead of being severed further from one another as in rival fraternities, are brought into friendly intercourse by co-operation. As Mr. Rathbone well observes—

"There is something in the nature of the work so entirely unsectarian, appealing so strongly to the spirit which pervades all Christian creeds, and throwing so completely into shade the antagonistic dogmas of each, that honest steady labour therein softens the temper of bigotry and controls the fierceness of polemics. . . . Where, indeed, education is in question, from the strong sense of the value of early dogmatic instruction entertained by most sectarian bodies, it has been found scarcely possible to unite them in a general and harmonious effort. But in other forms of charitable exertion the opposite result takes place."*

It is obviously hopeless to attempt to introduce in any town such a symmetrical system of charity as might be easily drawn out on paper. The ground is everywhere already partially occupied by institutions more or less well adapted to their special purposes; and no complete parcelling out of the field and allotment of districts and departments of work are practicable. The best thing which remains to be done is to combine, as far as possible, all the existing charities of each town in a sort of "federal union under a central committee," consisting partly of representatives of each charity and partly of members selected with special reference to the office of organization and supervision. A paid officer to assist this central committee would be indispensable. Each charity or public work would be in the hands of a committee reporting to the central committee, and through it responsible to the public. There would, for instance, be one such committee charged with the nursing

* P. 76.

of the sick poor in their homes, another with the care of the ragged schools, &c. &c.

"Beginning cautiously, gradually expanding and perfecting its machinery, such an organization would soon effect a great economy in the charity of our towns and a diminution of the helpless misery which exists in them. It would bring the rich and poor into friendly communion, and it would make every charitable agency a means of adding to the efficiency of others. It would thus, while eradicating imposture by its effectual efforts to lighten human misery, remove an unsuspected amount of hardness and bitter feeling, which is one of the most serious moral consequences of the present estrangement of the rich from the poor."

Having given these general views, Mr. Rathbone proceeds, in his fifth chapter, to give a succinct account of the nearest approach to the desired organization which has yet been made. In the first place, he describes how three charitable Societies in Liverpool—the District Provident Society, the Strangers' Friend Society and the Charitable Society—discovered that "the existence of three independent benevolent agencies afforded ample opportunities for deception, and was creating a class of idle impostors who preyed alternately or simultaneously on the funds of all three. This discovery led to the union of the three Societies in a single institution, and the effect upon the applications for relief was that a host of impostors at once disappeared." The most perfect part of the work, however, is that of the institution founded for the benefit of the sick poor, "whose cases were either of a nature unsuited to the existing hospitals or had failed to obtain admission from one cause or another." The promoters began by attaching their institution to the principal hospital in the town. By the introduction into its wards of the training nurses and of the class of women who came to be trained, the hospital gained great advantage, which it repaid by educating the nurses. "The town was divided into districts, and in each of these was placed one of the nurses trained in the hospital, paid by the Society, and under the care and direction of a lady superintendent (aided often by other ladies), who voluntarily took charge of the district and furnished the medical appliances and comforts required. Each lady was absolute and independent in the management of her district, and liable to no control from

the Society, with which, however, she was in regular and friendly communication. A meeting of the Ladies Superintendent was held every year, in which reports of progress were made, difficulties stated and suggestions offered." For additional aid needed for convalescents and other patients, the Society applies to the Central Relief Society already mentioned, formed by the union of the three older Societies; and from this body the desired aid is (after due inquiry by its own officers) freely bestowed. Thus, though still imperfect, and every year finding something needed to complete its work, the Liverpool institution is affording a proof how much may be accomplished by systematic organization. That the good so effected "in no way interferes with the most perfect liberty of individual benevolence"—that it neither makes Charity a Profession, nor strengthens the hands of a priesthood, nor dulls spontaneous feeling by the mechanism of conventual order—are, to our conviction, merits which double its value as an aid to the poor.

The concluding chapter of Mr. Rathbone's book is devoted to the subject of the true "Sphere of Government" in relation to charity. We rejoice to find that he advocates the plan of taking the sick out of the workhouses and treating them medically in other hospitals, the cost of their *support* being defrayed out of the rates, and the extra expense of the hospital treatment from "a general—best of all, from a national—source." The principle of Mr. Gathorne Hardy's Bill, passed last session, in a great degree embodies this plan so far as the metropolis is concerned. It is to be earnestly hoped that throughout the country some similar and more complete regulation may be made. Every one who has been concerned with the wants of the poor must have felt sorely the inconveniences and injustices of the present system, or rather *no* system, of admission to hospitals. In most towns in England, it is a matter of (what the sufferers would call) "luck," whether, when attacked by dangerous illness, they are admitted into the local Infirmary or General Hospital, there to receive every aid towards recovery which skill, wealth and kindness can give,—or whether they are driven to find shelter in the sick wards of the Workhouse, with the one young surgeon for sole adviser, a pauper nurse for attendant, a workhouse bed to lie on, workhouse cookery to eat, and a "house pill" for pharmacopeia.

It happened to the writer of these pages to be at one time entrusted by several benevolent subscribers to the hospitals of a large town, with their annual share of tickets for in-door and out-door patients. The working of the system was exemplified (especially as each year drew to a close) by numbers of harassed and distracted wives and parents arriving breathless at all hours: "Was there a ticket they might get for their sick relation?" They had gone here and there, miles off in one way, then miles in another (all the time needing to be at home to nurse the person diseased), wherever they heard of any subscriber who could perhaps admit them. But Mr. So-and-so had gone to London, and Mrs. So-and-so was not able to see them, and half-a-dozen more had long ago given away their last tickets for that year. Then by chance, when two or three days of vital importance to the sick person had been lost in fruitless search, they had heard by chance that we had tickets, and had hurried off two or three miles to learn if we could give one. Of course the alternative was open to them to apply at the workhouse for admission, but it is little wonder that they try every chance to avoid a fate which reduces the hope of recovery at least by half.

Till such a plan of thorough reform as Mr. Rathbone advocates can be made law, till every sick person receive the treatment which experience has proved to be most effectual to cure disease and alleviate suffering (a treatment *never* to be given in a workhouse under existing conditions), till then, we would urge that at least some understanding between the managers of free hospitals and the guardians of the poor, should be arrived at as regards the admission of the different classes of sick. Cases of difficulty and danger, needing special skill and care, ought not to go to the workhouse, while perhaps a dozen cases of no urgent kind are admitted into the hospital. The chance of the friends of the patient finding a subscriber who will or can give them a ticket of admission, ought not, at all events, to be the turning-point of his destiny. If subscribers must be bribed with the patronage of tickets (a matter of policy we much misdoubt), let it be at least a condition that their addresses shall be registered where the poor applicants may learn them, and that at all hours, and during their absences from home, some person be qualified to distribute them under cases of

urgency. Specially ought some means to be devised whereby dangerous and obscure cases should be transferred, under proper medical certificate, from the workhouse to the hospital authorities, the former being responsible, in whole or in part, for the expenses incurred by the latter.*

Mr. Rathbone's book will, we trust, be largely read, and accepted among philanthropists as, in its way, a *Novum Organon* of practical charity. The system it sketches out, or something equivalent to and nearly resembling it, *must* be tried, or we must be content to go on plying the task of the Danaïdes, and pouring our millions into a vessel of want which will be never the fuller for such pouring, through all eternity. Even beside its main object, *Social Duties* is a book of great value from the number of observations it contains on many matters of charity, observations the result very obviously of long experience and cautious judgment.

Another book to which we would direct our readers' attention is the elaborate work of Dr. Stallard, on *London Pauperism amongst Jews and Christians.* It contains a mass of most curious information concerning the condition and charitable arrangements of the London Jews, and also, alas! very deplorable details concerning the misery of the Christian poor in the metropolis, and the failure of the Poor-law system to afford them relief.

It will be probably a new idea to many of our readers, *not* that Jews are charitable, but that they are so much more wise or liberal or fortunate (whichever it may please us to say) in their mode of affording aid, that they have actually no hereditary paupers among them—hardly any paupers at all in the common sense of degraded helplessness we give to the term. Yet the Jewish poor man labours under disadvantages which would drive Saxon and Celt to despair. Not to speak of old wrongs and prejudices now ended or mitigated, he has to contend with a number of difficulties from which no legislation can relieve him. First, a vast

* In some of the Irish rural poor-houses the difficulty is very satisfactorily met. Some of the guardians, being subscribers to the hospitals in the neighbourhood, keep tickets at the poor-house, and, on the application of a sick person for admittance, inquire of the surgeon whether he consider the case can best be treated in the workhouse or in the hospital. If he think hospital treatment and nursing desirable, the patient is supplied with a ticket and carried in a proper conveyance to the higher institution.

number of those in London are not English born, but German, Dutch and French Jews, driven over by fear of the conscription and by inability to gain their living in their native places. These poor souls are aliens among aliens, and being ignorant of our language and in poverty from their arrival, are often in deep distress. Then as to work. The Mosaic law stands in the way of the Jew at every turn.

"It is almost impossible for a Jew to be bound apprentice to a master who is not of the same persuasion, being interdicted from partaking of his food, from working part of Friday and every Saturday, besides the festivals and periods of mourning when no Jew may work. This loss of time no Christian master can afford, so that there is no possibility of acquiring a trade or of being employed at day-work. No Jew can be employed in Christian factories, ship-yards, engine-works or shops. There are no Jew carpenters, builders, plumbers or workers in iron."*

Thus the Jews are confined to a comparatively few trades, —the barter of clothes, tailoring, cigar-making, cap and slipper-making, glazing, umbrella-making, the sale of fish, fruit and flowers, and of course their grand employments of money-lending and jewel-dealing. With these few modes of earning a livelihood, the industrious Jew manages as best he can to support his family, contriving, as Dr. Stallard remarks, to keep his children always a degree better fed than those of his neighbours. He is sober, he is ingenious, enterprizing, and in a certain way honest; that is, though he *receives* stolen goods, he rarely steals them himself. At Portsmouth, where all Jewish convicts are sent (to avail themselves of a synagogue for their use), there are at present only fifteen Jews and not a single Jewess. The prison records contain no instance of a convicted Jewess. In matters of domestic morality, the life of the Jews seems to be better than that of the English poor. They are both kind and faithful to their wives, and a mother is allowed to undertake no work which would separate her from her children. The mortality of the young is consequently less than among Christians, and scrofulous disease is almost unknown. Thus, so far as his character is concerned, the Jew has many hopeful elements; but the task of finding work or supporting in any way thousands of persons so narrowly cir-

* P. 9.

cumscribed by the conditions of their creed and alien race, would have seemed almost insuperable. Nevertheless, the wealthy Jews of England have found effectual means to do so. The details of these means, as given by Dr. Stallard, are extremely instructive, but too long to be more than indicated here.

It appears certain that Jews are more universally ready to give in charity, in proportion to their means, than ordinary Englishmen. The favourite idea of a certain class of theologians, that the Mosaic law inculcates only justice, while Christianity alone inspires the sacrifices of love, is by no means verified in England. "As soon as he can afford it," says Dr. Stallard, "the Jew begins to take an active interest in his poorer brethren, alike honourable to his humanity and his religion." For many years back the private alms of the richer Jews in London, and a whole series of charities supported by them, have been in active operation. Among these, are twelve educational establishments attended by four thousand children, two lying-in charities, and various Societies which apprentice youths, give portions to orphans, billet widows in respectable families, help the indigent to keep the national festivals, support the aged, and bury the dead. All these institutions, however, were, as usual, found to tread on each other's heels, and yet to leave many cases of want unprovided for; and in 1859 it was resolved, by the consent of the synagogues, to form a central Board of Guardians, to raise funds and systematically relieve the poor. The whole treatment of the Jewish poor is now in their hands. The Board consists of twenty-nine members, of whom nineteen are delegated by the three conjoint synagogues, and the rest are elected by the subscribers to the funds dispensed. Most of the duties are confided to Committees, the central Board meeting once a month, and the subordinate Relief, Visiting, Work and Medical Committees two or three times a week. Complete investigation is given to every case, and the officers keep a record of each, so that imposition is all but impossible. All sorts of schemes are used to aid or set up in business the applicants for relief (as, for example, the loan of a vast number of sewing-machines), and, by one means or other, the marvellous result of which we have spoken is attained. Regular Pauperism is abolished among the Jews of England.

The close resemblance, almost identity, of this system with that recommended by Mr. Rathbone, cannot fail to strike the reader. Curiously enough, the first Report of the Jewish Board of Guardians begins with the remark on which Mr. Rathbone justly dwells so strongly; the removal of the rich from the neighbourhoods inhabited by the poor, and the consequent estrangement of the two classes.

The second part of Dr. Stallard's book is a very elaborate inquiry into the working of the Poor-law system of out-door relief among the general poor of London—a system he contrasts vividly with the humane and able plan of the Jews. We venture to think that Dr. Stallard dwells too lightly on the wide difference which *ought* to exist between the expenditure of enforced rates and that of voluntary alms. As a matter of *justice*, we apprehend no Legislature has a right to raise a poor's-rate a penny beyond what is absolutely needful to support the life of the pauper in sufficiently healthy conditions. All that favours him beyond this, must either be voluntary charity allowed to supplement the rates, or else an expenditure of the rates on the ground of *expediency for the ratepayer*. This last, indeed, is a most important exception, and one usually far too little considered. If we are to enforce rates from the community for the support of the poor, it is not only allowable, but an imperative duty, to expend them in that way which the longest-sighted policy teaches must eventually prove the most economical. "Penny-wise, pound-foolish," has, on the contrary, been the spirit of nearly all the minor Poor-law arrangements. The annual election of guardians, who make it their pride to keep down the rates for their year of office, and the common desire to put off expense, have continually promoted a policy so puerile and narrow, that if the problem given had been, "How to provide a constant supply of paupers in future years?" the course adopted need not have been other than we find it. From this point of view, Dr. Stallard's carefully-compiled tables and mass of cases bearing on the subject of out-door relief in the metropolis are of great value. He shews clearly that the dole of money and bread now given to the out-door poor in London is utterly insufficient to do good, and just sufficient to encourage them to bring up children in their miserable homes on a diet so little above starving-

point as to make them inevitably weakly, ricketty beings, without vigour of body or mind to support themselves honestly in after life. Twenty years ago, the average out-door relief for each person receiving it, in the parish at St. George-the-Martyr, was one shilling and threepence. Little enough, Heaven knows, even at the then price of food in London! Now the average in the same parish, and in most others in the East, is ninepence a week. The result of the system seems to be already visible in a deteriorated population, more stunted in growth and weaker than formerly. Truly here is a danger for England almost equal to that which the conscriptions are bringing on France. The French race is dwindling because their young men are drafted off into the army for all the prime years of life. Our race may yet feel the result of the growth of thousands of men and women brought up from childhood in unhealthy dens and fed on the scantiest and least nourishing of diet. How many children of the English poor (we would fain know) *ever* drink their most natural sustenance—pure milk? We have seen in an English city, babes of a year old fed with scraps of raw meat. Tea without milk and wretched half-poisonous sweetmeats (for which somehow the poorest find halfpence), are the luxuries of the English child. Happy if, as he grows older, tobacco and gin do not replace the tea and trash of his childhood! What can become of him in after years but to linger on a sickly, squalid being, the parent, perhaps, of a race of miserable dwindled children more wretched than himself?

Dr. Stallard's book leaves at least one point decided. The present system of out-door relief in the metropolis is, at all events, a mistake. It is doing vast harm, and little or very questionable good. Whether it ought to be abolished altogether, it is hard to say. A general metropolitan or national poor-rate might enable the guardians to emulate the generosity of the Jewish Board, and to help effectually wherever they help at all. Whether this would be the truest and, in the end, the cheapest policy, is a question which needs to be decided to the best of our lights before any such power be given or such rates levied. It may be that such large expediency may justify such a measure, and that only by such national action can the tremendous evil of pauperism be met in England. On the other hand, were voluntary

charity as liberal with us as with the Jews, and were such an organization of it as Mr. Rathbone suggests in full action in every town, it would seem as if the same benefit could be done to the poor under better auspices than the most lavish expenditure of rates. However well managed, relief bestowed through enforced rates must, always we believe, have a bad moral effect. No grateful or kindly feelings can ever be nourished by it, and the sense of dependence on it must be (and ought to be) more humiliating. A *law* coming in to help the pauper out of the troubles which he has most probably incurred by his own improvidence, idleness, or vice, teaches no moral lesson whatever; but rather a lesson which the Supreme Providence seems determined His laws should never teach. There is certainly no Relief-system in the order of the physical world whereby drunkards and profligates, when they begin to reap the consequences of their misdeeds, are restored to health. It is hard to say how dangerous would be the knowledge to the indigent class generally, that they had, *by the law of the land*, a claim to be set up on their feet every time that, by their fault or folly, they fell in the mud. To know that a free charitable association of men and women might listen to their appeals for aid and pity would be a wholly different matter.

A feature of the case which seems as yet to have too little occupied philanthropists is, that of the bearing of Strikes on the expediency of any system of poor relief. It is no longer an occasional and rare, but an every-day matter, that one trade or another should voluntarily forego the receipt of wages for months together; the members of the trade being supported by their funds, and the numerous labourers and others dependent on their work being immediately thrown on the rates or on public subscriptions of charity. Whatever opinion may be formed as to the justice of some of these strikes, it is quite obvious that to open an unlimited resource for strikers and their dependents by a thoroughly comfortable system of out-door relief, would be the height of folly for the community as well as gross injustice to the ratepayers.

In truth, till the Legislature take the whole of this difficult question of trade combinations in hand, we venture to think that no effective measures can ever be found to abolish

pauperism. The class whence the pauper comes, the *Indigent* class, which exists in perpetual hand-to-mouth struggle with want, and gains its precarious living by futile street trades and small industries of doubtful honesty,—that wretched class can never be raised so long as the present trade regulations are permitted to exist. The artizan class immediately above it has a monopoly of nearly all profitable forms of manual labour. One handicraft after another, whereto an able-bodied and intelligent indigent man might turn for a livelihood, is the property of a caste, which only differs from the old Egyptian hereditary trades inasmuch as admittance to it is gained not by birth, but by the payment of large apprentice-fees or by years of unpaid labour equivalent to such fees. The son of a labourer or of a costermonger has no chance of ever paying such an entrance-fee, and is driven to waste his strength and ingenuity on some miserable street traffic, already trebly overstocked by unfortunates like himself. Meanwhile the artizan's trade is but half filled, and the lucky man who has entered it after paying his fees, is able to demand wages such as only his monopoly could give him.

Now when the handicraft trades are considered *one by one*, something may be said for such rules. It is at least assumed that what the community loses in freedom of trade and levelling of price, it gains in security for good workmanship. But when we open our eyes to the fact that not one or two, but the majority of handicrafts are thus monopolized, it becomes obvious that such a state of things involves an amount of general evil for which no security for good work (did we even possess anything of the kind) could at all compensate. For what is the consequence of such a combination of monopolies? Precisely this: that an Indigent Class is actually created and fenced in, an hereditary Soodra caste, so carefully shut out from chance of merging itself in the higher castes, that it is utterly impossible to raise it the first step. Let us view the case another way.

The proportion of the Indigent class in London to the class of regular Artizans is as 1 to 3. Thus out of four thousand men, one thousand grovel all their days in poverty that three thousand may extort higher wages from the public. Who can fail to see that this is a cruel injustice to the indigent class and a general loss to the community? A. (a

gentleman) pays B. (an artizan) four shillings instead of three for his work, and then is called on to pay a poor's-rate of another shilling in behalf of C. (an indigent man), whom B. has kept from sharing his labour.]

And further: As if their high apprentice-fees were not sufficient guard for their monopoly, many trades have yet other rules limiting the number of apprentices whom each master may teach. Thus, allowing for the increase of the population, the trades are kept down to numbers perhaps less in proportion than they contained many years ago, when no similar demand for labour existed. Every year the price of skilled labour necessarily rises, and every year likewise the chance of the indigent man, or of the common labourer, rising into the ranks of artizan, become less and less.

All philanthropists who have dealt with the education of the children of the poor in England, are well aware how these difficulties connected with apprenticeships stand in their way. There is no need here to enlarge on the matter. But let the reader who has quietly accepted this great injustice as inevitable, spend a few days in the capital of Italy, and especially pay a visit to the magnificent old workhouse of Monte Domini. There he will see a thousand boys and girls learning nearly every trade he can name; and if he consult the gentleman who holds the office of superintendent of the whole, he will learn from him that every tradesman and employer of labour in Florence is eager to obtain the services (and pay good wages for them) of the trained scholars who leave the institution. What is possible there must be possible here, did we deal rightly with a system whose maintenance is equivalent to the perpetuation of pauperism —the creation of an hereditary caste of *out-traders*, that the traders may earn higher wages at the cost of the community. Mr. Rathbone, in speaking on another topic, observes that "the more highly-skilled artizans earn much more than is requisite to provide their families with the necessaries and comforts belonging to their station in life. They have more money and more leisure than heretofore. The number of persons of whom this is true is daily increasing."* It is so; as the sellers of early chickens and vegetables, and of

* P. 17.

prime joints of meat, and especially the public-house keepers, are very well aware. Surely it is an abominable injustice and an injury to the whole community that these fat kine should be able to drive the lean kine off every rood of succulent pasturage! The breaking-down of the monopolies of the trades, if such an achievement be within the powers of the Legislature, or of public feeling brought strongly to bear upon the matter, would, we believe, do more towards abolishing the pauperism of England than any other change which could be introduced. Then, with a clear stage before it, such a Central Board of Charity in each town as Mr. Rathbone has devised might well accomplish all the rest. We must break the ice over their heads in the first place, if we wish to save those who are drowning beneath it.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

VI.—CONTINUITY IN HISTORY, MORALS AND RELIGION.

THE General Committee of the British Association took a bold step when, at the close of a meeting in which their Chairman had alarmed the susceptibilities of orthodoxy, they resolved to meet this year in orthodox Scotland. Perhaps it was partly by way of conciliating prejudice that they gave Mr. Grove so safe and feeble a successor, though in doing so they sold the birthright of scientific eminence for a mess of aristocratic pottage. The noble Chairman gave to science an "*air de societé*," which may have compensated for its sad lack of the odour of sanctity; but the patronizing feebleness of his address, and his poor apology for not buying a better, recalled, by the irresistible suggestiveness of contrast, the magnificent effort of the previous year. Mr. Grove's address will well bear recalling, and there is a certain appropriateness in permitting it to serve for two years, instead of one. For a year's meditation has much modified the feeling with which his doctrine of continuity is regarded even by those who stand most resolutely on the ancient ways. In scientific and literary circles that doctrine is

almost universally accepted, if not as the truth, at least as the nearest approximation to the truth which science has yet produced. It is generally felt that no new heresy—not even a new scientific dogma—was announced at Nottingham. Mr. Grove gave an old idea a new name. He found the spirit of modern science unable to shew itself in all its fulness to the world, and he made it visible to the eyes and tangible to the blunt perceptions of the unscientific many, by giving it a local habitation in a name. The very word itself was not a new one, and had been used in the same sense before. The doctrine to which it was applied, lying as it does at the foundation of modern scientific thought, has often found for itself partial expression and embodiment; but the forms of that expression and embodiment have been misinterpreted and misunderstood, and have perished of the hostility the misunderstanding caused. In its new form, and under its new name, it is more easy to understand. For "continuity" applies to the whole of Nature that which had been previously applied only to a part of it. It differs from "evolution" or "development," inasmuch as it leaves out the question of causation, and is applicable not only to processes, but also to results. Refusing to take for granted the reality of apparent gaps in the historical series of creative events, it also refuses to assume that the apparent gaps in the co-existent series of created objects are really what they seem. Space is not emptiness, any more than unrecorded time is vacancy. The distances between the planets are not void, any more than the spaces between the earliest and latest forms of life are without such forms. The planetary series does not consist merely of the assorted sizes of visible and peopled worlds, but runs in long gradation from a meteorite to a planet, or from a world of the size of a cannon-ball to the vast mass of Jupiter. An actual as well as an historical relationship binds into unity the totality of things. Creation is not merely a chain—it is a vast and complicated network, every part of which is needful to the wholeness of the whole. The material garment of the Creator is of one piece, woven without a seam.

"Continuity" is, then, a doctrine rather than a theory. It is not an assumption given as an explanation of phenomena; it is the irresistible conclusion to which the deepest

study and the closest observation of Nature have led scientific men. To the mind which is penetrated by the scientific spirit, not only is there no difficulty in conceiving it, but there is an immense difficulty in conceiving anything else. We have no experience whatever of a break in the order of causation. The exceptions which are ignorantly* supposed to prove a rule have no existence in Nature. The laws of the universe have no qualifying clauses, and are incapable of suspension, so far as observation and experience shew. Nor have we any experience whatever of the kind of thing which the spasmodic theory of Creation assumes to have taken place beyond the reach of that observation and experience. Growth is everywhere—sudden creation nowhere. Not even the fungi grow from nothing. The mythological Minerva springing full-grown from the head of Jupiter may illustrate the spasmodic view of Nature, but "continuity" is illustrated by everything that we behold around us. Slow, gradual and persistent change produces all the diversities we know of, and nowhere is there unchanging perpetuity nor instantaneous overthrow. In the western forests a sudden crash sometimes breaks upon the noonday stillness. It is the fall of an aged tree which bore on its exterior no signs of falling and gave no warning before its fall. Here is what we call a catastrophe. The broken trunk and the withering branches will tell a story to the next observer of sudden and violent overthrow. But a nearer study shews that the only suddenness has been in the outward manifestation of the inward weakness. The tree has gone through all the changes of its natural life; a gradual decay has eaten away its heart, and the end has come as the ultimate result to which the slow steps of years have led. There has been no sudden smiting of the tree, the catastrophe is but the emergence into view of that which a gradually attenuating veil had hidden from observation. That is a type of all catastrophes. But not only the catastrophes, even the great antitheses of the world shew the same gradual change. The seasons glide into each other with more or less rapidity, but without a sudden leap, and the various climates of the earth's surface shade off from tropical

* Cicero is responsible for the words "exceptio probat regulam," but he is not responsible for the vulgar interpretation of them. He meant that there could not be an exception unless there was a rule.

heat to arctic cold. Even day and night succeed each other by gradual change, for light and darkness mingle where they touch; and a line of twilight, varying in thickness from a narrow riband to a zone, precedes both day and night in their perpetual chase around the world and breaks the shock of their immediate contact. The sea-bottom slopes downwards to its greatest depths, and where the land and water meet a little child may often stand and "wanton with the breakers," or lay his "hand upon the ocean's mane." The mountain ranges never rise abruptly from a level plain, but a long ascent leads you to their feet; and as you climb them, the attenuating atmosphere gives another lesson in the gradual transitions of Nature, and reminds you that the line between the solid world and the space it floats in is nowhere sharply drawn, but that its marvellous envelope thins away to nothingness. But this softening of demarcating lines, this interposition of media between the opposites of the world, this mingling of all things where they touch, which constitutes the very poetry of Nature, becomes, in the doctrine of "continuity," a fact of science. This gradual transition is everywhere, and has been always. The Creative energy has not worked, as man does, with spasms of marvellous activity and times of rest, but with one grand and steady and persistent movement through all the past till now. The Divine activity knows no change of plan or method, but is "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." The doctrine of "continuity" is based upon this faith in the persistency of Nature's methods—and the persistency of Nature is but one aspect of the changelessness of God. If there are now no glaring contrasts set side by side in Nature, no sudden transitions, no convulsive leaps of change; if every new thing in the world is now produced by gradual modification of the old; if a process of slow differentiation of things and beings is even now going on before our eyes, what reason have we to believe that it was ever otherwise? If we see the gardeners multiplying the varieties of flowers and fruits by judicious selection, and the breeders of animals gradually improving and in some cases greatly varying their form and faculties, have we not here the process by which a far greater wisdom and power have brought about the wonderful variety of the living world? If we can see that even within historical periods differing external circumstances

have caused the languages, the institutions, the individual characteristics and personal features of races of men to become different, have we not a key to all the differences of race and language, and may we not go back along the lines of their continuous divergence till we can see that in some distant past mankind was of "one blood" and "one speech"? The doctrine of "continuity" universalizes this process of differentiation and change. Applied to the history of our planet, it contemplates Creation as proceeding now. It eliminates interpolation and interference from the history of the progress of Nature. It looks on the whole infinite Past as leading up to the Present, just as the Present is leading on to the Future. The "petty pace" with which "to-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow" "creep from day to day," is the unhasting yet unresting movement of the great machine of Nature whose motive power is God. The universe to-day is the result of an endless "continuity" of accomplished progress, and from that which exists on every to-day, that which shall be on every to-morrow must be continuously born.

Of course this grand idea of "continuity" is a generalization which is neither to be proved nor disproved by application to minute particulars. The glorious generalization of religion, that "God is Love," might, by the minute criticism of individual instances, be clouded by just such doubts as may be thrown, by a like process, on this great generalization of science. Like all great truths, it can only be proved on the great scale. The witticisms of uninstructed cleverness may easily refute it. Argument by practical illustration may easily shew it to be folly; and even the want of full appreciation of it by its advocates may be turned against it. It was of course to be expected that one of the first questions asked about it would be as to its personal bearing. Man loves to contemplate himself as an exceptional being in the scheme of Nature. Lifting his immortal face above his mortal origin, he cannot bear to realize that he belongs to nature and is a portion of the world. Pluming his wings for a great flight above it, he scorns it even now, and, because his soul is of "origin divine," will not admit the animal and worldly origin of his purely earthly part. It is easy, therefore, to raise the prejudice of his better nature against a doctrine which

regards him as the end of a long series, the top of a far-reaching line, the flower of a great tree, the head of a great body. It is easy to raise a shallow laugh by speaking of the oyster as an ancestor, or drawing the fancy picture of a human child with an ape for its parent or a baboon for its nurse. But when the laughter is over, the statement of the philosopher is found to bear no relation at all to the misstatement of the wiseacre. There is not much similarity between an acorn and an oak, and some of the most magnificent of flowers grow from the most insignificant of seeds. Apart from experience, it would be impossible to shew the least relation between oak and acorn, or between flower and seed. Speak to those who had no such experience, and it would be easy to raise a laugh at the absurdity of supposing that the ugly seed bore and nursed the beautiful flower. Eliminate the intermediate processes and the relation between the two is lost at once. But it is exactly those intermediate processes which have been eliminated from the history of the physical development of man, or of which only a broken link in the chain here and there remains. But a leaf and a piece of the branch of a flowering plant might speak to a philosopher of the process by which the seed produced the flower, though they would say nothing to the ignorant. Not possessed of the realizing imagination which alone, in the lack of experience, can supply the wanting links of the process, they would deny its possibility. Supposing, then, that the doctrine of continuity should be seen to demand the admission of an animal origin for the animal part of man, that we should be obliged to conclude that the higher forms of life have grown out of the lower, as the flower and fruit grow out of the unpromising branch, it would still not be necessary to assume that at any period in the process there was a difference between parent and child which the most observing ingenuity could mark. Indeed, the doctrine of "continuity" renders it imperative on us to assume the contrary. It is because objectors to the doctrine do not understand it, because they must bring their theory of sudden leaps even into their interpretation of the doctrine which denies them, that their laughter is possible or their refutations are plausible. A monkey nursing a human baby is a conception which is only possible to the believer in the dogma of sudden transitions, but is

utterly impossible to the believer in the doctrine of continuity. That the steps of differentiation are so small as to render it impossible to mark a change, is the very condition of any theory of man's origin which recognizes continuity as its principle. The first requirement of that principle is Time, and its very earliest application is to rebuke our haste. Israel of old complained that they were not led by the short cut to the land of promise, but obliged to go the long way round; and their leader taught them that the long way was the right way. It is always thus. The long way round is the Creator's way, and the short cut is the creature's way. The railroad and the river both run to the same terminus; one made by man, the other traced by the Creative finger; the one going with noisy and laborious directness because time is everything to its maker; the other creeping with quiet ease because to its Maker time is nothing. The spasmodic theories of Creation are niggardly of time that they may be profuse of power. They ignore the Creative Eternity that they may exalt the Creative Omnipotence. Creation is done at railroad pace as some almighty man might do it. But theories which admit the principle of continuity are profuse of time that they may not be wasteful of power. They are content to go the very longest way to the result if that way seems to be the right one. To them, Creation is a majestic stream which flows from the untrodden snows of one eternity to the unfathomed ocean of another,—a stream which is unhurried in its movement, unbroken in its course, and quietly continuous in its flow,—of which we see but a little portion as we float along it, but which stretches to immeasurable distances behind us, where the strongest imagination cannot trace its source.

But this doctrine of "continuity" would not be true were it limited to the domain of what is called Natural Science. The unity of Creation is such, that a principle which applies to one part will apply to all. The Creative procedure has not been of one kind in the material world, of another in the moral world, and of yet another in the great world of History and of Man. If the doctrine of "continuity" is true in the sphere of our observation, it will be true also in that of our experience and in that of our volitional activity. If continuity characterizes the development of the natural world, it will equally characterize the world of politics, of

history and of experience. Man's progress observes the law of Nature's growth. Science itself conforms to the methods of the Nature which it observes. Not only are there no breaks in the progress of science, but there are no sharp lines of demarcation between its various branches. Classification of the sciences, like the classification of animals and plants, was easy when but few were known; but just as the progress of discovery obliterates the sharp divisions of species, so the growth of the sciences brings out unsuspected relationships between them, and indicates the unity that underlies their diversity. Nor does science, any more than nature, progress by violent and convulsive change. The scientific man knows that discoveries which seem to the vulgar to be sudden leaps of insight, are but the last steps of a continuous process carried on by those who have preceded the actual discoverer and prepared his way. Generation after generation of patient men toils up the mountain-side, investigator after investigator smooths a further portion of the upward way, and at length the last of the series pushes his head above the clouds, and stands glorified for ever after on the mountain-top of a new and brilliant discovery. The great investigator whose name is a landmark in the history of knowledge, and whose work marks a turning-point in the progress of discovery, has been lifted by his predecessors to the eminence he occupies, and is greater than they because he stands upon their shoulders, and draws down a glory on them all. The doctrine of "continuity" is itself an illustrious proof of this. It has been objected to it that it reverses, on insufficient evidence, the old theories of Creation and the old views of Nature. Theology stands upon its dignity, and accuses science of love of novelty and of desire for change. It pleads that science not long since sanctioned its theory of convulsions and interferences, and now all at once reverses it and demands their sudden elimination from theories which explain the phenomena of the universe. But this is a plea that cannot be granted. It must ever be remembered that scientific theories are but quantities assumed to find those which are as yet unknown. The theory of convulsions and separate creations was but a temporary explanation of observed phenomena. The doctrine of "continuity" finds for the same phenomena a yet fuller explanation. It does not in the

least deny that immense changes have occurred, but it shews them to have taken place by orderly, and not by disorderly action, by slow and gradual change, and not by sudden leaps, by what we call natural causes, and not by what we ignorantly describe as supernatural interference. The only change it demands is that we be less niggardly of Time. You contemplate the submersion of a continent as a sudden act; spread the process over ten thousand years, and without the least change in your theory of causation, you have made the step from the dogma of convulsions to the theory of "continuity." You think of the upheaval of a mountain-chain as of some sharp, sudden, convulsive working of an earthquake's soil which was sepulchred below; give the same forces a million years to work in and you have only expanded and enlarged your conception; you have neither reversed your principle nor changed your method. But it is a great testimony to the truth of the doctrine of continuity, that this expansion which is required by it exactly corresponds to a similar movement which has taken place in successive generations over the whole area of scientific thought. The progress of science may be described in the words of Blanco White: "Lo! Creation widened to man's view." To lift the arch of heaven from the narrow sphere which bent over the Chaldean, to the infinite expanse which spreads around the modern astronomer; to push the stars away to incalculable distances, and replace "the spangled firmament on high" with illimitable space made glorious with suns and systems; to take the sun from dancing daily attendance on this earth, and place him in the centre of a galaxy of revolving worlds, was but to apply to the visible Creation that principle of expansion which "continuity" asks us to apply to Time. Science has to lift us out of our narrowness and raise us above our conceit, and to teach us no longer to make ourselves the measure of the universe. In the matter of space we have learned the lesson which was so hard to our fathers; we have it now to learn in respect of time. But it is as difficult for us to realize the vastness of the Past, as it was for earlier generations to realize the immensity of the co-existing universe. Indeed, we can never realize either the one or the other. The demonstrable and merely physical proportion between the individual man and the kosmos of which he is a part, impossible of realized appre-

ciation as we shall admit it to be, may be no smaller than that which his period of existence bears to the time of which it is a shred. His life may be no more in relation to the earth's history, than his body is in relation to its mass; and the proportion he bears to the multitudinous population of the world may be as great as that which his few years of manhood bear to the history of the human race. Yet the limitation which has been removed even from the vulgar conception of physical magnitudes, still rests in all its narrowness on the popular notion of past periods of time. We do not measure space by handbreadths, but we measure time by years. Our bodies are not made the standard of the measurements of matter, but their temporary duration is made the basis of our estimates of time. But if the doctrine of continuity corrects this narrowing mistake, and rebukes the conceit which fosters it, it is only carrying on the work which science has had to do from the first. It completes the scientific rectification of the errors of the senses. It pushes back the origins of things into inconceivable remoteness, just as the Copernican astronomy pushed away the confines of Creation into endless space. It opens up behind us an immensity like that which has been revealed around us, shews all that we conceive as permanence to be but a phase of a long round of change, and smooths away the demarcating line which to our narrow apprehension separates time from eternity.

Mr. Grove's political application of his doctrine shewed that he recognized its relation to History. The science of History is perhaps, next to Theology, the last and greatest of the sciences. M. Comte makes it a part of "social physics," and places social physics at the head of the hierarchy of the "positive sciences." In his arbitrary way, M. Comte lays down what he conceives to be the foundations of the science, and though he recognizes the law of evolution, and is a little puzzled at the co-existence of successive states, he recognizes the principle of continuity without seeing all that it involves. But the common idea of History is just as absurd as the common idea of Nature, and from the same cause. We look across the valley which lies between the point of time on which we stand and some lofty period in the historic past, and forget that all the interval has been crossed at the same steady pace as that

at which we move to-day. The great changes which have taken place stand clearly out to view, but the steps which have led to them are untraceable. Hence there is the same appearance of convulsive progress in the strata of the bygone years as there is in the strata of the earth's crust. Forms of society and government have passed away, and left hardly a trace behind them. Nations have risen and flourished and decayed, and even races and religions have undergone successive periods of revolution and change. But perhaps there is nothing more deceptive than the perspective of History. A glance across the Past is easy—a look through it and along it is impossible. Even to allow for the foreshortening of the picture is only possible to the philosophic student. Time lies like a landscape behind us, and yesterday is too far from us to be traced through its successive moments, and last year is too remote to be traced through its successive days, and earlier years are too distant to be traced through their successive months, and bygone ages are too dim on the horizon to be traced through their successive years. To-day we look over yesterday at a glance, and of the remoter periods of History we sum up in a sentence the result of centuries. But any science of History must correct this false impression. It must give its true magnitude to every era of the Past, and trace with careful minuteness the successive stages of human progress and the successive steps of social change. The very first thing which it will have to teach will be the application of the doctrine of "continuity" to all the phenomena it observes. A nearer study of those phenomena destroys at once all sense of suddenness, and melts away the lines of demarcation between succeeding forms of society and government. Nowhere are new forms made from nothing, nowhere are living empires smitten with sudden death, nowhere is settled order born from anarchy, or does any institution fall without a previous decay. Even the greatest change in History is the most gradual of all. The long march of Gibbon's majestic story is a history of the principle of continuity in the revolutions of empires. The fall of Rome was preceded by a long decline, and that great empire passed away by a dissolution as gradual and as gentle as that which one might desire for a friend or anticipate for oneself. Sir F. Palgrave speaks of History as "a continuous drama wherein

each scene conduces to the next, each act has its peculiar catastrophe, tangled into each other's chain, all inseparable."* In the same admirable book he shews that Rome never passed away, that the Imperial authority only passed into other forms, and that the great foundations it laid are those on which modern governments are built—and built of the very stones of Rome—

"This devolution of authority from Rome, this absorption of Roman authority by the Barbarians, this political and more than political, this moral unity, this confirmation of a dominion which they seemed to subvert, this acknowledgment of the authority they defied, is the great truth upon which the whole history of European society, and more than European society, European civilization, depends."†

But what is this but a statement in other words of the necessity of bearing in mind the doctrine of continuity in the interpretation of History? A recognition of that continuity of History, of which the decline and fall of Rome is but an illustrious example and proof, is the key to the history of all society and all civilization. The annals of modern nations would demonstrate this, were demonstration needed. The nations who divided among themselves the Imperial power of Rome are every one of them examples of political continuity. One of De Tocqueville's latest works was written to illustrate the unbroken continuity of the political life of the French people, notwithstanding the apparently convulsive changes of their later revolutionary history. The American revolution which severed the connection between the colonies and the mother country, and began the glorious career of the United States, changed the form of the government without changing its substance, and did but liberate for freer and completer manifestation some of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution. Mr. David Dudley Field, the eminent lawyer who has codified the law of New York State, has very lately told us that American law is only English law adapted to the new conditions of a Federated Republic. Nor have any of the revolutions of English history broken the continuity of the political and social life of this country. Notwithstanding the dynastic changes which have taken place, the present

* History of Normandy and England, Vol. I. p. 3. † Ibid. p. 8.

monarch claims an indirect descent from the Saxon kings and from the Norman conquerors, and there is in the present Royal Family as much of the blood of those ancient dynasties as at so distant a period could possibly exist. But the descent of the Queen is but a type of the historical continuity of the Constitution of which she is the hereditary head. That Constitution is emphatically a growth. It partakes at this moment of Roman and Saxon and Norman elements, and bears traces of the influence of Plantagenet and Stuart, of Revolution and Restoration, of Conservative Monarchs and Reforming Parliaments. No revolution has overthrown it, no convulsion has destroyed it, and all the stages of social and political change are but the stages of its growth. Those who tell us that Reform is Revolution must be ignorant of history or blind to its teaching; for the continuity of human progress is assured by all the facts of the past, and even the "ugly rush" of inevitable but hindered change will only be the sudden bursting of the shell when the interior growth has rendered its protection no longer needful, and the time has come for the life imprisoned in the seed to take its new and nobler form. The doctrine of continuity as taught by history clears up the confusions of the past, and shews the way through the strife and uncertainty of the present to a greater future.

But my object is rather to state the wider relations of the doctrine than to apply it. Those relations extend not only beyond the domain of natural science, but beyond the sphere of history or of politics. Perhaps it is in the sphere of morals that "continuity" becomes clearest to the apprehension and most influential on the conduct of ordinary persons. The very basis of the idea of responsibility is an assumption of the doctrine of continuity. On the side of natural science, continuity looks behind us to life's origin; on that of morals, it looks before us to its end. Natural science has to do with it in its historical bearings. It looks with telescope reversed down the long vista of the receding ages, and tells us the little that it sees, and from that little constructs its theory of the world and of man. But man himself "looks before and after, and sighs for what is not." An instinct, or inward revelation, tells him that, so far as he is personally concerned, the future will grow out of the present, even as the present has grown out

of the past. A vague concern about that future, a vague conviction that only the Right is Everlasting, that only just things are permanently safe, and only Truth is good, exist perhaps in all men, and form the elements of a moral nature in us. For though, as natural science contemplates us, we stand at the top of a merely animal series, we feel that in us a new element has developed. Just as a growing seed pushes its roots down into the darkness and draws its nutriment there, and in the fulness of time pushes a tiny head above the soil and finds the new elements of air and light around it, so man, rooted by physical origin to the earth, pushes his head above the soil of a merely animal existence, and finds a new world around him into which he grows. Alone of all the products of this planet he looks above it and is conscious of the surrounding Infinite. But even as there is nothing in this but the continuous growth and evolution of his nature, so there can be nothing in the future but the continuous evolution of his character. If conscience is allowed to be a divine instinct in man, the echo of a supernatural voice and the whisper of the future, it is an authoritative assurance of the persistency of character and the continuity of the moral life. All the power of conscience is derived from this innate persuasion, this instinctive perception, this fundamental conviction of the existence of that in the sphere of morals which in the sphere of natural science is the law of "continuity." It is the entail of wrong of which conscience is afraid, and the future safety of the Right which makes it valiant. No visible results create the fear; no deduction from experience, no adoption of a theory, produces it; it is an inborn persuasion that an awful continuity links the present to the future, and stretches on in an unbroken line, perhaps for ever.

It may be replied to this statement, that the Christian doctrine of repentance reverses this natural teaching, and sanctions the spasmodic theories of nature and the world. But there is no rational view of that doctrine which does not assume the changeless continuity of spiritual causation and demand that change in man which cannot be made in God. There are of course theories of the New Birth which belong to the spasmodic age of science; but the question irresistibly suggested by the present state of our knowledge

of the Divine methods in Nature is, whether any such theories have rightly interpreted His ways in Grace. Theology has a method of its own; but it is the method through which all science has passed in its earlier infancy, and which has been abandoned in every sphere of the pursuit of knowledge as empty, fruitless and vain. Theology is the Queen of the Sciences, but is science still; and, like other monarchs, must lay aside its supernatural claims. The unity of the Divine procedure is such, that when interferences and catastrophes have been eliminated from our theories of nature they can hardly be retained in our theories of religion. There may indeed be a "suspense account," to which many unexplained phenomena and many unclassified facts must be temporarily removed, till some larger theories, the offspring of wider knowledge, provide for them an orderly and natural place; but the exceptional category is entirely inadmissible. For if there are no exceptions in Nature,—if the apparently exceptional phenomena are only exceptional to ignorance, and are sure to fall into their orderly arrangement as our knowledge grows,—it is not possible to avoid the conclusion that it is only the narrowness of our field of vision which gives an exceptional appearance to any spiritual phenomena, and that in the light of wider knowledge we may yet trace the continuous evolution of them all. The most wonderful events which human history records have resulted from certain necessary antecedents, and it is our want of knowledge of those antecedents which gives them the appearance of sudden and supernatural intercalation in the great scheme of things. Granting the phenomena, it is surely wiser to assume that the conditions out of which they arose are insufficiently apprehended by us, than to assert that they arose without natural antecedents and conditions, and, on the assumption that they so arose, to claim for them a supernatural origin. The application to them of the doctrine of continuity suggests at once that the ordinary distinction between the natural and the supernatural, as applied to phenomena, must be false. The sharp line of demarcation which is nowhere found in nature is equally untraceable here. Even the history of man's knowledge of God bears upon every line of it the evidence of a perpetual mingling of the two. The Bible is the history of a continuity of Divine manifestation which culminated

in the development of the Christian faith. "The law was a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ;" but there was a long growth from the most childlike and primitive ideas of God up to the Mosaic conception of Him. It was by long and gradual development that the Elohim of the primeval legends became the Jehovah of the Jewish history, and by ages of silent and almost unnoticed change that the stern countenance of Jehovah melted into the tenderness of a FATHER'S smile. The "dispensations" have merged into each other, as winter merges into spring, and spring merges into summer. It was only in the "fulness of time" that the latest revelation came, and only in a greater fulness than we have attained as yet that all its meaning will be seen. But in that apostolic expression, "the fulness of time," there is a glimpse of the Divine procedure in Religion which harmonizes with all that we observe in Nature, in History and in Morals. The world of Man, like the world of Nature, has become what it is by gradual progress, and not by convulsive change. Its greatest catastrophes have been matured in silence. Its marvellous changes have occurred by invisible transition. Its glorious revolutions have been the births of Time. The Kingdom of the Divine Order has always come "without observation." And as in the outward world as it lies in the light of science and of history, so in the inward world as it lies in the light of revelation. The Christian doctrine of the Spirit is but the doctrine of continuous creation applied to the immortal side of man. Science tells us of an intelligent Power making the world grow on through infinite ages; Religion tells us of a Divine Person who co-operates with us in the New Creation which is always going on within; and the Christian teacher has to protest more strongly against an irrational reliance on sudden interference and miraculous change, than science has to protest against the unphilosophical assumption of perpetual haltings and new beginnings in the great works of Nature. Neither the moral nor material worlds go jolting on along a rough, unfinished road; they are not, as the spasmodic theories of their progress teach, like wagons in the wilderness, now losing their way and doubling back upon their course, now meeting with obstructions over which the driver's strength must lift them; they move, as "continuity" assures us, along a smooth highway prepared

before them by Omnipotence, with every mountain levelled and every valley filled and every torrent bridged, with neither hindrance nor obstruction in a course which all Power superintends and all Wisdom guides.

It is in this perpetual presence of the Creator in creation—the Father working hitherto—that science and religion may perhaps find their reconciling doctrine. The Divine Being is contemporaneous with His works, and the continuity of the natural world runs parallel to the continuity of His presence and activity. Creation is not a past event, but a present fact. The world, like the individual man, is not made as yet; it is only being made. It is then a mere impertinence to speak of "continuity" as banishing God, and it is a mere trick of theological controversy to assume that a spasmodic theory of Creation tells peculiarly of Him. Life is known, not by spasms of sudden energy, but by the regular beat of its pulsations and the quiet continuity of its operations. If, therefore, the Divine Spirit is the life of Man and of Nature, it is not the sudden convulsion, but the lasting order—not the quick starting or stopping of the world's machinery, but its perpetual and unfailing movement—not some miracle of the past, but the perpetual miracle of this wonderful Present, to which all the past has led, which really bear witness for God. A spasmodic Creation reveals a God who was,—the great fact of continuous creation reveals a God who is. It is with us to-day, as it was with some in an earlier time—a time like this, when men's hearts were failing them for fear of the new perils which threatened faith—we ask for a sign, and no sign can be given, because the signs are always with us. It is our creeds and not our convictions—our theologies and not our faiths—the unessential and changing body of our doctrine and not the essential spirit of our religion, which lay us open to the rebuke, "Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe." To win us from this failing dependence is the blessing which science can confer on faith. In its apparent antagonism to some aspects of the theologies of the time, science has now to teach us that which a sublimer teacher taught the ancient prophet of Israel, that continuity and not convulsion is the real witness to a Divine purpose in Nature and a Divine plan in History; that the "wind might rend the mountains and break in pieces the

rocks; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice;" and that still small voice which speaks within the heart of man is the Revelation of a Present Father to the child who seeks Him.

P. W. CLAYDEN.

VII.—LIDDON'S SERMONS.

Christ's Welcome to the Penitent (1860). *Some Words for God* (1865). By Henry Parry Liddon, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Prebendary of Salisbury, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury, and lately Select Preacher.

IN the reaction which is undoubtedly taking place against liberal opinions among the younger students at Oxford, Mr. Liddon stands out, by the common consent of all, as the man who has had the greatest sway. He exercises a personal and open influence, such as has not been known at Oxford since the days when the Heads of Houses were alarmed because undergraduates flocked in troops to attend Mr. Newman's lectures at St. Mary's. Times have changed, for it was then gravely considered how best might be checked this dangerous teaching; now the hall of a College, which is not Mr. Liddon's own, is placed at his disposal that he may receive in it a Sunday-evening Bible class, drawn from any or all Colleges, though unauthorized and nominally private. We would not of course compare Dr. Newman and Mr. Liddon; we are perhaps old enough to have become inevitably *laudatores temporis acti*, and to think that neither in leaders or led are there the great spirits, the eager hopes, the grand aims of those who were represented on different sides by J. H. Newman and by A. H. Clough; but what Newman was to the men of his time in his University, that is Mr. Liddon to those of the present.

Nor do we wonder that he has gained such a position. We will not presume to repeat anything of what may be floating in the vague of general discourse of the charm of

Mr. Liddon's private life, his easiness of access by those that seek his counsel; but as a preacher he rules over the minds of his hearers as is given perhaps to one man only in each generation. "I came," said one of the wisest men in England, by no means of Mr. Liddon's school, as he left the church after a special sermon by that gentleman,—"I came to hear the finest preacher in England, and I am not disappointed." "He raised his hearers," said another, equally well qualified to judge, "from earth to heaven, and kept them there for more than an hour." Like almost all sermons, save those of Bishop Taylor, Newman and Robertson, much of their charm has evaporated with the voice and manner of the preacher; but even as we read them very critically, and disagreeing with the whole tone of thought, as well as the entire dogmatic theology they represent, we admit that the opposite side to our own is put most forcibly, that the writer does not inveigh, as do so many others, against that of which he is ignorant, but that, as a man of much culture and deep and varied reading, he has looked the problems of our modern life in the face, and deliberately adopted the Catholic resolution of them.

Such, then, being Mr. Liddon's position, it has been with surprise, not unmixed with pain, that we have noticed a feature common to the single sermon, and to the first of the series named above. The single sermon is naturally published, as such discourses for the most part are, without any introduction. But in the advertisement to the collected volume these words occur: "Among sources to which the writer owes thoughts or illustrations, for which his obligations are not already acknowledged, he desires to mention the Bishop of Oxford, two or three volumes of Félix's *Conférences* and Schleiermacher's *Predigten*." Most large-hearted, and in the good sense catholic, would one naturally think, is this telling preacher, drawing "thoughts and illustrations" (no more, of course) from men of such alien views as Schleiermacher and Père Félix, nor shrinking from possible blame among the rigid orthodox. All the rest, then, is his own, save possibly a quotation or two which have become so much a part of his thoughts, that he scarce can tell whether they were or were not first in his own mind.

Our readers may then imagine the astonishment with which we opened, a few weeks since, "Manresa, or the Spi-

ritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, for General Use;" and found that of the twenty-six pages of Mr. Liddon's sermon, "God and the Soul," no fewer than eleven are borrowed from this book, which is the development by a Jesuit of the text words of St. Ignatius Loyola; while the whole sermon is framed on these eleven pages, containing the pith as well as the most striking passages. The similarity is by no means confined to "thoughts and illustrations." In many sentences and paragraphs the coincidence is verbal; in others, the simple and earnest words of "Manresa" are expanded and, as it were, translated into ornate and rhetorical language. For instance:

"Where was I one short century ago? Most of us, indeed, in asking ourselves the question, might be content with a much shorter period. The sun in the heavens, the face of the earth, the general conditions of human life, were then what they are at this hour. The civilized world, with its great cities and its leading ideas, and its general currents of effort and movement, were then what they are now. England was here. Our neighbourhood, our family, it may be our home, were known. These very benches were filled by a generation which observed our Church formalities and used our devotional language. Others, it may be, were then living who bore the very names which distinguish us among men, and whose forms and faces might have almost seemed to anticipate our personal life. But we, each one of us, were yet nothing. All that thought and feeling and passion and effort which centres at this moment in and is part of our separate selves, did not then exist. The lowest and vilest creatures were more than we, in that to them a being had been given, while as yet we were without one."*

With this passage compare—

"Where was I a hundred years ago? I was nothing. I see the world, with its empires, its cities, its inhabitants; I see the sun which shines to-day, the earth on which I dwell, the land which gave me birth, the family from which I sprung, the name by which I am known; but I—what was I, and where was I? I was nothing, and it is among nothingness I must be sought. Oh how many ages passed during which no one thought of me! For how can nothing be the subject of thought? How many ages when even an insect or an atom was greater than I! for they possessed at least an existence."†

* Some Words for God, pp. 10, 11. † Manresa, pp. 22, 23.

So expanded, and, we admit, so improved, is the matter contained in the eleven pages of which we have spoken.

In a less marked, but still unmistakable manner, the sermon called "Christ's Welcome to the Penitent" is founded on the "Meditations on the Prodigal Son" in the same book of Spiritual Exercises; the verbal coincidences are fewer, but the scheme of treatment is the same. And if there be any truth in the adage, "ex pede Herculem," it is not unnatural if we are henceforward filled with a profound distrust that this so original teacher is not after all original—that Anglican exhortations, when most telling, may be drawn from a more venerable source; and as Theodore Parker's hearers, according to Mr. Lowell, could not tell

> "on Sunday beforehand
> If in that day's discourse they'd be Bibled or Koran'd,"

so we shall listen to Mr. Liddon, quite uncertain whether the voice we hear is that of the Chaplain of the Bishop of Salisbury, or whether he is simply the instrument which lends a deeper tone to the words of St. Ignatius Loyola.

We are not among those who in these times of over-preachment would be hard on one who is called on, whether he will or no, to speak "Words for God," if he now and then takes bodily a good sermon of another man; but it is quite a different thing if one does so who has attained Mr. Liddon's reputation, and still more serious does the matter seem if he print as his own, without acknowledgment, not only the "thoughts and illustrations," but the very words of another. And if, as is the case, it is unlikely that the readers of the two books will be in many cases the same, it is strange in the extreme that one who desires to express obligation to those from whom he has borrowed, should name the Père Félix and Schleiermacher, and omit one greater than either, *but whose words are less known.* Were we to look at this matter simply from a literary point of view, it would seem unworthy of Mr. Liddon's reputation, and scarcely to be passed over in silence by any who might become aware of it.

But it is strange that so astute a person does not see that, in the present temper of Englishmen, such a proceeding may do harm to the theological cause he has so much at heart. We are certainly not among those who would reject good words from any quarter; we have no horror of Rome,

nor do we regard it with less or more favour than Anglicanism, except that it seems more venerable and real. But he who has the cause of Anglicanism sincerely at heart, must surely weaken that cause if it become known that the most telling "Words for God" he can find are those which he has learned from Jesuit lips. We can only acquit Mr. Liddon of what looks very like a literary fraud, by supposing that he has withheld the acknowledgment of his "conveyance" of St. Ignatius' words for reasons which say little for his foresight. In days when theological strife is keen and likely to increase, it is above all things needful that men fight fairly in their own armour and without any disguises. Even those most blind in bigotry or devotion to a preconceived idea can sometimes exercise their senses sharply, and it will be an ill day for the leaders of any party in the English Church if the eyes of the English people are cleared to perceive that much they have most admired has been borrowed from the professors of another faith. An ill day for them, unless, which we certainly do not think in Mr. Liddon's case, they desire to lead their followers back to the Church to which themselves are so deeply indebted.

C. K. P.

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